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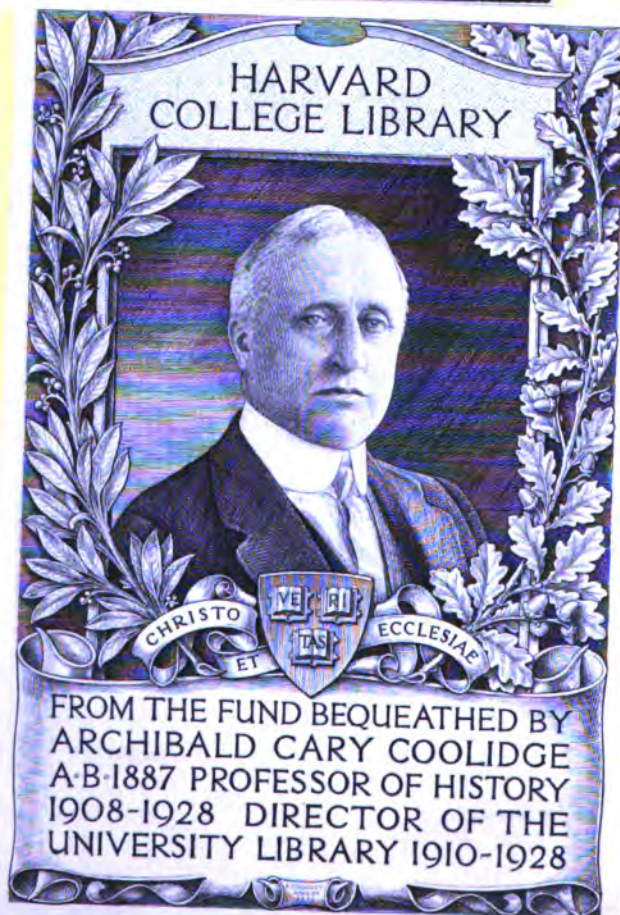
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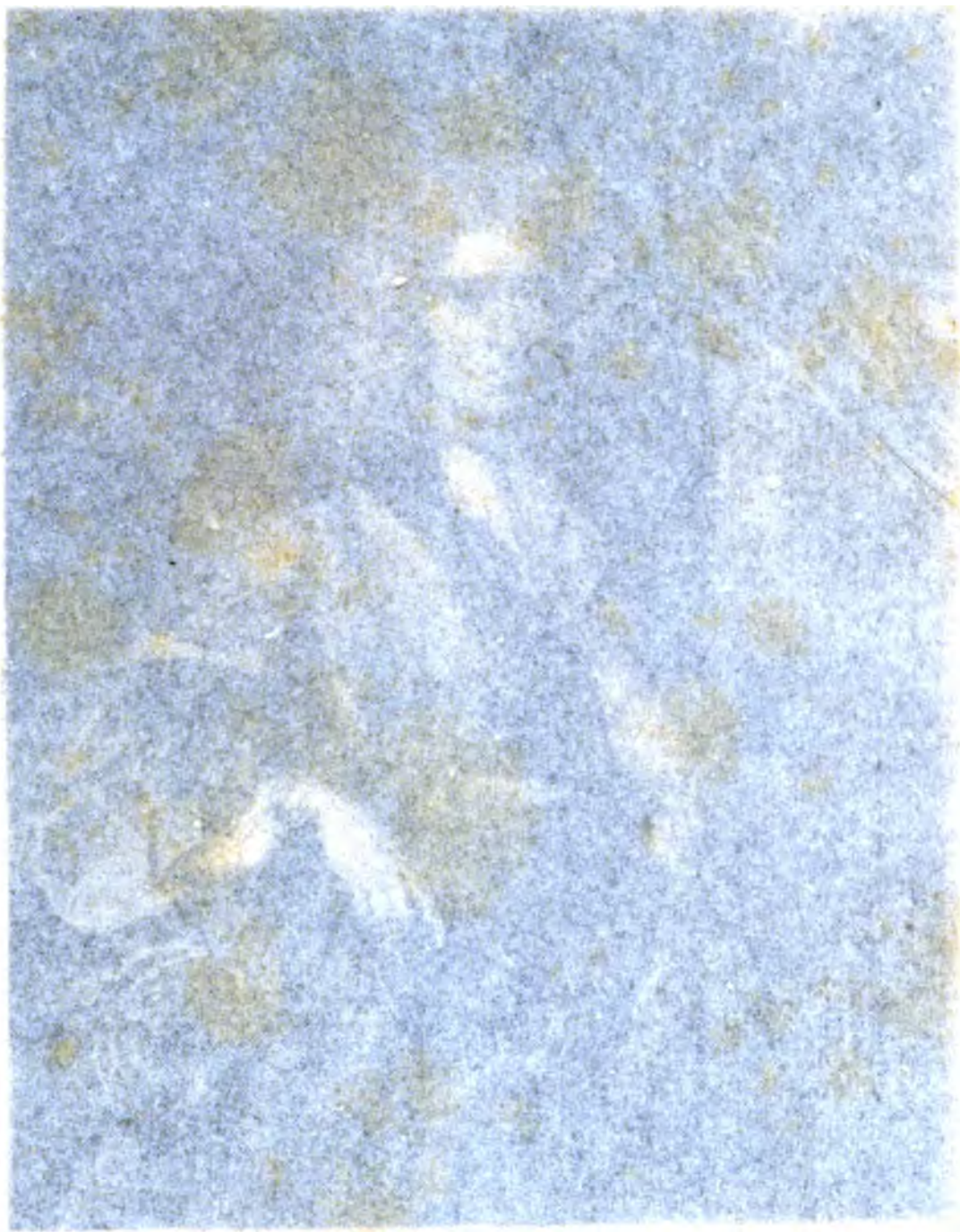
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EDWARD COLSTON, THE PHILANTHROPIST,

HIS LIFE AND TIMES;

INCLUDING

A MEMOIR OF HIS FATHER;

THE RESULT OF A LABORIOUS INVESTIGATION INTO THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY,

BY THOMAS GARRARD.

EDITED BY SAMUEL GRIFFITHS TOVEY.

**"HE HATH DISPERSED ABROAD AND GIVEN TO THE POOR, AND HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS REMAINETH FOR EVER; HIS HORN SHALL BE
EXALTED WITH HONOUR."—PSALM CXII. 9.**

BRISTOL:

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College fund

TO

EDWARD COLSTON, ESQ.

OF ROUNDWAY PARK, WILTS; DESCENDANT AND REPRESENTATIVE OF

OUR GREAT PHILANTHROPIST :

TO

THE MASTER, WARDENS, AND ASSISTANTS OF THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY OF
MERCHANT VENTURERS,

THE ALMONERS OF COLSTON'S CHARITIES :

TO

SIR JOHN KERLE HABERFIELD,

WHO FOR THE SIXTH TIME HAS HONOURABLY FILLED THE OFFICIAL DIGNITY OF

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL :

THIS WORK

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY THEIR VERY HUMBLE AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THOMAS GARRARD,

TREASURER, AND LATE CHAMBERLAIN OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

GREAT GEORGE STREET,

November 1st, 1852.

THE Author cannot submit this Volume to the Public, without offering his acknowledgments to those Gentlemen who have kindly assisted him in his research ; more especially to ROBERT OSBORNE, Esq.,—WILLIAM CLAXTON, Esq., Treasurer of the Society of Merchants,—MR. PRESTON EDGAR,—and the Rev. SAMUEL HAYMAN, A.M., the venerated Pastor of South Abbey, Youghal, Cork, who proudly boasts his affinity to our PHILANTHROPIST, whose pedigree, compiled by Mr. HAYMAN, from manuscript letters of COLSTON's, it is to be regretted, came too late for insertion.

P R E F A C E.

FOR *all* the defects in the following pages, the Editor is not responsible. The work has been hurried through the press without due time allowed for considerate corrections. There are so many imperfections for which the Editor is justly culpable ;—that he is desirous to exonerate himself from those that do not properly belong to his function.

Narratives of local events, in no wise calling for notice, either by the importance of their acts, or the peculiarity of their character,—and perhaps possessing no fruitful sense that can concern us now,—have a certain dryness difficult to overcome,—and are interesting only to readers in their native City. The Editor, accountable for the appearance of the papers placed in his hands by Mr. Garrard, has endeavoured, however intractable the materials, to dispose of them, by incorporation with the text where they bear upon history, or serve to throw some light upon the feelings and manners of the times. To do this he has consulted many established authorities, whose assistance is generally acknowledged. He has not, however, on all occasions given references for each description, assertion, or opinion ; some are digested

out of many notes, others advanced from memory, and from equally unquotable sources. A vague sense of having read the words he traces upon the page will often haunt him; but the visionary book is vapoury and dim, and passes away before he can obtain perception of its name.

In developing the character of Colston, or in adding to existing knowledge, little has been done:—some new facts have been discovered,—some obscure passages elucidated. But there still remain many bye-ways unexplored,—many years of his early life yet darkly shadowed.

The Editor has thought it expedient, that the proscribed limits of this volume might not be exceeded, to embody in the text the biographical information resulting from Mr. Garrard's research. This, as far as confined space would permit, has been done, without appropriating the whole. The excess it is proposed to place before the readers in another form.

CLIFTON, *November 1st*, 1852.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
MEMOIR OF WILLIAM COLSTON	1
CHAPTER I.	
Introduction—Birth of Colston—Temple Church—Christening—General Features of the City—Old Bristol Bridge—Condition of the Streets—The Christening Party—Colston's Childhood—Obscurity of his early Years—Prolonged Research amongst the City Muniments—The Tradition of Colston and his Brothers considered with Reference to Recorded Facts.....	15
CHAPTER II.	
Introduction—Effects of Charles's Impositions on the City—Ascendancy of the Puritans—Ship Money—Soap Monopoly—Leaders of the Loyalists and Puritans—Precautions against the Plague—Mysterious and unsatisfactory Records—Sympathy with the Scotch Covenanters—Cromwell about to leave the Country—Scarcity of Food—Merchants proceed to London to obtain Redress of their Grievances—Letter from Charles to the Corporation, proposing Ralph Farmer as Chamberlain; Proceedings thereupon—Ancient Custom of the Corporation—Two hundred Men pressed to go against the Scots—The Plague in Bristol; Houses shut up—Cannon sent to Marlborough against the King—Denzil Hollis appointed by the Parliament Lieutenant of the Militia—Visit of the Marquis of Hertford—House appointed for his Reception—The Mayor's Refusal to admit the King's Troops into the City—Repairing the Fortifications—Money expended in Arms and Provisions—Mutual Association for the Defence of the King—Importance of Bristol—Correspondence of the Mayor and Aldermen, and Col. Sir Alexander Popham—Approach of Col. Essex to the City—Admission of the Parliamentary Troops—Oppressions of the Royalists—Gloomy Christmas	31
CHAPTER III.	
Character, and removal of Col. Essex from the Government of the City—Fiennes appointed—Money levied upon the Inhabitants for the Support of the Garrison—Oppressions on the Royalists—Fiennes ejects the regular Clergy from their Benefices—Money lent by the City to the Parliament—Discovery of a Combination to deliver the City to Prince Rupert—Trial and Condemnation of Yeamans and Boucher—Their Execution—Attack on the City by the Royalists and Surrender of Fiennes—Visit of Charles and his two Sons—They attend the Cathedral—Order of the Procession—Restoration of the National Worship—Curious Letter respecting the Church Bells—Frigates provided by the Royalists to guard the River—Oxford Parliament—Visit of Henrietta Maria—Extraordinary Expenses—Protestation of the Corporation—They raise a Troop of Horse—Preparation for the Reception of Prince Charles—Fairfax and Cromwell lay Siege to the City—Its Surrender—Death of Col. Taylor—Distressed State of the City—Departure of Prince Rupert.....	69

CHAPTER IV.

Election of Mayor—His Removal, with thirteen of the Council, by Fairfax—Preaching Officers—Money levied on the City to restrain the Soldiers from Plundering—Removal of the Orthodox Clergy—Iconoclastic Fury of the Mob—Injury to the Ecclesiastical Structures—Fire on Bristol Bridge—Resolutions adopted in Consequence—The Plague—Monies lent by the Corporation on the Public Faith—Licentiousness of the Garrison—Imprisonment of an Alderman—The City put into a Posture of Defence—Death of Charles.....	PAGE 127
--	-------------

CHAPTER V.

Proclamation against Royalty read by command of the Mayor—Visit of Cromwell—Distinctions conferred by the Corporation on Cromwell's Favourites—Life's Contrasts—Observance of Christmas-day abolished—Cromwell's Parliaments—Persecutions of the Quakers—Restrictions for the Observance of the Sabbath—Alarms—Conspiracies—General Desbrow orders the Removal of three Aldermen—Destruction of the Castle and Royal Fort—Distress of the Labouring Classes—Public and Private Fasts—Mr. Arthur Farmer appointed Minister of the Chamber—Cromwell's Anxiety for the Safety of the City—His Letters to the Corporation—Meeting of the Council—Visit of Richard Cromwell—Official Announcement of the Death of the Protector—Proclamation and brief Reign of Richard Cromwell—Doddridge, the Recorder—The Soldiers paid to prevent Plundering the City—Insurrection of the Apprentices—Admiral Penn—Last Meeting of the Commonwealth Council—How Employed—Restoration of Monarchy.....	148
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

Enthusiasm of the People on the Restoration—Proclamation of Charles II.—The Corporation vote his Majesty a present of Money—Day of Thanksgiving—The Corporation and Society of Merchants go in State to the Cathedral—Changes in the Council Chamber—Letter from Charles to the Corporation, requiring the Dismission of Refractory Members—Popular Amusements—Motion Show—Rope Dancing—Lighting the City in 1660—Quo Warranto—Petitions prepared for Presentation to the King—Knighthood bestowed on several Members of the Corporation—State of the River—Nathaniel Cale remodels the Town Council—Charles's Letter—Heavy inflictions on disaffected Members—Visit of Charles and his Queen—John Pope fined £1000, for refusing the Office of Mayor—Disputes as to Precedency—Sir John Knight's Persecution of the Quakers—Legalised barbarous Punishments—The Ducking Stool—Leaves from the Justices' Book—Letter from the Lord of the Council—Charles's Letter directing the Mayor to be elected from the Court of Aldermen—Hearth Tax—Entertainment of the Duke of Ormond—The Great Plague—Dutch War—Restrictions on Foreigners—Visit of the Duchess of Monmouth—Present to Lord Arlington—Funeral of Sir Wm. Penn—Dissensions and Animositities of the Citizens—Presentments of the Grand Jury—Sir Robert Yeamans committed to the Tower of London—Present to James Millard for his Plan of the City—Application of the Test Act—Entertainment of the Marquis of Worcester—Disputes between the Dean and Chapter and the Corporation—Visit of Queen Catharine—The Popish Plot—Bedloe sent by the Mayor to London—Letter of the Mayor to the Secretary of State—Bedloe's return to Bristol, is visited by Lord North—Death of Bedloe	217
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Description of Bristol, Time of Charles II.—The Corporation borrow Money—Colston, one of the Governors of Christ's Hospital—His Pertinacity—His Residence at Bristol—Admitted to the Freedom of the City—A Member of the Merchants' Hall—Colston Trades to the West Indies—Extract from the Will of his Father—Colston proceeds against the Corporation for the Recovery of his Loan—His Residence at Mortlake—Sir Robert Cann and Sir Robert Yeamans sent Prisoners to the	
---	--

CONTENTS.

xi.

	PAGE
Tower of London—Mr. Roe, Sword Bearer of Bristol—Parliamentary Election, 1680—Grand Jury Presentment—The “Blazing Star”—Sir Robert Atkins indicted for neglecting the Duties of his Office—His Resignation—Entertainment to the Marquis of Worcester—Letter from Sir Robert Sawyer—Instruction from the Bishop of Bristol to the Ministry, for compelling Attendance on the Established Church—The Rye-House Plot—An Address from the Corporation to his Majesty—Quo Warranto brought against the City—Surrender of the Charter to the King—The Duke of Beaufort instrumental in obtaining another—Letter from the Members of the Society of Friends in Bristol Gaol—Dismissal of Sir John Knight from the Council—Proclamation of James II.—Servile Address of our Corporation—Preparations against the coming of the Duke of Monmouth—Arrival of the Duke of Beaufort—Letter from the Duke to the Mayor—Jefferies’ outrageous Conduct at the Guildhall—Insolence of the Soldiery to the Inhabitants—The Duke of Beaufort offended, writes plainly to the Corporation—James II. visits Bristol—Progress of Popery—The Queen at Bath—The Corporation send her an Invitation—Their Majesties visit the City—James’s Experiment with the Corporation—Singular Letter from the Corporation—The King orders the Freedom of the City to be given to Sixty-eight Persons—Landing of the Prince of Orange—The Duke of Beaufort’s hasty Departure from the City	308

CHAPTER VIII.

Colston’s first Public Benefaction to this City—His Correspondence—Proposes to maintain Six Sailors in the Merchants’ Almshouse—His Conscientiousness—Purchase of the Sugar House in St. Peter’s Churchyard by the Corporation of the Poor—His Donations—Decease of his Mother—His Gift of £1000 to Whitechapel Church—His residence in Bristol—Works dedicated to Colston—His proposal to Increase the number of Boys in the Hospital of Queen Elizabeth, and Donation towards Re-building the School-house—His Letter to the Society of Merchants, containing a munificent offer—Proceedings thereupon—Purchase of the Great House on St. Augustine’s Back—Colston’s Endowment for One Hundred Boys—The Merchants accept the Trust—Nominees appointed by Colston—He superintends the Progress of the Alterations at the Great House—Incidental Anecdotes—Opening of the School—Summary of Local Transactions—Colston M. P. for Bristol	383
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

Colston contributes to the Foundation of a Charity School in Temple Street—Progress of the School—Letter from Sir John Duddleston—Colston’s Rupture with the Rev. Arthur Bedford—His Correspondence with the Trustees of the Charity School—His devoted Attachment to the Established Church—His Letter to Mr. John Gray—A Complaint against the Society of Friends by the Trustees of Temple Street School—Singular Document—Colston a Corresponding Member for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Letter to Colston from “The Gentlemen of the Grand Inquest”—His Answer—His Donation to the Repairs of the Cathedral—Lent Sermons—Queen Anne’s Bounty—Anecdote—His last Request to the Merchants’ Hall—His Contribution towards Re-building All-Saints’ Church—To a School at Chewstoke—Colston’s declining years at Mortlake—His Death and Funeral.	431
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

The Funeral Sermon—Extracts from Colston’s Will—Portraits of Colston—Contemporary Narratives—Contributions in Redcliff Parish—School on St. Augustine’s Back—Exhumation of Colston—The Colston Societies—The Colston, the Dolphin, The Anchor, and the Grateful—Visit to Mortlake—Conclusion	469
--	-----

APPENDIX	495
----------------	-----

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM COLSTON.

It is the especial duty of an historian, says Pliny, "not to allow the memory of those men to sink into oblivion who have by their deeds merited an immortality of fame." That immortality has seldom been awarded to the lot of a nobler Philanthropist than Edward Colston.

But if it be in truth advantageous to record the actions of men, who, living in happy and tranquil times, have, during their sojourn on earth, established memorials of themselves, which must endure while gratitude and worthy emulation exist; of still greater advantage must it be to call again into life the actions of those who, flourishing at an inauspicious era, were doomed to have their own noble works overwhelmed in the ruin of revolution and anarchy; and a deeper interest accrues when the records of the forgotten deeds of one noble mind, stand in intimate connection with the well known memorials of another. And deeper still is that interest when we find the latter dependent, at least in a great degree, on the former; when in the noble but hitherto unknown and unchronicled example and precepts of the father, we can trace the origin of the far-famed philanthropy of the son. Actuated by these considerations, and possessing the means of gratifying no vain or useless curiosity, the writer has spent many hours of pleasant toil in turning over the mouldering pages of bygone days, in search of the life and actions of William, the father of Edward Colston. His labours have been well repaid by the discovery of facts which satisfactorily prove that the father was worthy of the son, and that the simple words on the monument erected by the latter in All Saints' Church, "TO THE DEAR MEMORY OF HIS FATHER," were of no common place import, but the result of grateful affection. Well may we believe that they were written under the inspiration of feelings too deep for more than simple utterance—feelings which recalled the hours of childhood, in which the father industriously sowed the seeds that Providence was pleased in after times to mature to so abundant an harvest.

The son of whom I speak flourished during the years of comparative repose which followed the fierce and turbulent season of England's revolutionary state, like a calm after a dark and gloomy storm. But the father lived when the tempest was gathering, when the dregs of society were being thrown upon the surface of the foul cauldron of rebellion.

The virtues of the two men were therefore different, as the characteristic periods of their respective existence. The illustrious merit of the father was uncompromising loyalty, a distin-

guishing badge in a disloyal age. The virtue of the son was unambitious charity, yet it may be said that disinterested love of their kind, was prevalent in the souls of both. The benevolent efforts of the father were directed, by the unnatural circumstances of the period, to soothe the sufferings of Royalty; the energies of the son were employed, during more peaceful times, in speaking comfort and rendering aid to the ordinary wants of humanity.

Without further preface I will proceed with a brief memoir of the father of our Philanthropist, which I cannot more appropriately commence than by introducing his pedigree. This can be traced to a very remote period. The family were descended by a long line of ancestry from Robert de Colston, of Colston Hall, in the county of Lincoln, a family of consequence at the time of the Conquest. Rowland de Colston, of Colston, married the daughter of Sir Thomas Wenterburen, and had issue two sons, Thomas de Colston and James. From the latter, through a descent of nine generations, George Colston, of Preston, mercer, was descended; he came to Bristol and settled here as a merchant. With his second son commences the pedigree, a copy of which was furnished to the writer by the late highly esteemed descendant of the family, Edward Francis Colston, Esq., of Roundway Park, Wilts. It is as follows:

“Thomas Colston was the second son of George Colston, of Preston, Lancashire, and came to Bristol about the year 1400. He married the daughter of — and had issue.

“Thomas Colston, second son, who married the daughter of — Read, of — Esq., and had issue.

“Robert Colston, of Bristol, Merchant, who married the daughter of — Read, of Green Castle, Carmarthen, and had issue; (and Thomas Colston, second son, who was Mayor of Bristol in 1556, and died without issue.)

“(William Colston, of Bristol, first son, Merchant, who married the daughter of William Gittens, of Bristol, Merchant, and had issue) Richard Colston, of Bristol, second son, Merchant, married the daughter of — Lewis, of Bristol, Merchant, and had issue four sons.

“1. Edward Colston, who died without issue.

“2. Thomas Colston, Sheriff of Bristol, Colonel of the Train Bands of the King, married the daughter of William Challoner, an ancient family in the said City, and had issue Robert, Thomas, and Humphrey.

“3. Richard Colston, who died without issue.

“4. William Colston,”—the subject of this memoir, and the father of the Philanthropist.

Admiration of excellence, rather than curiosity, led to the present research into the archives of the City; and after a diligent investigation many interesting facts have been brought to light, which I will now proceed to relate.

From these records it appears that William Colston was the son of Richard; and, as the pedigree informs us, the grandson of Thomas Colston, an eminent merchant of this City, who held various positions of municipal dignity. In 1562, I find him filling the office of Sheriff, then seldom held but by those whom wealth and the advantages of education had raised above their fellow citizens. The present representative of the family, Edward Colston, Esq., of Roundway Park, Devizes, has in his possession a table cloth and two dozen d'oyleys, formerly the property of this Thomas Colston, which were manufactured in Flanders for the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to this City in 1574. Mr. Colston describes the table cloth as being of very fine damask, and beautifully white; with a representation in the centre of Queen Elizabeth on horseback, riding through the City; the castle on one side; peacocks, flowers, &c., on the other. Games and entertainments for her amusement, of a varied and singular character, occupy the remainder of the cloth. Here, a boar hunt with dogs, and men with javelins. There, a stag and doe and fawns, and men and dogs hunting them. Next, a man shooting a pheasant or some such bird, a hare hunt and hounds. The only mounted figure is the Queen. Mr. Colston considers the cloth and napkins to have belonged to the Corporation, and to have been given by them to his family, by whom they are valued as heir looms. He also possesses the furniture and trappings of the horse on which Queen Elizabeth rode; consisting of a costly saddle cloth of blue velvet and silver, handsomely worked, the housings enriched with solid silver ornaments. The bit and stirrup are described as very curious.

To return to Thomas Colston, the memorials of whose time occasioned this digression. In 1577, he was chosen Mayor. That his conduct, while in the civic chair, won the esteem of those over whom he presided is certain, from the Corporation being desirous of again conferring the honour; to prevent which he paid a sum of money to the Chamber, on the express condition that he should be exempted from the liability of again serving the office of Chief Magistrate.

Perhaps conscious of the infirmities of advancing age, and mindful of the advice given by the prophet to Hezekiah of old; he retired from public life that he might set his house in order; and dedicate his few remaining years to the service of God, lest the reproach that so oppressed the conscience of Wolsey, the great statesman of the preceding age, should fall to his lot also. Some beautiful language occurs in portions of his will, which is an index to his thoughts, for men do not trifle when engaged in drawing up that last solemn testimony of their wishes and designs. It manifests his sincere conviction in all the sublime truths taught by the Church of England, which it strongly and truly declares was the great foundation upon which all his consistent virtues were raised. That he was a steadfast follower of the doctrines of the holy reformers of the Church of

England is evidenced by one emphatic passage, wherein he says : " As to all the relics of the pope and antichrist, I do utterly detest and abhor them."

He died A. D. 1597, after a long life of honour and usefulness, and at his own express desire was interred " by the side of his first wife, before the little vestry door in All Saints' Church." His second wife survived him, and left by her will the then munificent sum of £200, for charitable purposes.

Barrett, in his History of Bristol, says, that on an old stone under the reading desk was this inscription and epitaph : " Thos. Colston, Mayor and Alderman of this City, died 16th Nov. 1597.

Death is no death now Thomas Colston lives,
Who fourscore years hath lived to his praise ;
A joyful life now Christ doth to him give,
Who wronged no wight, each man commends his ways ;
Death him commands to bid this world adieu,
Thrice happy those who die to live anew."

Respecting Richard, the father of the subject of this memoir, our information scarcely extends beyond the brief fact contained in the pedigree. The birth of William, his son, took place A. D. 1608. I find him in the early part of the seventeenth century serving his apprenticeship to Robert Aldworth, an eminent merchant of Bristol. Although nothing can be ascertained with regard to the events of his boyhood, it may be assumed that the period of his apprenticeship was passed with credit to himself and advantage to his master. The cases on record of men whose early days were spent in dissipation or idleness, becoming in after life beneficial members of society, are " few and far between." In the absence therefore, of all positive evidence, and arguing from analogy, it may be fairly concluded that the youth of William Colston bore the buds which in due season produced their proper fruits. At the usual period after the expiration of his apprenticeship William was admitted to the freedom of the City.

Engaged in extensive mercantile pursuits, he appears speedily to have realised a handsome independence, and to have held a high pre-eminence among the merchants of the City. Chalmers especially alludes to his transactions with Spain, and there is but little doubt that he was one of the Merchant Princes, whose exertions rendered Bristol second only in the list of the emporiums of England.

It is a mistaken though too common an opinion, that barter is a bad school for moral and social excellence ; the theory of Cicero (who among other philosophers countenanced this dogma) is not confirmed by experience, and is contradicted by the evidence of the princely foundations by the members of the guilds in London, Bristol, and all the ancient commercial cities of the kingdom, for the education of youth, the repose of old age, and the solace of the children of affliction. The small

trader may have his thoughts limited within the sphere of his gains and losses, but the merchant of extensive enterprise has his knowledge bounded only by the wide confines of his transactions, and it is at least possible that his ideas will be on a par with the magnificence of his circumstances.

On the 23rd of January, 1635, the subject of this memoir married, in Temple Church, Sarah, the daughter of Edward Batten, Esq., a barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple. It cannot be ascertained with accuracy how many children he had by this lady; but it is certain that the eldest, the great benefactor of his native City, was baptized on the 8th of November, 1636, in the same church in which the marriage service of his parents had been performed. That he had previously to this marriage attained a high rank in the estimation of his fellow citizens, is proved by the fact of his having been chosen a member of the Incorporated Society of Merchants, in the year 1634.

The records of the City have unfortunately made little mention of his father, with the exception of the memorial of his death, which took place the year after the marriage of his son. Thus much we know, that Richard lived to bless his grandchild, who was to prove so great a blessing to his fellow citizens. If, to refer to a holier theme,—good men when dying, like the patriarch of old, are allowed a foresight of the future excellence of their descendants, how consoling must have been the prophetic visions of the grandfather of Edward Colston, when he gave his final and dying benediction to his son and grandson.

In 1642, we find William Colston filling the office of churchwarden of Christ Church, and zealously performing all the duties as a member of the vestry of that parish. During the following year, his brother merchants paid another tribute to his professional character, by electing him as an assistant, one of the governing body of their society.

We have stated above, that Colston had an extensive connection, in his mercantile capacity, with Spain; this probably induced him to send his three eldest sons as commercial factors, or agents, to that country. While resident there, we learn from Chalmers, that they were indiscreet enough to hold frequent and violent religious disputes with the Spaniards, who at that time entertained towards the English, rather a polemical, than a political hatred. We are told that on one occasion, during an argument between some Spaniards and the two younger Colstons, it was objected against the reformed religion that it had never been the nurse of patriots or philanthropists. To this aspersion they are reported to have replied, that if it pleased Providence to restore them in safety to their native land, England should produce at least two examples of Protestant benevolence. Had Providence prolonged their lives, we may believe that these two noble youths would have realized by deeds the promise of their lips; but alas, the tradition runs, they both died in Spain the victims of assassination. It was left to Edward to confirm their words, and in his own person to perform more than was requisite to redeem the pledge of both his brothers.

But we must return to the father. Throughout those dark years of trouble and infamy, which terminated in the martyrdom of the first Charles, we find William Colston a consistent and unbending loyalist; ambitious only of offices which might permit him to aid the suffering cause of royalty; daring the obloquy showered on him by those whose best praise he deemed an opprobrium, persevering in the retention of office while he could hold it, in despite of the assumed authority of rebels, and retiring into the privacy of domestic life, when the King could no longer profit by his public services.

There is every reason to believe that his efforts in the Royal cause were characterized equally by energy and prudence, although Providence was pleased to preserve him from the fate which attended so many of his fellow royalists.

To the well known noble but unsuccessful attempt of Yeamans and Boucher to recover the City from the rebels, and to place it in the hands of its rightful monarch, William Colston rendered every assistance; nor must it be supposed that his efforts had been less than theirs, because he escaped their fate. His name stood high in Bristol. His authority was great even with the rebels. Yeamans and Boucher were executed, but Colston remained to confirm his love for his King by further deeds of devoted loyalty.

That the unbending integrity of Colston had won for him golden opinions from all parties,—that he was justly regarded as a man ambitious rather of good for others, than for his own advancement,—may be gathered from the fact, that he was enrolled a member of the Corporation of his native City, on the 14th of September, 1643, and elected Sheriff on the ensuing day.

Loyalty was now again triumphant in Bristol, which had three months before been surrendered to Prince Rupert by Fiennes, and although the period was characterized (as all such eras are) by too frequent desertion from the rightful standard of their liege lord, of disaffected men who could lose nothing and might gain much; and whose character could suffer no further degradation, and who therefore, like the disciples of Cataline, *avide erant novarum rerum*.¹ Yet all men of honourable minds (among whom perhaps were many who, entertaining conscientious objections to the politics of the reigning administration, contemplated only a mild and rational reform) adhered to the falling fortunes of their master.

The oath of fidelity to his King was therefore tendered to Colston on his accepting the office of Sheriff of Bristol; and to all the Members of the Corporation, who, on the same day renewed their fealty to the monarch, in the chapel of St. George. None more deeply appreciated the import of his oath, or more rigidly performed its promise, through all the subsequent difficulties of that disastrous period, than William Colston.

¹ Vide Sallust. Vita Catalinæ.

The Earl of Essex was at that moment strenuously endeavouring to raise both money and troops by which the loyalists might be overawed and held in subjection. All peremptory and illegal methods were resorted to, to increase the finances of the rebel faction, daily growing more powerful in numbers and daily fattening on the ill-starred measures of its less cunning opponents. Colston, therefore, and his colleagues, bound themselves by their oath, "not to give their consent to the levying of any money on the country by the (*soi disant*) Parliament, without his Majesty's concurrence and assent."

Previously to the surrender of Bristol to Prince Rupert, the Parliamentary authorities had thoroughly drained its exchequer. Its finances were exhausted, and scarcely available for the payment of £20,000, which Charles commanded the citizens to raise for the relief of his pressing emergencies on the surrender of the City.

Although Bristol had not retained its loyalty unpolluted amidst the commotions of the age,—although it had "fallen from its high estate," by having been for some time in the possession of the rebels; yet Charles appears justly to have estimated the character of its leading inhabitants; and kindly to have overlooked the errors of the multitude, in consideration of the loyalty and affection of the more nobly minded few. Many indeed were, in these unhappy days, compelled to wear the pestilent garment of rebellion, whose hearts warmed towards their unfortunate master. Theirs was the error rather of cowardice than of crime. Colston, however, cannot be numbered among these; his virtues took a nobler station, and stood firm as a rock amongst the fluctuating events of the times.

It was conspicuous alike in the brief sunshine which occasionally illumined the affairs of his Sovereign, and shone with a deeper radiance in the gloom with which they were more usually surrounded. Integrity is like the guiding pillar of the Israelites—a visible cloud by day, but a shining light in darkness.

The loyalty of Colston was not forgotten by his Sovereign. On the 3rd of August, 1643, (some differences having arisen between the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Rupert, as to the governorship of the City; which rendered the personal interference of the King expedient) Charles entered Bristol, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, Sir Edward Hyde, (afterwards Lord Chancellor, then Chancellor of the Exchequer) and other ministers. The King honoured Colston by taking up his residence at his house in Small Street; and there is every reason to believe that the host did not allow his royal guest to depart without offering him such tokens of his fealty, as the critical and impoverished circumstances of the Monarch rendered peculiarly acceptable.

On the Sunday following their arrival, the Royal party attended divine service in the Cathedral, accompanied by their host and the authorities of the City; the Mayor preceding the King, bareheaded,

in his scarlet robe, and attended by the insignia of office. After the service a sumptuous entertainment was provided for them; and we learn that the noble bearing and affable condescension of the Monarch and his sons, were well calculated to confirm the wavering, and to kindle into devoted and active services the principles of his loyal subjects. Perhaps no Sovereign ever wore a crown whose ideas of the "Divine right of kings," and the proud sense of the duty owed him from his subjects, were more exalted than those of Charles. These principles, however, called into too energetic action at an unpropitious period, and attended by many unfortunate inconsistencies, wrought his downfall; but when chastened by sorrow his character rises through every painful scene and approaches sublimity, when in the martyred Sovereign we behold the meek, the humble, and resigned Christian.

But to return to the subject of these memoirs. The confidence of his brethren in the integrity of William Colston, appears to have increased with his years; for we find that in March, 1643-4, he was unanimously chosen Treasurer of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital. This office he retained for a considerable period, fulfilling its duties in every respect as a zealous public servant. The peculiar circumstances of the times, however, pointed out higher objects. His was an age in which princes were compelled to share with paupers the donations of the benevolent; and Colston appears to have felt a scriptural truth, then but too little regarded, that his Monarch possessed a rightful claim to generous and ample support at the hands of his liege subjects.

Bristol had now rendered itself dangerously conspicuous by enduring loyalty. The hatred consequently of the rebel faction, rivalled the love borne towards the City by the loyal portion of the community. Proportionate to its value in the eyes of the royalists, was the eagerness of the Parliament to win it over to their side; if possible by subtlety; if otherwise, by compulsion. Of secret efforts to bribe the citizens to espouse their cause, the emissaries of the Parliament had been unsparing; and nothing but the undaunted resolution and noble example of Colston and some few other true patriots, had hitherto preserved Bristol from the disgrace of being a second time, the high place of rebel interest. What craft had failed to accomplish, was now to be attempted by open violence. Rumour after rumour spread a panic among the citizens, little accustomed to the rude trade of war. Reports of the intended measures of the enemy grew daily more frequent, each assuming a darker and more important aspect than its precursor; until the utmost dismay was added to the terror of the citizens by the knowledge of the fact, that Cromwell was in person on his march to Bristol, accompanied by General Fairfax and a large army.

Yet while the feeble minds of the majority had been open only to the ignoble voice of fear, or the cogent arguments of self interest; a few of the more consistent royalists, with Colston at their head, had been steadily engaged in making all available preparations to meet the impending danger. The cause of the unfortunate Monarch and of the church and state was their cause; and no

selfish fear, no prospect of personal aggrandizement, no regard even for safety; could interfere with the sacred call of duty, with the obligations of religion and loyalty. By them therefore, resistance even to death against the rebels was firmly and unflinchingly advocated.

Yet the task was difficult to confirm the tottering cause of Royalty, in hearts seldom alive to any suggestion but those of interest. The rights of a falling Monarchy, the stern calls of patriotism, when patriotism is at variance with safety, or even avarice, are seldom regarded. Self-love has a good vantage ground in the souls of the common herd, when principle and duty are the sole opponents. Yet the arguments and exertions of Colston and his brethren were attended at least with but partial success.

The fortifications of the City were enlarged and repaired, the members of the Corporation taking it by turns to superintend the operations, and making daily reports of their progress to the Council. But to the evils of civil war, to the apprehensions of impending danger with which Bristol was at this period environed, it pleased Providence to add horrors of a still more gloomy and dreadful character. The citizens were actively engaged in making preparations against the attack of an open enemy; but they saw not, nor could foresight have availed them against the approach of a surer and a deadlier foe—the Plague. It began to make its fearful ravages in this devoted City about the middle of November.

This calamity probably originated in the crowded state of the troops in the garrison; and numbers were cut off by its virulence, before any efforts could be made to arrest its progress. Awful must have been the meeting within the walls of the City; of the gay and as yet bloodless pageantry of war, with the dark powers of the raging pestilence. Colston's energies, however, which had lately been so actively exerted in aiding the cause of the Monarch, were now as prompt to render succour to his subjects. He was still at his post in the vanguard of benevolence; and we find him associated with Col. Taylor, and his uncle, Col. Colston, in the office of preparing hospitals and in superintending the operations of the Board of Health, daily rendered more necessary by the increase of the malady. It would be superfluous in this place to trace the progress of the plague in the City; suffice it to state that the benevolence of Colston and his coadjutors, was unwearied during its continuance, and at length was rewarded by its cessation, at an earlier period than the extent of its ravages in other towns might have led them to anticipate.

All the efforts of the Bristol Royalists in favour of their ill-fated Monarch, proved unfortunately unavailing to retard the progress of a pestilence as fearful in its moral results, as the plague in its physical ravages. Every exertion was made which patriotism could suggest and valour and prudence adopt, but in vain. Treachery unwove all that virtue had wrought, and Bristol again fell into the hands of the rebel faction.

The zeal of Colston in the cause of his Royal Master had been too conspicuous, to allow the

Parliament to pass him over in silence. Even in his native City, envy of his numerous excellencies had greater weight over the minds of some of his fellow citizens, than gratitude for his services or admiration of his talents. He was now a marked man,—and those who perhaps had profited most by his disinterested virtues, endeavoured to make atonement for their own delinquencies to the Parliament, by pointing out as a proper object of its vengeance, him, whose noble consistency was once their safeguard, but now an obstacle in their path to preferment. An order of the Lords and Commons was signed on the 28th of October, 1645, dismissing him from his office as a member of the Corporation. This document, intended for his debasement, is in fact a striking testimony to his virtue. It represents him as untainted and active in promoting the views of his Monarch, and it further states that his retention of office was detrimental to the safety and welfare of the City. The committee of Parliament then sitting was to proceed to the investigation of his delinquencies, and “to return proofs on oath to the House, that they might proceed to farther judgment.” On the receipt of this order of Parliament, the Governor, Major-General Skippon, commanded the Mayor, Francis Creswicke, to summon a meeting of the Corporation, for December 19, 1645.

In the meantime, Colston was no doubt informed of his impending danger; but with him loyalty had ever been virtue, and not selfishness.

The murder of Yeamans and Boucher by the rebel Fiennes; the energetic steps which the Parliament were now beginning to take for the punishment of their vanquished opponents; and above all the desperate crisis of the Royalists' affairs, would have intimidated any mind less truly noble than that of Colston.

Skippon, to whom as we have before stated the Parliament had entrusted the government of Bristol, determined to arm his commission—already sufficiently terrible—with all the pomp and circumstances of his lately acquired supremacy. Perhaps he desired to awe other less resolute offenders into submission, before the commission of any overt act on their part. Arrayed in full military costume, he approached the Council House on the appointed day, in the midst of his armed guard, the roll of the drum and the piercing notes of the fife accompanying his progress.

Whatever Colston's anticipations may have been of the result, he was not absent from his seat on that day of trial. Wrapped in his scarlet robe, with all the tranquillity of conscious integrity,—he took his place in the Council Chamber, resolved, if the only one, to shew himself faithful to the last.

The thunders of the Parliamentary edicts were levelled against Creswicke, the Mayor, as well as against Colston and others. Creswicke was a man of high honour and integrity, and took his seat in the Council Chamber for the last time, as he might well have anticipated.

The order was commanded to be read by the Governor, directing that Creswicke should be

removed from his dignity as Mayor, and Colston from his office as Alderman. Another order bearing date the 1st of November, 1645, commanded that Richard Aldworth, Richard Vickris, and Luke Hodges, should be re-established in the places from which they had been dismissed by the Royalists. These men, on the previous surrender by the Parliamentary forces of the city to its legitimate Monarch, "had been," as the edict states, "displaced for their fidelity to the Parliament, and for adhering to the defence of their just cause." This, it proceeds to shew, "was contrary to justice, and the law of the land, unjust, unwarrantable, and unlawful." They were therefore to be reinstated in the government of the City, as they were at the beginning of this "*unnatural war*."

On the following day, Colston and Creswicke once more attended at the Council House, the latter delivering to John Gonning, as his successor, the sword of justice, the cap of maintenance, and the other insignia of office.

It is not to be supposed that such military proceedings as these against men of unblemished reputation,—both beloved, and one at least revered for his consistent integrity; could have been sanctioned by the consent of the citizens. But they were restrained from any further demonstration than that of silent indignation; by the dread of a power which they could not successfully oppose, and which had already taught them submission by stern acts of cruelty and vengeance. Had any violent opposition been offered to the accomplishment of his object, there is very little doubt that Skippon would have forestalled his master Cromwell, in an act of military tyranny, though performed on a minor scale; that he would have carried off the sword and other insignia of office, violently ejected the members of the Corporation from the Council Chamber, and taken the keys into his own possession.

That the rebel Governor was a favourite with Gonning and his colleagues, and that they were not ungrateful for his zealous co-operation, is evident from one fact, that at the first meeting of the Corporation subsequent to these events which took place in December, they voted Skippon a pipe of Canary and a tun of Gascoyne wine, "as a gratuity from the City, as a welcome to the same;" so they expressed it, but in reality as a *douceur* for his efforts on their behalf. That the envy of the enemies of Colston did not rest contented with his dismissal from office, is only too certain. That his death was not accomplished, he owed to their prudent policy, not to mercy or compunction.

Mercy appears to have slumbered during that horrible period of civil war, which called into existence all the most venomous passions of our nature. Bristol had been subjected to even more than average suffering, and it is hard to determine whether war or the plague had effected most mischief within her walls. Under both of these evils, it has been stated no less than three thousand perished.

Of the life of Colston, from the period of his dismissal from the Corporation until 1661, we can

obtain no certain information, with the exception of the loss of his daughter Martha, who died A. D. 1651, and was buried in the family vault in All Saints' Church.

However great may be the temporary triumph of vice in the community, nobler principles will sooner or later re-assert their legitimate sway. The time had now arrived when it should be proved to demonstration, that even those who differed in politics from Colston, were compelled either to dread or to revere his virtues. The restoration of Monarchy was at length accomplished, and the second Charles happily seated on the throne of his ancestors.

Those however, who during the period of the Commonwealth had usurped authority in Bristol, and who were all of course inimical to the change so providentially effected, still retained their power; and it was by this very party that Colston was unanimously invited to resume his seat in the Council as an Alderman. Perhaps a dread of certain disclosures, made those who had been the most active partizans of Cromwell, more solicitous in pressing their request on the acute and experienced Royalist. Be this as it may, in whatever light the request is regarded, it was an acknowledgment either of his integrity or of his talents, nor did Colston think it right to reject this tardy tribute to his merit. Tardy indeed was the tribute, for in a few days they were themselves compelled to resign their ill-acquired stations, and to give place to those who had been driven from their legitimate authority.

Little remains to be recorded of the life of William Colston. Were this a work of imagination, the stirring and changing scenes of the era in which he flourished, would furnish ample matter of interest, but it is better to leave much untold, than to throw discredit on ascertained facts by fancy sketches.

Let us picture to ourselves the green old age of a man who, surrounded by temptations and trials, had held his integrity unpolluted, his honour untarnished; dwelling in the midst of those to whom his word was law, loved and honoured by children emulative of his excellencies, themselves already equally loved and honoured. One or two incidents however, alluded to in the archives of the City should not be passed without notice.

His commercial pursuits followed with strict integrity and honest industry, appear to have been generally successful; but in the latter part of 1657, he sustained a heavy loss in the capture of a vessel by the Spaniards, called the *Society of Bristol*, and commanded by William Hale. The greater part of the freight consisting of wine and oil, was the property of Colston. She was on her homeward voyage from Marcella in Provence, and was taken into Alicant, where her cargo was sold. Previous however to this trial, he had arrived at that period of life when the City was to be deprived of the services of an active Magistrate, and the King of a most loyal subject. Deafness, with other infirmities incident to old age, had now taken possession of his frame. He would only hold office while he felt that his faculties were equal for the discharge of its duties. In 1660,

he was one of several who by their signatures, bore honourable testimony to the bravery and loyalty of a Mr. Richard Ellsworth, who had been a great sufferer in the City during the rebellion.

He had nobly performed his duties through an arduous life, and now sought retirement to prepare for death. His intention was notified to the Corporation June the 7th, 1664, when he bade adieu for ever to the great theatre of public life. What memories must in that hour have crowded on his mind. A rebel faction,—at first like the cloud of Elijah, “no larger than a man’s hand,” growing into a tempest of desolation. A city beleaguered without by civil enemies, and gnawed and tortured by discord and pestilence within. A beloved Monarch who had feasted at his table, imprisoned, spat on, and led to the scaffold and slain. The ambitious Cromwell now wielding the sceptre of England,—now stretched beneath his funeral pall. The joy of a ransomed nation,—the glad shouts which welcomed the day of the restoration succeeding to the gloom of past years,—his parents, his wife, his children,—and in the unseen future a glorious crown won for him by the merits of his Redeemer. Such doubtless were the recollections and thoughts of the old man in the still calm hours of his declining days.

From the period of his resignation of office till his death, William Colston lived in perfect retirement. With Seneca he could now say, “I have lived as long as I ought to live, and full of years, await my death,” and like a satiated guest at a banquet, he prepared for his departure. Nor was it delayed for many years. He expired the 21st of November, 1681, aged 73, leaving behind him an unblemished character in every situation of life, and a son whose virtues were already peacefully wreathing fresh laurels around the name of Colston.

Besides other benefactions to his native City, he left £100, the interest thereof to be given annually to six poor householders of the parish of All Saints. To the poor of Temple he left £50, the profits to be weekly distributed in bread; and to the poor of St. Peter’s parish he left the interest of £10, to be annually distributed to two poor housekeepers. He desired to be buried in All Saints’ Church with the rest of his ancestors, at the discretion of his executor.

EDWARD COLSTON, HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Birth of Colston—Temple Church—Christening—General features of the City—Old Bristol Bridge—Condition of the Streets—The Christening Party—Colston's Childhood—Obscurity of his early years—Prolonged research amongst the City Muniments—The Tradition of Colston and his Brothers considered with reference to recorded facts.

IN laying before our readers the biography of our distinguished Philanthropist, EDWARD COLSTON, we cannot promise any incidents of an engrossing or exciting nature. It will be found a simple narrative of the life of one whom all humanity must delight to honour; of one, whose name should be as widely disseminated as was the spirit of his charity. It is not therefore without regret, that we plead the penury of private history, for the absence of those intimate and individual details which would serve to command attention, and to vary the monotonous tenour of our subject.

Edward Colston's life, truly noble and honourable as it was, had been left without a record, but for the notices of his charitable acts which gladden the pages of our calendars—by these alone can we trace his footsteps,—and these alone are the uninterrupted series which form the thread of our biography.

Abounding in wealth, but uninfluenced by the desire for aggrandizement; calmly and steadily he pursued his course of almost unexampled benevolence. Religiously and hopefully as a servant of the Most High, he performed the duties of his probationship; and seldom raised his voice in supplication, but to appeal for the poor and helpless,—or stretched forth his hand but to relieve and save. The ardent votary of science, swelling with the hopes of fame—the warrior, thirsting for renown—the pale student, wasting over the page of thought,—do not more indomitably persevere for the attainment of their object; than did Colston for the furtherance of his exalted and unselfish purpose:—the giving to youth, instruction and support; to age, an asylum and a refuge;

and being to the wretched and weary laden, a benefactor and a friend. He knew and felt that a heavy responsibility was his; and his highest ambition was to render himself worthy of his stewardship—his greatest reward the consciousness of having endeavoured to fulfil his duty. Little did he deem that Bristol's citizens would by their annual assemblies bear testimony to his worth,—and show their veneration for his character by seeking to emulate his virtues. Little did he deem that those who then stood foremost in the pride of place and power, would have sunk into comparative oblivion, while his unobtrusive and familiar acts would claim an universal sympathy. Little did he deem that while relieving, comforting, and assuaging, he was securing a terrestrial fame;—not decaying, but strengthening with the lapse of Time,—not wasting,—but increasing beneath its silent power. The light of his example not dimmed and darkened by its flight,—but irradiating into a glorious and ever diffusing brightness, animating the heart of the young and unprotected, and cheering the path of aged helpless poverty unto the grave.

There is an instinctive curiosity in the minds of most persons, which disposes them to feel an interest in the birthplace of all memorable characters; and we are well pleased at being enabled to satisfy that curiosity, by pointing to the locality, and indicating the precise spot of Colston's nativity.

We learn from unquestionable authority that when this event occurred, the mother of Colston was on a visit to a friend, who resided in Temple Street, immediately opposite Dr. White's Hospital.¹ The hand of innovation has removed the dwelling connected with so important an incident to the City, and a warehouse has been erected on its site. Like the domestic architecture of the previous century, of which some contiguous characteristic examples remain; it had an overhanging, or projecting gabled front of timber and ornamented plaster-work united, supported by clumsy wooden pillars. A long range of windows extended throughout; and at the entrance was a picturesque porch, with a small latticed room over it. In a chamber adjoining this room, was Colston born, on November 2nd, 1636.

The first recorded notice we have of the existence of our great Philanthropist is that of his christening, entered in the registry of Temple parish within a few days after his birth. In our youth we have curiously surveyed with

¹ Probably at her father's, Edward Batten, the Counsellor.

something of wondering interest Temple's leaning tower; and in after years with graver thoughts and purpose; have entered within the sacred fabric, and admired its light and graceful architecture. And from our solemn duties our minds may have wandered to the olden time, when the endowments of the Templars contributed to its foundation, and their rule was established within its precincts. But since we have known its association with the admission of Colston into the spiritual faith of that Church of which he became so earnest, warm, and resolute a champion, we have felt a higher veneration for the edifice;—and all the shadowy grandeur of its past magnificence, all the pomp of its militant priesthood, fade before one sweet and quiet record, which the parish register thus sets forth:—

“1636, November 8th, *Edward, son of William Colston, was christened.*”

It was this entry that induced us to re-visit the church and seek the font to which Colston had been carried, and where his sponsors had taken their solemn obligation, generally so lightly spoken, and so little regarded. The olden relic of the faith of centuries, with its holy associations, its Christian memories, had disappeared. It had been cast aside in the year 1701, when the church underwent considerable repair. Around it had many generations knelt, with blended hopes of heaven and of earth; and pure, and good, and bounteous may have been the harvest from the seed there sown. It had moreover, a peculiar interest, from its having been connected with the baptism of Colston. But neither this, nor its hallowed uses, could protect it from the daring hand of fashion or caprice. It had been discarded as worthless, and it was gone!

Very different was the aspect of the old City at the period when we commence our narrative from that which we now behold it, and some of its more remarkable features press on our attention. Its ancient Castle, though in many places falling to ruin, was not then destroyed; and the colossal Keep, massive towers, and sullen fortresses, loomed in frowning dignity and strength, seeming impregnable fastnesses to the attacks of man and Time. The City was also surrounded by an embattled wall, in which were fourteen gates.¹ Of

¹ 1. Baldwin's, afterwards Leonard's gate, “and a paroche church over it.”

2. St. Nicholas' gate, “where is a church cum cryptis.”

3. Newgate (“as methynkyethe) is in the utar waulle by the castle, and a chapelle over itte: itte is the pryson of the city.” Removed in 1762.

these the archway of the tower of St. John's Church, wherein may still be observed the channel in which the portcullis used to traverse, alone remains; recalling the warlike and troublous times when it was essential for the defence and security of the City. At this period it formed part of the regular fortifications. Conspicuous from its dimensions was the "Great Tower" (more than thirty yards in circumference) that stood on the Quay, in the open space of ground opposite the present drawbridge. William Wyrcestre accounts it to have been built by John Vielle, for he also describes it as the mansion house of his descendant, Henry Vielle.¹

Time had not then dispersed the ruins of the dissolved religious fabrics, that had in their meridian of luxurious splendour and priestly dominion, imparted so peculiarly an ecclesiastical character to the City. These melancholy, crumbling witnesses of the rapacity and injustice of the eighth Henry, met the eye in every direction; and there was no quarter of the City but retained decaying monuments of the prostrate power that had been subdued, and temporarily crushed beneath the advancing progress and purer doctrine of the reformed Church. There were the dismantled walls of the nunnery of St. Magdalene, on St. Michael's Hill; of the Gaunt's Hospital,² on the Green of St. Augustine;

4. Froom, on the water gate, removed in 1694 with the house over it.

5. Pithay, or Aylward's gate. Demolished in 1764.

6. Defence gate in Dolphin Street.

7. Tower gate.

8. St. John's gate, "a churche on eche syde of it; St. John's Churche, it is harde on the north side of it, and there be Cryptæ."

9. St. Giles' gate "be the south-west of the Key, where Frome reunitts."

10. Sally-port of the castle.

11. Godfrey's Lodge.

12. Marsh gate.

13. Redcliff gate, rebuilt in 1730, removed in 1772.

14. Temple gate. An engraving of this gate, from a drawing by Bird, is in Corry's History of Bristol, Vol. I.—BARRETT's *History of Bristol*, 55. LELAND.

¹ It was not removed till the year 1772, when several houses in the immediate neighbourhood were taken down to make way for the formation of Clare Street.

² The boundary of this hospital, is still indicated by a niche in the angle of the corner house of Pipe Lane, and Frog Lane, or Frogmore Street, with (over it) the remains of a winged lion carved in stone, and part of a similar emblem against the western corner house of St. Mark's Lane, on St. Augustine's Back. Queen Elizabeth's Hospital was erected upon its site, and Unity Street and Orchard Street are erected upon the orchard of the Gaunt's Hospital.—EVANS's *Chronological Outline*.

the White Friars, on St. Augustine's Back near the Quay; the Grey Friars House, in Lewin's Mead; the Black Friars, on the Weir; the Augustine Friars, near Temple Gate; and the Knights' Hospitallers, near Redcliff Gate;¹ St. Clement's Chapel, on the Marsh; the Virgin Mary's Chapel, on the Bridge; and numerous other smaller religious houses, which had been deprived of their privileges and plundered of their endowments, by an arbitrary and unprincipled despot; and their inmates cast without provision on a world of whose ways they were ignorant, and to whom its devious paths were all unknown.

In addition to the ancient churches that still proclaim the piety of our forefathers, there were other attestations of their devotedness to God's service; whose consecrated uses have long ceased, and some whose sacred walls have long been overthrown. Of these latter we may only stay in our general description to name St. Ewen's, built on the site whereon the Council House now stands; St. Lawrence, in Bell Lane, near St. John's Church; and St. Leonard's, at the bottom of Corn Street, adjoining the wall of the old City.

Another pleasing architectural feature that the streets and public places then presented, was beheld in the stone crosses that at every open space symbolled the faith of the citizens—and their desire to give it a visible expression in works of beauty and durability. With the High Cross, then in the centre of the four streets, High Street, Broad Street, Wine Street, and Corn Street, we are familiar from the model recently erected in College Green. Not so with Stallage Cross, then standing at the beginning of Temple Street, in the open space before the picturesque and tottering old house known as the "Fourteen Stars." Neither can we trace any thing of the Red Cross, on the south side of the Old Market; or St. James' Cross, in St. James' Church-yard; or Christmas Cross, at the end of Christmas Street;² or St. Augustine's, near the Cathedral; or St. Peter's, midway between St. Peter and St. Mary-le-port Streets; beside others whose names, like the foregoing, are writ in record. But excepting the High Cross and St. Peter's,

¹ "This yeare (1446) K. Henry (6th) came first to Bristol, and made his residence neere Redcliff Churche: which house, as some say, he bestowed on Knights' Hospitallers, being that on which lately (1669) stood a crucifix, and neere to Redcliff Gate."—*MS. Cal.*, EVANS.

² Upon the summit of St. Michael's Hill, called Stype Street, there was a cross of stone, which surmounted a covered well for public accommodation.—*Ibid.*

whose original structures still adorn the grounds at Stourhead, they have no other memory.¹

If we turn to the public buildings, whether municipal or commercial, that once embellished the City, we shall be impressed again with the mutability of all man's works—the ephemeral nature of his most vaunted achievements. There is not a structure that has not been rebuilt or changed its form. The Tolzey, with its long arcades, is gone,—and a Council House that succeeded it, has been replaced by another. The old Guildhall, whose foundation is lost in the mists of antiquity, has shared the common lot;—and the Halls belonging to the Trading Companies, of which mention is made in our records, how few of them remain! And what know we now of the Conduits? some, as William Wyrcestre describes, with “a very fair castellette.” Many of our readers may call to remembrance St. John's, near the church, there is a drawing of it in “Prout's Antiquities,” but of the others, the Quay Pipe, All Hallows, St. Nicholas', and Redcliff, we see and know nothing of the quaint morsels of picturesque architecture with which they were adorned.

We have yet to notice the most grateful and pleasing objects to the Christian mind, that evinced not alone the increased and increasing prosperity of the City; but also the high consciousness of duty which animated the hearts, and influenced the actions of its fortunate citizens. These were, and are beheld in the simple structures raised and endowed by charitable and opulent merchants, for the refuge and support of the unfortunate and forsaken, the needy and the aged. Not length of years, nor chance, nor change of faith and rule, have stayed the will of their founders. Their benevolence may not have all flowed in the channel as they devised,—but how far through factious discords and revolutions dire their testimonies have been held sacred, is shown in their good works around us that preserve their memories.

In point of antiquity we may commence with Simon Burton's Almshouses, in Long Row. These were followed by Richard Spicer's Hospital, within Temple Gate; by John Barstable's, in the Old Market; by William Canynge's Almshouse; by Robert Strange's, in St. John's parish; by William Spencer's, in Lewin's Mead; by John Foster's, on St. Michael's Hill;

¹ St. Peter's may be described as a hexagonal building, having six arches, over each of which is a semicircular niche, containing a rudely sculptured figure.

the Weavers', and Dr. White's Hospitals, in Temple Street; and the Merchants' Almshouses, in King Street. More remain, which our limits forbid us to note. The liberality and munificence of the past age are also revealed to us in the public schools; whose establishments shine with so proud a blazonry on the shield of our City's fame, and whose existence exalts the character of the Bristol merchants, to whom we are indebted for their foundation and support. Of these we may briefly name the Free Grammar School, founded by the Thorns, held at St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, founded by John Carr, in College Green; and the "Red Maid" School, founded by the learned and pious Alderman Whitson, near the Church of St. Mark.

The merchants' residences, were at this time in the heart of the City, and evidences exist of their magnificence to this day, though in too many cases turned into counting-houses and warehouses. Some have distinguished entrances, with pillars and canopies that with great care and costliness have been wrought. Some have ample wainscoted rooms of stately aspect, with high chimney pieces, on which have been lavished the most elaborate carving. Some have grand staircases, with noble balustrades and sculptured monsters resting on the pillars at the landing places. Some have the floors of polished oak, or tessalated with varied woods of costly price. Some have decorated ceilings, with scrolls and pendants, and massy cornices, enriched with the fantastic quarterings of heraldry. Some derive dignity from interesting historical recollections, and some impart melancholy from their silent, moral teaching,—the passing away of all worldly glories! The specimens to which we are about to refer illustrate, in many of their characteristics the magnificent domestic architecture of our Merchant Princes during the reigns of Elizabeth and the first James. We may suppose the fortunes of the houses about to be named, at this time to have reached their meridian. There were Sir John Young's, Red Lodge,¹ on St. Michael's Hill, and his lower house on St. Augustine's Back; Alderman John Langton's,² on the Quay; Robert

¹ In 1579, the Corporation conveyed to Sir John Young "all that lodge, dove house, garden, and orchard, late in the occupation of Nicholas Thorn, gentleman, situate upon St. Michael's Hill."—*City Records*. Sir John built the noble dwelling now known as the Red Lodge shortly after; and about the same time he built his lower house on St. Augustine's Back, since so famed as Colston's School.

² The monogram J. L. 1623, is on a shield in a room adjoining the state apartment in this

Aldworth's, in St. Peter's Churchyard; Alderman Whitson's, in St. Nicholas Street; Aldermen Creswick's and Holworthy's, in Small Street; and others, that will come before the reader as we advance. But the most noted mansion was one of which we regret to write in the past tense: it was designated the "Great House at the Bridge End," and was inhabited by Lady Rogers, whose husband was Mayor in 1621. We may picture it with projecting casemented windows, pointed roofs and gables, fretted with copings and crowned with finials of carved stone,—with innumerable twisted battlemented chimneys of red brick, and a lofty belfry rising in the centre of the roof, terminating in a gilded vane. Such has it been described. "By reason of its vastness," it was made the theatre of great banquetings and great public transactions. It has long since, with other ancient mansions, given place to the necessary improvements of an increasing City, and the place thereof knows it no more.

Many of the principal inns that flourished at this period are still distinguished by the same signs that attracted the traveller or the bousing citizen to their "good entertainment" more than two centuries ago. The White Lion, and White Hart, in Broad Street; the Swan, in Mary-le-port Street; the Red Lion, in Redcliff Street; the Griffin, on St. Michael's Hill; the Bell, the White Lion, and the Three Kings, in Thomas Street; and the Saracen's Head, without Temple Gate, were all familiar names to the inhabitants of Bristol at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and probably to their fathers before them. The White Lion can be traced, on the reality of documentary evidence, to a very early period. Beside the familiar inns we have named, as then flourishing, there were others of equal importance whose names in their locality have become extinct. The Three Tuns Tavern, in Corn Street, which we shall hereafter find kept by a bigoted Alderman, was the most noted. The Company of Inn Holders had their Hall in Broad Street, near the Tennis Court Yard.

The approach to the City from Temple parish was through Tucker Street, (Bath Street not having then been formed) to the picturesque old Bridge,

house. The door to this apartment is a costly work of art. In the centre is a delicately carved figure of Justice, beneath it the initials "J. L., 1628;" the year of Langton's mayoralty. The pillars, which support an elaborately carved canopy, are beautifully inlaid with mother of pearl and ivory. The chimney piece, as also the one at the Red Lodge, is a magnificent specimen.

constituting from its overhanging wooden houses, on either side, a dark, narrow, and confined thoroughfare. The river was unseen, but the roar of the tide, as it rushed through the narrow arches, rendered the pedestrian conscious of its vicinity. The Bridge was of necessity a crowded thoroughfare, and therefore as a place of trade was very valuable. Many of the wealthiest tradesmen lived there, and had made ample fortunes. It is said that in this respect they were materially assisted by the situation of the back part of the houses, the windows of which, projecting over the river, were peculiarly adapted to the carrying on a contraband trade, much to the advantage and profit of their inhabitants. More than one member of the Corporation, occupying prominent places in the Council, resided here. In the centre of the Bridge was an arched gateway, with a groined roof, under which carriages could pass; and over the gateway was a chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was lit on each side by three large mullioned windows, and at the east end was a "faire ladye chapel," with a high eastern window, enriched with stained glass. A square tower of four stages, stood immediately over the gateway;¹ and must have presented a conspicuous object in the view from the opposite streets of St. Thomas on the south side, and High Street on the north side of the river; and a still more important feature in looking up or down the course of the Avon. In the passage under the chapel was a gate or door on each side, one opening into a large vaulted apartment or "lofty chamber of stone, of good workmanship," where the Mayor and Aldermen used to assemble before the erection of the Tolzey. It had also been used as a banqueting room.²

From the tower, the music of the evening chimes borne on the passing breeze would fall sweetly on the ear of the returning mariner; and from within the sacred walls would swell the solemn strain ascending to the skies, as from a Tabernacle built upon the face of the waters. The outline of the

¹ William Wyrcestre describes the tower as 120 feet in height, and the chapel as from 70 to 80 feet in length, and 20 or 24 wide. An additional pier was built up from the river to support the eastern part, the bridge itself being but 50 feet in width. The chapel was consecrated in 1361. At the dissolution of religious houses it had been converted to secular purposes, and was now rented as a warehouse.

² Barrett.

houses, in their irregular and playful variety, their projecting gables, quaintly ornamented barge-boards, grotesque spurs, and rude buttresses, jumbled together in tottering insecurity, with the effective shadows of the deep arches, and projecting timbers, overhanging the darkened waters that rushed and roared beneath them; the combination of sight and sound must have composed a scene of picturesque and romantic interest, adapted alike for the pen of the novelist, or the pencil of the artist.

On the north side of the bridge the road passed under the arch of St. Nicholas' gateway, upon which the chancel of the church stood, and continued up High Street with a very great ascent.¹ On the top, at the centre of the four streets, stood the High Cross, painted and gilded with great show, and ornamented with statues of Royal benefactors to the City. Contiguous was old Christ Church with its "quarter boys"² and tapering spire—the tower and church of St. Ewens—the Tolzey with its long arcades, and the church of All Hallows, or All Saints, with "a fair castellet" before it. At the bottom of Corn Street was the church of St. Leonard, erected over an arched gateway, called Blind Gate, joining the old City wall. Clare Street was not then planned, and the way to St. Augustine's Back was over the Stone Bridge at the end of Small Street. The Bishop's Park on which College Street is built, was open ground. Houses had not yet intruded on the base of Brandon Hill, and where now Park Street, Great George Street, and Berkeley Square are seen, was a piece of pasture land, called Bullocks' Park. The only way into the City from Durdham Down was by the precipitous descent of St. Michael's Hill and Stype Street. Kingsdown Hill presented

¹ The shambles continued the line of St. Nicholas' Street, and rendered the locality close and dark. On taking them down to erect the north side of Bridge Street, about the year 1750, large Gothic arched cellars, running back almost into St. Mary-Port churchyard, were discovered, used formerly for the reception of merchandize. Before the existence of the shambles, there were great houses close to the river; and the street, from its being a great deposit of wealth, under the residence of its owners, was called Worship Street.—EVANS.

² They were similar to those which might have been seen until lately at St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street, London; and were placed under a circular canopy on each side of the face of the clock; they were partly habited in armour with brass helmets, and each grasped a battle-axe, with which they struck the bells suspended over them. It would appear that they were coloured and gilded at different periods with great care, according to the taste of the age.—*Churches of Bristol*, 102.

only a verdant surface with irregular paths, hedge-rows, and trees. Milk Street was not built, and the ground was then occupied with orchards and gardens. Beyond, where Newfoundland Street now extends, was a wild and marshy tract of waste land, where, solitary and shunned, afar from any abode, stood an isolated pest-house.

The streets in the most ancient quarters of the City, were crooked, narrow, and dark, and rendered gloomy by the projecting upper stories of the houses. These were mostly built of wood and plaster, called by antiquaries "calimanco houses," and were irregularly jumbled together without regard to uniformity, or anything else, but making the most of a confined space. The lower stories of those intended for shops had open arcades of stone or timber. Mary-le-port Street and the Pithay still retain much of their original character, and may be adduced as examples. There were no pavements, and the open sewers into which all refuse was thrown, gave encouragement to the spread of the devouring pestilence which so frequently visited the City, that its inhabitants were either mourning its ravages or dreading its return. Neither had any means of lighting the City been considered, and it was not for many years from this period, that a humble attempt was made to obviate this inconvenience.

Such as we have endeavoured to describe, we may suppose to have been the leading features and general character of the City, when early in December, 1636, at a noble mansion in Small Street;¹ the residence of William Colston, we may imagine a family gathering, consisting of his nearest relatives and friends, assembled to celebrate the christening of his first born, the infant Edward. The party may be supposed to have consisted of Counsellor Batten and his wife, the grandfather and grandmother of the babe; his aunt, Martha Colston; his uncle, Thomas Colston and his wife; his aunt, on the mother's side, Ann Dolling, alias Tupwell, and her husband; Colonels Colston and Taylor, and their wives; Thomas Standfast and his wife; Elizabeth, a kinswoman, whose maiden name was Colston; William Hobson, and his wife Margaret, a daughter of William Colston, the elder; the Rev. Richard Standfast; and the Rev. Richard Knight.

Mr. Edgar, pewterer, Temple Street, has in his possession a table cloth that was used by the Colston family at the dinner given on this occasion. And,

¹ Now the Bristol Mirror Printing Office.

for these facts invest this dinner party with an interest not entirely fictitious,—Mr. Millar, late of Park Street, had till recently sixteen dessert plates, besides four large circular dessert dishes, bearing the Colston arms, that more than probable were brought into use at this family gathering. Their history is somewhat curious. They were purchased by an old lady, together with a quantity of plate on which the Colston arms were engraved, at a sale by auction that occurred on the decease of the last member of a branch of the Colston family, who had resided to a venerable age in the identical house in which we have now left the christening party. The purchaser was so great an admirer of Colston, that she collected every object she could find associated with his memory; accordingly the plate and the dessert service were exhibited with the greatest veneration, and displayed on a buffet of equal antiquity. But a change of circumstances occurred. The old lady's usual resources failed,—and she was reduced to the painful necessity of parting with her venerated treasures. The plate went first,—the dessert service was next disposed of, and thus the cherished collection was dispersed.

To return to the christening party. When we consider we are writing of a circumstance that occurred upwards of two centuries since, the relics connected therewith, assume a powerful influence upon the imagination. Their reality transports the mind to the time, the place, and the company; and in dreamy outline before our mental vision, the guests in silence pass, and noiseless take their places at the festive board. Little did that loyal company anticipate that a rebellious faction was fast increasing, whose advent to power would be followed by the remorseless murder of two loyal citizens upon the gloomy scaffold,—from which their host himself would so narrowly escape.—Little could they suppose that there was one then present, a distinguished and honoured citizen, who with his life's blood would seal his attachment to his Royal master; and another,—a steadfast and earnest champion of the Church, on whose reverend head years of imprisonment and persecution would descend.—Could the respected master of that house foresee that the cold stern Puritans who opposed him in the Council Chamber, would eventually shake and overthrow a dynasty, that for seven centuries had been implanted in the soil?—concluding their unnatural rebellion, and staining their names with an undying infamy, by the monstrous regicidal act that darkened all that was bright in Cromwell's usurpation? The signs of the times were ominous, and it

may have been with sad forebodings that Colston heard the muttering and the growling of the approaching storm. But there was one thing he could not foresee, nor in the wildest stretch of his imagination have conceived. He could not have foreseen, that after two centuries had passed, and in all coming Time, the respectable citizens of Bristol would assemble, as for years and years they have done, on the birth day of the infant whose enrollment as a servant of Christ was that day celebrated. That on that anniversary strangers from afar would hither come, and unite with all classes and shades of politics, to perpetuate his pious memory, by imitating though at a humble distance his great example. He could not have foreseen that the child he then caressed would become a staunch supporter and advocate for the Church of England in its primitive simplicity and holy purity; and that drawn by a divine sympathy to the weak and afflicted, he would confer a permanent benefit on the City of his birth, that would never cease to flow or be forgotten, while earthly institutions should endure!

We next find the infant at Winterbourn, where he was placed out to nurse. This we learn from the questionable authority of a brief biography *hawked* about the streets at the time of Colston's decease. The information is in some measure corroborated by the fact of Colston's father having an estate at Winterbourn. It was not there, however, that he was grounded in those principles that directed him to humanely follow in the footsteps of his Divine exemplar, and approach as nearly as the frailty of man will permit, in piety, holiness of life, and good works, to the sublimity of all earthly characters, the faithful Christian. Here for a time all trace of our Philanthropist is lost. He himself informs us that he was educated and passed the greatest part of his days in London. There is no other trace,—no memory upon the page of passed things,—no hint of his probation,—no token of the early promptings of his heart,—neither word nor sign bearing testimony of his young days,—but we come upon him and his glorious deeds at once, when in the vigour of his years, when in the fulness of his prosperity!

But it is not so strange as at first sight may appear, that there should be no records of the life of Bristol's great Philanthropist. There were, when he lived, no "Gentleman's Magazine," nor "Annual Register," to preserve the memory of those who deserved distinction in the world's crowded thoroughfare; and many good and excellent performed their pilgrimage, and left no note of

praise. Besides, the labours of the biographer were more usually devoted to swell the fame of those who triumphed midst the "pomp and circumstance" of war, and whose names were exalted as victors of the ensanguined field; or to those, eminent in science and in art, who impart power and greatness unto nations, and teach, refine, and elevate mankind. But for the quiet, unostentatious course of one, who, however sublime his projects and his acts, the sunlight of whose bounty can shine only on some favoured localities; silent and unnoticed, he travels meek and humbly through duty's rugged path; and it is only when he is called from the calm world in which he worked—it is only when the spirit of the Philanthropist has passed into its rest—that the extent of his benevolence is found. It is only when life is stilled, and the tongue is mute that could have revealed to awakened curiosity its secrets, that we learn the warmth of his love, laud his goodness, deplore his loss, and vainly seek some faithful record of his days.

It was with solicitous and excited feelings, that we commenced our researches amongst the archives of our City, in the faint hope of obtaining some information on the subject of our memoir. We wished to place before our fellow-citizens such substantial evidence of Colston's public acts of benevolence as our records might furnish, to compensate somewhat for the paucity of incident in his private life. And it was with a wearied brow and a desponding spirit, that we long fruitlessly turned over the yellow page that told of the doings of the past, and of the many whose names but lived in the closed tomes of the Muniment Room. Regardless of the solemn warnings of the passing hours, that from the neighbouring tower fell distinct and audible on the hushed ear of night, with earnest scrutiny we travelled over the lamp-lit page; and a vague and superstitious fear, born of the chill and silence would steal over us, as the quaintly formed characters and tortuous sentences of the old Time, repeated year after year their mournful moral, of the vicissitudes of life, of the mutation that awaits the temporal objects of all human care. The dusty records, grim with "the rime of age," were silent, voiceless. Time, which had hallowed the memory of our Philanthropist, had obscured the traces of his footprints, and our efforts to rescue from oblivion the actions of his early years, had been in vain. And when at length, like the sight of the sacred shrine to the jaded pilgrim, the long sought name of Colston repaid our anxious toil, it was to learn that not here, where we first

noticed the child, do we find the man. It was to learn that not here in his native City had been the mart of his commercial enterprize; not here, had his colossal fortune been obtained; not here, after the lapse of many years, do we first meet with him, and on the truth of documentary evidence introduce him to the reader.

Barrett asserts, and Chalmers repeats, that Colston was sent as a Factor to Spain; and the latter adds, on traditional authority, that two of his brothers died there, the victims of assassination.¹ The monument erected by Colston, in All Saints' Church, "To the dear memory of his father," and his mother, their two daughters, and four sons, William, Thomas, Robert, and William, says, "they were all natives and inhabitants of this city." We have unquestionable evidence, from the father's will, that three of Colston's brothers were alive in 1676, and are mentioned by name, Robert, Thomas, and Richard. It will be seen that the name of Richard does not appear on the memorial, neither is that of William mentioned in the will. This, in the case of William, is to be accounted for, as one of that name died in childhood, the other in 1675, they were both buried in All Saints'. Richard was still living, or he would have been included in the memorial. Thomas, who was a member of the Corporation, died 1686, and was buried in All Saints'. Robert was a soap boiler; he died in 1688, and left money for prayers to be read in All Saints', where he was also buried. Of Richard we know nothing more than that he was left by his father £1000. There is therefore conclusive evidence that four of Colston's brothers sleep with their fathers, in the ancestral sepulchre at All Saints'. Over the fifth there hangs a mystery. We confess our inability to trace him after 1702, and therefore in the absence of confirmatory information, of a more domestic end, must surrender him to the dagger of the Spanish assassin.

It will be considered that there must have been some foundation that led Barrett and others to associate Colston with Spain. This we admit, on the assumption that his uncle, Mr. Humphrey Colston, who was Consul there, may have been mistaken by writers not too curious in their investigations, as one and the same individual with our Philanthropist. The only notice we have of this Mr. Humphrey, is contained in an order from the

¹ See Page 5, Memoir of William Colston.

Privy Council, given at Whitehall, the 12th of April, 1680, as follows:—
“His Majesty at this Board being this day informed by a letter from Mr. Humphrey Coulston, Consull at Malaga, dated the 23rd of April last, new style, that the said place was visited with the pestilence, was thereupon pleased to order in Council that all imaginable care be taken that all ships that have been loaded or touched at Malaga since the breaking out of the plague there, be strictly examined.” Such is the commencement of this order in Council; we spare our readers the remainder, which contains the usual directions to lay an embargo on all ships, “under any just suspicion of being infected.”

While we may suppose Colston engaged in the active pursuits of commerce,—a supposition grounded on our knowledge of his subsequent life;—we will travel over the incidents of the times illustrative of the moral, political, and social condition, manners, and customs of our city, from the faithful registers of those troublous and eventful years we investigated in our protracted research.

CHAPTER II.

Introduction—Effects of Charles's Impositions on the City—Ascendancy of the Puritans—Ship Money—Soap Monopoly—Leaders of the Loyalists and Puritans—Precautions against the Plague—Mysterious and unsatisfactory Records—Sympathy with the Scotch Covenanters—Cromwell about to leave the Country—Scarcity of Food—Merchants proceed to London, to obtain redress of their grievances—Letter from Charles to the Corporation, proposing Ralph Farmer as Chamberlain; proceedings thereupon—Ancient Custom of the Corporation—Two hundred Men pressed to go against the Scots—The Plague in Bristol; Houses shut up—Cannon sent to Marlborough against the King—Densil Hollis appointed by the Parliament Lieutenant of the Militia—Visit of the Marquis of Hertford—House appointed for his reception—The Mayor's Refusal to admit the King's Troops into the City—Repairing the Fortifications—Money expended in Arms and Provisions—Mutual Association for the Defence of the King—Importance of Bristol—Correspondence of the Mayor and Aldermen and Col. Sir Alexander Popham—Approach of Col. Essex to the City—Admission of the Parliamentary Troops—Oppressions of the Royalists—Gloomy Christmas.

THOUGH all was peaceful at the time of Colston's birth, yet there were gathering clouds that chequered the political horizon, with dark indications of approaching troubles. Eventful indeed were the years during which he lived, and rife with fearful interest. He witnessed the dethronement and violent death of one Sovereign,—the compulsory abdication of another,—and two fierce struggles of a mixed political and polemical nature, in several civil sanguinary conflicts. The history of the sequence of events that are crowded into that period, is far too wide a field for the biographer to enter upon; otherwise, than by the introduction of certain passages culled from our records, which bear upon the affairs of our locality, and are important as an elucidation of those proceedings in which Bristol bore so conspicuous a part.

Our Corporation, who were composed of the leading merchants and manufacturers, were for the most part Royalists; but there was an increasing Puritanical faction amongst them, for whose advance the times were favourable. It will somewhat shew the position of parties, if we individually name the Aldermen and members of the Common Council, as set down in the report

of a meeting held on November 10th, 1636.¹ For this purpose, we have indicated as nearly as inference will permit, their political bias, which it must be acknowledged is in the majority of cases somewhat ambiguous; their opinions fluctuating in accordance with the vicissitudes of the times. But we will take the opinion of an observer, though a writer on the Parliament's side, as to the social position of the "well affected" and the "malignant." "The King's cause and party were favoured by two extremes in that City," [Bristol]; "the one, the wealthy and powerful men; the other, of the basest and lowest sort; but disgusted by the middle rank, the true and best citizens. In that city many of the rich men were disaffected to the reformed religion, and some more powerful were conscious of delinquency; others upbraided themselves with their own public disgrace, and therefore, did much disturb the ways of the Parliament: and the needy multitude, beside their mutual hatred of good order, were at the devotion of the rich men."²

¹ " *Convocatio Domus consilii decimo die Novembris, 1636.*

Richard Long, Mayor,* ^a	John Tomlinson, Alderman,†	
Abel Kitchin, Alderman,*	Henry Yate, Alderman,†	
George Harrington, Alderman,*	Andrew Charlton, Alderman,†	
Christopher Whitson, Alderman	Richard Holworthy, Alderman,†	
John Goning, Alderman,*	Richard Vickris,	
John Langton, Alderman,*	Thomas Woodward, } Sheriffs.†	
Humphrey Hooke, Alderman,*		
William Lissett,	Francis Creswicke,*	Thomas Hooke,*
William Jones,†	Giles Elbridge,*	William Cann,†
Ezekiel Wallis,*	Thomas Colston,*	William Hobson,*
George Knight,*	Gabriel Sherman,*	Edward Peters,
John Tailer,*	John Goning,*	^b Abraham Edwardes,†
John Locke,*	Miles Jackson,†	William Wyatt,*
Walter Ellis,†	William Fitzherbert,*	Luke Hodges,†
Richard Pley,	Robert Elliatts,	George Hellier,†
Richard Aldworth,†	Thomas Lloyd,†	Matthew Warren,†
Alexander James,*	John Langton,*	Henry Gibbes."†

^a *—Royalist. †—Puritan.

^b The Puritans baptized their children by the names not of Christian saints, but of Hebrew patriarchs and warriors.—MACAULAY'S *History*, Vol. I., p. 81.

² From "An Historical Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester, by John Corbet, a Preacher of God's Word, published by Authority, 1645."—SEYER, II., 314.

Charles had, at the period our biography commences, by the obnoxious impositions to which he had resorted to replenish his exhausted treasury, already alienated from himself the affections of many of his heretofore faithful subjects. In consequence, we find shortly after this time the municipal offices mostly occupied by persons whom his exactions had soured, and rendered not alone hostile to him personally, but also inimical to the sovereign power of which he was the depositary. This party, who were daily gaining the ascendancy in the Country, as in the Councils of this City, and who were distinguished, or branded, (as the opinion of the reader may incline,) by the name of Puritans;—looked with the greatest veneration to the Parliament, as a barrier between the freedom of the people and absolute despotism; and were prepared to support and follow its dictates, even to the abrogation of the rule of Royalty itself. They also, mostly belonged to that portion of the community who claimed to possess, and assumed the appearance, of greater sanctity than their neighbours.¹ They were embittered and maddened by persecution, being pretty well shut out of the pulpit, and hunted down in their conventicles.² They contended for the purest Christian democracy; for the freedom, equality, and simplicity of the Apostolic age; and looked with abhorrence at Laud's³ endeavours to give pomp and magnificence to the national worship, by imparting a dignified

¹ "The extreme Puritan was at once known from other men by his gait, his garb, his lank hair, the sour solemnity of his face, the upturned white of his eyes, the nasal twang with which he spoke, and above all by his peculiar dialect—he employed on every occasion the imagery and style of Scripture."—MACAULAY'S *History of England*, I., 82.

² The term "Conventicle" was applied to assemblies (so early as the time of Wicliffe) not to buildings.—HAYDN.

³ Laud's desire to introduce pomps and ceremonies, contrary to the purer worship of the Reformed Church, led to the ejection of many worthy ministers, who could not conscientiously follow his instructions.—In our city to that of the Rev. Wm. Noble, Vicar of Redcliff, and a more obedient disciple, the Rev. Wm. Hazard, was obtruded in his place. "Mrs. Hazard was one of five persons only who, in 1640 commenced the society of Dissenters, that at one time met in Broadmead, under the pastorage of Dr. Ryland. The society's early meetings were holden occasionally in the great room of the Dolphin Tavern, on St. James's Back, one on the Tholzey, and another in Christmas Street."—EVANS'S *Chronological Outline*.

^a "Matthew Hassard, put into St. Ewen's by Fiennes, was a principal incendiary in this rebellion, stirred up thereto by the violence of his wife, Dorothy Hassard; perhaps the same who with her own hands helped to fortify Frome Gate against the King's army, and afterwards gave her testimony against Col. Fiennes, when he was brought to trial before his fellow-rebels, and condemned for cowardice in surrendering Bristol."—SEYER, II., 337.

and imposing appearance to the persons of the officiating ministers; though it is now a question, whether the popular religion would not have been benefited in some respects by the introduction of these accessories. No reason can, however, justify Laud's restrictions;—his prohibitions of evening meetings,—of extemporaneous prayers—and his continual persecutions; these, they considered nothing less than an attempt to introduce splendid forms in the place of a pure spiritual worship.¹ Thus influenced by religion and liberty, the sources of the greatest actions, they were subsequently driven to the commission of atrocities contrary to the merciful teaching of the Gospel, to which outwardly they professed to adhere. With the circumstances that discontented the mass of the nation,—that gave courage to the timid,—and fury to the zealot, England is well conversant. One of the extortions, denominated Ship Money, “a word of lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom,” comes under the consideration of the Common Council, in December, 1636, when it was “agreed that one hundred and fifty pounds of the eight hundred pounds imposed on this City for preparing of a ship of one hundred tons, for his Majesty's service in the present year, be paid by the Chamber and the residue to be levied upon the inhabitants.”²

At this period, Soap was an article extensively manufactured in this City; the monopoly of the manufacturers was another grievance and cause of complaint.³ The brewers also, ship owners, and others, suffered from similar oppressions;—which were the proximate causes that influenced the majority of the Corporation, otherwise loyally disposed, to join the “patriotic party,” as they styled themselves. A patriotism subsequently exhibited in the destruction of all kingly rule,—and in the desecration of all sacred and venerated things. The following entry refers to a continuation of these grievances.

¹ Neale's History of the Puritans. Knight's Pictorial History of England.

² “Rushworth, under the year 1636, gives the distribution of ships to the several shires of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men, and charge; together with the sum set on corporate towns in each county. Bristol, one ship of one hundred tons, forty men, one thousand pounds charge.”—SEYER, II., 289. There is not one ship to Liverpool, and the sum contributed was only twenty-five pounds; shewing its relative position little more than two centuries since.

³ “The incorporated soap boilers exercised a sort of inquisition over the trade, and such dealers as resisted their interference, or tried to make soap on their own account, had to appear and answer the charge in London, ‘where, against their wills, they were retained long, with great expenses, imprisoned, and fined in about £20,000, and were bound to more inconveniences before they could be discharged.’”—ADDAMS'S *Calendar*, quoted by SEYER, II., 293.

“This day (15th Jany 1640) it is thought fitt y^t a letter be written to the Burgesses now serving in Parliament, touching the wrong done this Citty, beinge a Staple Towne, by landing wools at Minehead, and giving Certificates by the Officers there, and the Officers here joining with them, which wools ought to be landed here. And doe desire for redress thereof in Parliament, and punishing such persons as trangresse therein and have wronged this Citty. And likewise to seek reformation and redresse against such persons as by unjust informations to His Majty or by their illegal and unwarrantable proceeding have injured and abused the Merchants of this Citty, and by entering into the Merchants’ Hall, taking away their book of accounts and other writings, and procuring many of the inhabitants of this Citty to be *Pursuivant*ed up and unjustly handled and ill dealt with.”¹

Bristol had her share in the events that signalized the struggle between the Sovereign and the Parliament, and many a wealthy merchant and stout burgess, saw their best and bravest friends swept from beside them. Themselves proscribed,—their estates confiscated. Some, by an abrupt and ignominious end perished in their prime. Their only cognizable offence, fealty to their lawful King, whom by every solemn obligation they were bound to defend and to obey. The troubled politics of this eventful period may be dimly discerned in the mouldering volume we drag from our dusty archives.² Crowded in a few years are distraction, sorrow, and misery. And the citizens of this unhappy time, over whose memories the shadows of two centuries have thickened, are again disclosed to the light of day—the part they played in the inhuman strife, wanting but a larger theatre to have emblazoned their fame on the grand page of a Nation’s history.

It was not alone that the political horizon was dark and gloomy,—there was another serious cause for alarm. The approach of the plague,—whose appalling records might well blanch the cheek of the most resolute and daring,—and whose coming they might well dread more than the physical force of an enemy besieging their walls! There were many who had witnessed the destructive pestilence that ravaged the City in 1603, and for two successive years; who now sought, by the most stringent restrictions, to ward off the admittance of a similar calamity. Accordingly we find that though the plague had been stayed, its temporary absence had not lulled the citizens into a fancied security.

¹ City Records.

² The documents relating to the Civil Wars in the public records of this city, and as far as our knowledge extends of other chief towns, are but few.

It had not occasioned a relaxation of their efforts to prevent its admission within their gates. Precautionary measures had been adopted. A Pest House had been provided, and laws for watchings still continued in force. At this period, in consequence of a report of the plague being in London, it was ordered that "no person or goods coming from thence shall enter the city at the Friars', St. James', or at Lawford's Gate. A person, to be aired ten days, and goods twenty days." The infection continuing to spread, every burgess under the degree of those of the Council, were to watch in person; and no man was to be dispensed with, unless upon urgent occasion; and then, his place was to be supplied by his neighbour, a burgess.

Orders were issued that "two burgesses, and two watchmen, were to guard by day and night the several gates or places of ingress, to prevent all persons obtaining admittance; and also during the tide at the Back, and Key, two burgesses."

The Park was appointed as the place where all persons suspected of infection were to be brought, and for the airing of goods. Against the farther corner of the wall, hovels were erected for the people's lodging, as had been done at the last terrible visitation. The subject was a serious one, and grave, and many were the deliberations of the Council, who came to the following resolutions: that,—

- "The members of the Corporation next in degree to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, shall in rotation see, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock at night, the watchmen sworn—two members to attend every night for a week during the infection in London. The sergeants, who shall swear the watchmen, shall present the names of such as are to ward at the gates every night for two days next following, to those of the Common Council who shall attend the swearing, to the end that they may approve of them or otherwise.
- "The Aldermen agreed to assist the Mayor certain days to give allowances to certificates, and for admission of strangers into the city that shall come from places clear of infection, as also of goods.
- "All persons, previous to admission, to produce certificates, or make oath of their not coming from infected houses.
- "One cart only to be used in the bringing of goods to the Friars, and no porter to be employed.
- "In case any inhabitant of the city shall, upon urgent occasion, be obliged to go to London, he shall, previous to his admission into the city, *air himself thirty days*.
- "The surveyors of the city lands to allow the Sheriffs for the loss experienced by them for the restraint of Londoners at St. James' Fair."

A proclamation was also issued, wherein it was decreed, that:—

“ All persons coming to the City during the time of God’s visitation of sickness now raging in London and other parts of the kingdom, be it about trading or to see their friends, known men in this City for their sufficiency to receive and entertain them, shall, previous to their admittance, take a voluntary oath upon the Holy Evangelists of God, before the Mayor or two Aldermen, that they have not been in London, Exon, or any other place infected with the plague, nor in any way intermeddled with goods which come from infected places, for at least forty days. And in case such persons, during their stay, shall intermeddle with goods brought from infected places, such person or persons shall be expelled from the City, and not suffered to enter the same during the infection.”

A bye-law made for the better protection of the City against infection, after reciting the former acts of the Corporation, “ Enacts that persons may purchase goods from infected places, provided the same have been aired thirty days in any place where the plague has not been for a year last past; and such goods to be then brought to the Friars and aired for thirty days more, at the expense of the owner, before the same can be admitted. The law not to extend to madder, copperas, gall, refined sugar, oil, honey or any other liquid commodity, which shall only be aired for fourteen days. All persons guilty of a breach of this law to be fined ten pounds, to be sued for in the name of the Chamberlain, and shall go towards creating a stock for setting poor people to work.”

A Council was further appointed to consider of all things that concerned the danger of infection, as well as for the removal of persons that should be sick, or be in infected houses; as, “ for compounding with women to search with watch and wardmen,—with persons to administer physic,—with carpenters to build hovels,—with such as should bury the dead,” as well as other things; the expenses being paid by the Chamber. Thus having taken every precautionary measure that experience could dictate, the more religious portion of the citizens awaited in prayer, and penitence, and in acts of humiliation;—the awful approach of the mysterious agent of God’s wrath, that had already fallen so severely upon them with its chastening affliction!¹

We occasionally meet with entries of bare facts, while the incidents that gave them birth are, by lapse of years, forgotten; and they are now almost inexplicable. These have a certain mystery enveloping them, which awakens a

¹ “ Popular superstition connected the pestilence now raging, with the coming to England (accompanied by a host of Papists) of Maria de Medici, Queen Dowager of France, and mother to Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles the First.”—KNIGHT’S *Pictorial History of England*.

curiosity that in all cases it is not in our power to gratify. They belong to the bye-ways of history,—and may be pursued in search of matter illustrative of the details of great events: or they add some minor trait to the general features of the times. As instances we may submit the following for the reader's consideration. "Lord Newbery and his lady were presented with wine, sweetmeats, and marmalade," at a cost of £14 : 3 : 9.

What had been Lord Newbery's services,—was he about to benefit the city,—or had he done so in any way? The Corporation were not wont to bestow their costly favours without some boon received or in expectancy. Again, Sir Henry Martin is entertained at the Lady Rogers' house at the Bridge-end, and he also receives a present, consisting of

- " 6 Sugar Loaves.
- 15 Gallons of Sack, and Malaga Wine.
- 10 Gallons of Claret, together with a
- 20 Gallon Jug, and Furniture for
- 2 Horses ;" the whole amounting, as we learn from the Treasurer's account, to the sum of £7 : 16.

This was not done without a consideration ; but our search into the hidden recesses of the past has not made us acquainted with the secret. These gentlemen had probably some influence at Court, and could obtain access to the royal ear ; a privilege they could exert to the advantage of the Corporation.

Again on June 6th, 1637, Mr. Endymion Porter, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, was presented with the freedom of the city, "as the same was granted to Lord Finch, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas." This was considered as the greatest civic compliment the Corporation could bestow, and appeared to have been valued accordingly ; but we are unable to assign any definite reason for its bestowment in this instance,—those particulars that we should have regarded with interest, the why it was presented,—for what,—and whether under any peculiar circumstances, are passed over as of no concern to posterity. Our ancestors viewed it of infinitely greater importance that the cost of the patent should be known ; accordingly we are informed, with an amusing pettiness, that three shillings and fourpence was paid for the label of silk and silver for the Lord Finch's patent of Freedom, and "for drawing and engrossing the same in gold letters, three shillings."

Another equally tantalizing but more secret entry meets our eye ; we write

more secret, because the name of the "friend" to whom the curious present is sent is not given.

"Paid for a Pie with two Salmons baked in it, and for four Lamprey Pies, which was presented and sent to London to a *friend* by order of the Mayor [Henry Hobson] and Aldermen, and for gilding them £4 : 1 : 7"

It never, in all probability entered into the head of the writer of the following, that the knowledge of the place to which a boy's death had given an ephemeral designation,—the boy himself,—and every incident connected therewith,—would soon pass away even as a gossip's tale, and that when the vulgar exhibition of holding up to derision a discordant couple should become obsolete, his record would not appear very intelligible.

"20th of Feb. 1636.—Touching drowning of a woman at Brislington, where the boy was killed about Skimmington."

The locality appears to have been unfavourable to matrimonial harmony. About a week after another exhibition takes place. Another accident occurs,—and the dead boy is again introduced to indicate the spot.

"March 4th, 1636.—Touching the hurting of a woman at Brislington, one Leonard's wife, where a boy of Bristoll was killed, Skimmington being there."

Amongst many others of the same kind we select but one more. This commands our notice from its being gravely headed "The Oath," and from its occurring while the City was besieged by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell, 10th September, 1644, the day before the surrender of Prince Rupert. It is so utterly isolated, and set apart from all transactions that we might infer would tend to its elucidation, that had the recording pen been desirous of surrounding it with an impenetrable mystery, it could not have been more successful.

10th September, 1644. "The Oath:—You shall carefully look to and keep the house and place now assigned to you to keep, and shall suffer none to come to you but those as shall be sent thither, and appointed to be there; and shall from time to time observe and fulfill the commands and directions of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of this Citty in all kinds, touching this your employment, and faithfully and with the best diligence perform the trust and charge now reposed in you, without any connivance or salary, directly or indirectly, *Soe helpe you God.* John Morgan, sworne to be Keeper of a house in St. James's Parish, viz. Michaell Wright's.

JOHN PICKERELL,
EDWARD BAKER."

By this time, from the attempt to impose a liturgy upon the people, the storm had arisen in the north, and the sympathies of England were enlisted in behalf of the Scotch Covenanters;—and for that freedom of worship for which they were prepared to make any sacrifice, even to the devotion of life itself. Freedom of opinion, and liberty of choice in form and manner of worship, were privileges enjoyed in those days by the ruling party only; who, whatever their creed,—each, as they obtained the ascendancy pursued with all the enmity of religious intolerance, those who held other views, and subscribed to other forms. The spirit of persecution was rampant,—amidst a terrible array of ignorance and superstition! The natural frankness of the English heart was ingrained with Puritanism. For as the cause of the separatists flourished, it was the interest of those who would attain Civil greatness, or avoid persecution; to assume their manner though they dissented from their doctrines.

The intolerance of the Church had induced many Puritans to emigrate; and in 1637, Cromwell was actually on board a ship, about to sail from London, for the purpose of leaving his country for ever, when in an evil moment for Charles, the government withheld its licence, and Cromwell was in consequence, with others, detained.¹ But for the policy of this measure, our history would not have recorded the martyrdom of a Sovereign, and the Puritans would have been content with the abridgment of his arbitrary power, and the free exercise of their religion. Though they might have reduced Charles to the mere shadow of a King, they would not so entirely have removed the mask, and disclosed how little of the mercy and the love of the Saviour was in their hearts, whose blessed words were ever on their lips. But for this measure, two of Bristol's loyal citizens had perchance gone quietly to their rest,—and not have perished by a degrading and untimely death; for supporting those principles and laws which have made the English a free, happy, and a glorious people!

Lowering, dark, and ominous of unhappy presage, was the aspect of affairs. While yet watchers were at the gates, to prevent any infected with the plague from entering the City, there was added, in 1638, to the anticipated evils, a present and severe calamity! The Harvest had failed—there was a scarcity of food.—Wheat was nine shillings per bushel, and it was supposed would have amounted to twenty shillings, if “God and good people had not brought in great store of French wheat and all sorts of grain into our kingdom.” The

¹ Jesse's Court of the Stuarts.

price was in consequence reduced to five shillings and under. "In the month of March," our chronicler continues, "God sent as plentiful a harvest as ever man saw; but such a fainty sickness and weakness amongst the people, that they wanted strength to gather it in; and some were so weak in some families, that they were not able to milk their own kine, but gave it to them that would fetch it."¹

One of Charles's oppressive expedients for raising money without the aid of Parliament, from which Bristol derived great annoyance, was a Special Commission, to enquire what monies had been illegally collected here. Seyer gives us the substance, from which it appears to have been of a very inquisitorial character, a mere pretence for the purpose of extortion, whereby the merchants and tradesmen seriously suffered in loss of substance; "who were examined and sent up to London, and great imposition laid on them, to the great grief of many."² The imposition on the soap-makers has been cursorily referred to. This could no longer be patiently endured; and in the hope of obtaining redress, and of benefiting the City, four Aldermen, accompanied by some of the most substantial merchants, rode voluntarily to London. "These gentlemen upon their knees made petition to our King's Majesty to take consideration of their miseries." The King, desirous of retaining the affections of so influential a body, received them graciously; and as he could not recal the Commissions, gave the merchants liberty to prefer a bill against them in the Star Chamber. Further we learn, that on the 7th of April, Alderman Jones, and Alexander James, [both Royalists] were to proceed to London to prosecute certain business that concerned the City; as well as before his Majesty at the Council Table. When his Highness was pleased to give orders that bills in the Star Chamber should be filed. The Town Clerk [James Dyer] to attend.³

Fierce and sullen was the mood in which the year 1639, beheld the nation. The prospects for the Monarchy were threatening.—Discontent had been engendered by mal-administration. It was manifest that a spirit of disaffec-

¹ Addams's Calendar. Seyer.

² Ibid., as transcribed by Seyer, II., 292. The account is curious and interesting, but would exclude inedited matter, were we to introduce it into these pages.

³ As a favourable result from this interview, we may attribute the abating on February 11th, of the following year, £160, of the £800, ship money, "by his Majesty's pleasure."

tion pervaded country, court, and camp in England; at the attempt to subjugate the religious liberties of the Scots; and it was with the greatest difficulty supplies for the army could be obtained. The Clergy, who felt that the war involved the important question, whether they or the Puritans should hold the livings and the Supremacy of the Church of England, contributed liberally. How far Bristol assisted will be seen from the following entry.

“26th February.—It is this day ordered, that the defraying of the charges which must necessarily be expended in the furnishing, setting forth, and sending away the fifty men with their arms to the place of rendezvous, and which are to be selected out of the trayned bande of the City, be borne by the Chamber.”

Here the record fails to satisfy our curiosity as to the place of rendezvous, but turning over a few pages, we learn that on the 26th of May following, it was

“Agreed with Samuell Mogge, for £15, to carry dry, safely, and deliver well-conditioned at the Rendezvous, at or about Yorke; compleat Armes for fifty Landsmen from this Citty.

“And yt he travell for it a dayes journey or more beyond Yorke, or yf he be compelled to stay above three dayes after he comes to the Rendezvous, then he is to be paid over and above in reasonable proportion after the rate above said. Provided that he makes it appeare under the hands of some that have charge and command of the Armes, that he is so inforced to travell further or stay longer as aforesaid. And for the tyme of his going hence he is to have three dayes warninge before hand.

“Signed,

“EZEKIELL WALLIS, Maior.

“SAMUELL + MOGGE.”

But England was discontented, and Scotland enraged; and the misguided Prince had little encouragement to hope for success against the unanimous combination of a whole kingdom enflamed with bigotry for religious trifles. He concluded a sudden pacification—and on the 18th of June, at Berwick-upon-Tweed, he signed a treaty with the Covenanters.

Some impression of the declension of Monarchy from its old and honoured place in the constitution is seen in the following transaction; wherein one Ralph Farmer is the principal,—an individual whom it is difficult to separate from another gentleman with the same happy cognomen, who will presently come before us in the performance of a very different character.—“On the 9th of October died Nicholas Meredith, Chamberlain,” and with

indecent haste, before the last honours could be paid him, scarcely allowing a day to intervene, a meeting was suddenly convened, and William Chetwind was chosen to occupy the vacant place. This unwonted proceeding was soon conveyed to the knowledge of the government; and on the November ensuing before the newly-chosen Chamberlain was sworn; the Corporation received a Royal letter, in which the King says,—

“Some few amongst you, for their owne private ends and to prejudice the common liberties of the rest, have procured an overhasty and precipitate election to be made of one William Chetwind, a man (as we are informed) out of this our realme, and in regard of the indisposition of his body not fitt to doe you that general service both at home and abrode which the dutie of that place requireth. And for that the election of ministeriall officers within our said Citie, wherewith you and your predecessors, through the grace and favour of Us and our progenitors, are privileged and intrusted, ought to be made with mature deliberation and advice, and to the good liking and for the benifitt of our said Citie and the Cominaltie thereof. Our will and pleasure is that notwithstanding your former election you forbear to ratifie the same, and that you forthwith proceed to a new and free election, therein recommending to your charge and consideration our well-beloved subject Ralph Farmer, a man not unknown unto yourselves, and by many of you much desired, of whose abilities and fitness we have received an ample testimony and assurance.”

“The whole House upon reading of his Highness’s letter forbore to ratify the election” of Mr. Chetwind, and Mr. Ralph Farmer was upon a new election chosen. But at the same time a Committee was appointed, consisting of Aldermen Hooke, Charlton, Holworthy, Long, and Wallis, “to draw up instructions to be presented to the Court, to take off the City and vindicate the government thereof from all such aspersions as is conceived to be laid on them.” The Puritanical leaven was already beginning to taint the ancestral loyalty of the Corporation. In their petition to the King, they inform him of the privileges his progenitors had granted them, and which his favour had confirmed. They relate the full particulars of the election of Mr. Chetwind, which it is unnecessary to recapitulate. They quote the aspersions contained in his Majesty’s letter, which they do not defend, but they insinuate that he had his information from Mr. Farmer, of whom they think very lightly. They pray that “it may stand with his Majesty’s good pleasure to ratify the first election,” and “that by his Majesty’s favour and good leave, they may proceed to establish and swear only him, whom they conceive most meet and

fit for the place and service."—They appear, in fact, very desirous to comply with his Majesty's wish, provided it be agreeable with their own.

The answer to the petition is given at the Court at Whitehall, 20th November, 1639.

" His Majesty taking well the conformity of the Petitioners to his Princely letter, is pleased to leave them free to elect such a person to be Chamberlain of that City as they shall find most meet for that service, and to swear him in that place according to their charter, any former signification of his Majesty's pleasure to the contrary notwithstanding.

FRAN. MILEBANK."

" Bristoll's Petition."

The Petition and his Majesty's pleasure was read to the Chamber on the 17th December, when the election of Ralph Farmer was frustrated and made void ; and Wm. Chetwind was re-elected. Thereby affording unmistakeable evidence that the duty of "passive obedience" did not encumber the political faith of the majority of the House.

Charles was, in the spring of 1640, endeavouring to procure another army to march against the Scots ; towards which our reluctant citizens were compelled to contribute their portion. April 22nd.—A letter was read to the House from his Majesty and the Lords of the Council, for raising two hundred men for the land service,¹ when it was agreed that the Chamberlain should go to London and advise with Alderman Hooke,—"*Touching the raising of the men, being unusual and rare in Sea Port Towns, who are to furnish seamen, and whether the men are to be exercised once a week or oftener.*" A few days after the Chamber resolved, that—"The City grievances² should be presented to the burgesses in Parliament, [Alderman Hooke and J. D. Glanville, Esq., Recorder,] by two members of the House, Mr. Alderman Charlton and Mr. Fitzherbert."

¹ "The men to be allowed eightpence per day, when they are exercised by the Chamber. And the pikes, muskets, bandoleers, and rests, be lent for the purpose, but the soldiers neither to have powder and swords."—*City Records*.

² Similar petitions poured in from all parts of the country. On the hasty dissolution of the Parliament, on the 14th of May, after it had been sitting twenty-two days, "a greater damp," writes Clarendon, "could not have seized upon the spirit of the whole nation, and we had much of the misery in view which shortly after fell out." This was the last dissolution the unfortunate Monarch would have to make.

The two hundred men were prepared, and left the City at the beginning of July. With what zeal they entered into a service they disapproved, and how far they, with the army of which they formed part, signalized themselves, is presented to the reader of English history, in the retreat from Newcastle the August following their departure hence. An entry on July 23rd, informs us of an order of the Chamber that "the charge for clothing and exercising the two hundred soldiers, lately sent out of the City, is to be paid by the Chamber until it can be procured from his Majesty, according to instructions from the Lords of the Privy Council." It was paid by the Chamber. The accounts of the Treasurer show, that the "cost of furnishing the two hundred land soldiers and two drums," was £522 : 1 : 11, besides an additional sum paid on his Majesty's account of £151 : 14 : 8 the preceding year, making a total of £673 : 16 : 7. An amount that was literally paid by the City, which from the rupture that so speedily followed was never reimbursed.

While transcribing the above entry, our attention was directed to others, chiefly remarkable for their peculiarity of diction. Probably they were perfectly lucid to the clerk that penned them; but the lapse of more than two centuries has, in some instances, rendered their meaning obscure.

"Paid Mr. Robert Yeamans, by order of the Mayor and Aldermen, viz. £40, for entertaining Lord Chief Justice Brampton, four nights at his house, *which was extraordinary*, and £9, for entertaining him on board "The Globe," at Hungroad, £49."

Meaning that this was not an ordinary item of expenditure, and therefore was defrayed by a special vote, out of the salary or fees of Yeamans' office, he being Sheriff at the time. "The Globe" may have been a ship of unusual dimensions, which the Lord Chief Justice was taken to inspect, and as a matter of courtesy would be regaled on board. A bye-law passed early in this century prohibiting vessels above a limited burden from coming to the Quay; they lay in the river at Hungroad.

The next entry, if suggestive, is certainly not explicit; "Paid a messenger that brought a Proclamation for curing the King's Evil, 3s. 4d." We are not to suppose that the proclamation would cure the evil, but that the King would touch for it on such and such a day. It would probably be in anticipation of his coming to Bristol. If so, his own afflictions prevented his presence here, to relieve the afflictions of his suffering subjects.

An old custom must not pass unnoticed which the Corporation had observed, from the time that the works of Holbein and his followers, had introduced a taste for portrait painting in this country; that, of placing in the Council Chamber the portraits of any of their members, whose benevolence, public worth, and public estimation rendered deserving the distinction. A commendable and pleasing tribute, whereby their virtues were kept in mind, and their benevolent example oftentimes followed. Some extraordinary specimens of distorted humanity, have been preserved from the year 1530. More than a century later, in 1640, the portrait of Alderman Harrington, recently deceased, was placed in the Council House. We are neither told its cost nor the name of the "limner," but the accounts of the Treasurer convey other particulars, curious, but comparatively valueless. We learn from them, for "setting it up" a joiner was paid sixpence; and for "*new* cleaning it," three shillings was paid, to one Fletcher, a Dutchman, who was much employed.

Our research has conducted us to November 3rd, 1640, when Charles opened in person the ever memorable Long Parliament, with which began the Commonwealth. The endeavours of the Court had not been successful in influencing the electors. The people were labouring under so many oppressions that they were eager to return "patriotic" Members. From Bristol had been sent a—"Petition from a great number of Burgesses, that they might have a voice in the election of the Burgesses in Parliament." Their prayer was not granted; "The Burgesses in Parliament having always been chosen by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and the resident freeholders."

At this important crisis, when every vote lost to Monarchy was hastening its downfall, the petitioners who belonged to the popular party triumphed however in ejecting J. Glanvill, Esq., and in securing the return of Alderman Richard Long, a gloomy fanatic, prepared to go to any extreme. Still the influence of the loyal disposition of the yet unshaken few, was visible midst the general disaffection in the re-election of their tried representative, Humphrey Hooke.¹ There was now a strong party in the House, whose measures were for effectually and permanently abridging the Royal authority. Many indeed

¹ They also succeeded in obtaining for Mayor, John Taylor, Merchant, who was a distinguished Member of their body, and Captain of the Trained Bands; which office, on his election to the Municipal Chair, he resigned. His Sheriffs were Henry Gibbs, Puritan; and Edward Pitt, Royalist.

endeavoured to infuse a republican spirit, and sought for the abolition of Monarchy itself. To such elements we may trace the remarkable sequence of events, that drove tranquillity from the land, not to return but with the happy restoration of Monarchy; after the people's political experiment had been tried, and the despotism of an usurper had taught them the value of the constitution they had so rashly discarded.

A few abstracts from our records at this eventful crisis, will disclose the factious and unquiet temper of the people. One man is presented at the Sessions, in 1641, because he said he was "choused of his freedome by the Justices; and Alderman Taylor was very sorry for what he had done." But how the Loyal Alderman was implicated, and the occasion of his penitence, whether the expression of regret arose from his own conduct, or that of the man's, does not appear upon the face of the entry. Also one Elizabeth Clementes, is presented "for sayinge that Mr. Loveringe, [Vicar of Temple,] could preach noe more than a black dogg, and other vilifyinge language." The same year, one of the train-bands is presented for "affronting, and misusing the messengers sent by Corporal Bevan, to warn him to attend his Corporal to watch." In the minute books of the proceedings of the Magistrates is indicated the prevalence of a discontented and rebellious spirit. The advent of disastrous days is seen in the following:—

"13th August, 1641. Dennis Hollester, [subsequently a Member for this City in the 'Praise God Barebones' Parliament,] and William Cooke, grocers, being convented before the Maior and Justices for keeping Conventicles, and occasioning a Meeting, breaking the Peace, and disturbing the King's liege people, the last night, from nyne, ten, and untill eleaven o'clock at night and after, in High Strete, the middle of this Cittie, which appeares by information and also by their owne examination, are committed to the custody of a Serjeant to find suerties, for appearance at the next quarter Sessions, and in the meane tyme to be of good behaviour. This doun at one o'clock. Afterwarde, at three o'Clock, the officer being called for to give an account of the committment, gave for answere that he had the said Hollester and Cooke in custody, but they would find no suerties; and they being sent for, presently before the Maior and Justices, they themselves gave for answere in person that they had noe suerties; but Hollester said they were advized by a Parliament man that they had doun nothing but what was lawfull, but denied to tell this Parliament man's name."¹

¹ City Records.

"8th April, 1642. Upon a generall fame and brute given out, that there would be a rising by Temple, Redcliff, and St. Thomas, on Tuesday next, and that they had gotten divers clubbs very lately; the Sheriffs with their men and the constables of Temple, are now sent downe to the parishes, to take in the clubbs and weapons of the people that are suspitious to be accessories and principalls in this comotion."

Taught by experience,—earnestly and carefully had the citizens, amidst the disheartening distractions of the anxious unhappy times, endeavoured by every restriction the wisdom of man could suggest, to prevent the foul breath of the great Destroyer from obtaining entrance within their walls. How vain their efforts! How futile their attempts! The hand of Omnipotence had been raised—the Almighty fiat had gone forth, that would still the voice of hundreds who chafed and fumed in the religious and political warfare of the day; and before which the most cherished hopes, the most ambitious desires, and the most endeared of life would disappear. The pestilence was in the City! An extract from the audit of 1641, informs us that there was:—

"Paid William Weare what he disbursed for provisions unto the poor people, which were shut up in Horse Street, seventeen shillings. And six shillings to a poor woman named Johan Weare, that brought them provisions and fetched water for them three weeks."

The Castle, and a house called the HorseShoe, in Wine Street, were occupied by persons infected with the plague, who were supported at the expense of the Corporation. To the infected houses were appointed watchmen by day and night, whose duty it was to prevent all ingress and egress,—Mr. Hanshaw's house in St. Peter's parish, had six men who were paid one shilling each, for constantly guarding the premises. The houses visited by the pestilence had painted on their doors a distinct red cross, about a foot in length, over which were the words, "Lord have mercy upon us," drawing from the passenger as he hurried by the ominous sign, a spontaneous "Amen" to the solemn prayer.¹

¹ A poor maid managed to elude the vigilance of the watchmen, and ran away from the "Horse Shoe" to Brandon Hill, where she was found. For her relief nine shillings and ten pence was paid, by order of the Mayor and Aldermen. The Corporation indeed appear to have been actuated by a compassionate and merciful feeling, from the commencement of the breaking out of the distemper. Dr. Nicholls having taken the infection was commanded to "keep house," in consideration of which he was paid £4 "as a recompence for loss of time." Thirty shillings was also ordered to be paid Rev. Jacob Brent, Vicar of Temple, for his sister, "in regard of her being shut up."^a

^a August 6th. The members of the Corporation subscribed six marks and eleven nobles, towards the relief of the poor infected with the plague at Taunton.

Sad and cheerless are the prospects of the Monarchical party within this City. Their power and influence are passing from them. Their voice has no longer authority in its Councils; and their efforts are in vain to resist the tide of fanaticism, that threatens to subvert all hallowed institutions! So certain was the Parliament of the disposition of the citizens, that the following year, when the war began, Denzil Hollis, a well known leader in the Lower House, was appointed Lieutenant of the City. "He was nominated as fit to command the militia,¹ at Bristol, having subscribed £1000 *against* the King;" thus virtually training the inhabitants to arms, that were to be used in opposition to their Sovereign. A measure, evidently sanctioned by a majority in the Council Chamber. After the commencement of hostilities, so little confidence however seems to have been placed by the Magistrates in the trainbands, who were generally disposed to Royalty, that the following oath was directed to be tendered to the guards on duty:—

"13th of March, 1642. You shall sweare that you shall vew and search all such packs of goods whatsoever, as you shall be told are to be carried forth of this City at any of the gates, whether there be any powder, bullett, or ammunition therein, and to seize and stay the same yf any and to give information thereof forthwith to the Maior of Bristoll, and to stay the rest of the goods they are packed with, and to deale effectually without partiality shewed."

The gloom of all moderate people at the disordered state of the nation was increased, and the whole atmosphere overcast by the horrible intelligence of a most barbarous massacre of the Protestants in Ireland. So absorbed were the King and Parliament with their own menacing attitudes, that this momentous affair did not obtain from either party that consideration, which the pressing exigencies required. Few soldiers only were sent at its outbreak. In February, 1642, two hundred men were shipped from this port to Duncannon in Ireland, and three hundred more went to Minehead to embark.² Bristol from its locality was also a great port of refuge; and multitudes of poor distressed

¹ The militia consisted of eight thousand men, bearing arms and actually in training. The population of the City is set down at forty thousand.^a

^a Clarendon, quoted by Seyer, II., 307.

² "13th May, 1642. Mr. Mayor, now demanding according to my Lord Admirall's directions of Matthew Davis and Richard Hooper, two barques to goe to Chester to take in soldiers for Dublin, for his Majesty's service, doe both absolutely say that their shipps want reparation, and cannot goe."

families, that had escaped half clothed, and half famished,—crowded the streets with misery, despair, and death impressed upon their wasted features.

Great was the excitement that prevailed in this City during the year 1642. The King, knowing its importance as the principal sea port in the west of England, and as a military station, was anxious to secure its allegiance; the more especially on account of the rebellion which raged in Ireland, as Bristol was the port of embarkation for the forces intended for the southern parts of that country. His Majesty therefore sent, early in the year, a letter by Sir Baynham Throgmorton to the Mayor, [John Locke] touching the obedience of the City, complaining of “upstart sects in religion,” and exhorting it not to join in raising forces against himself.¹ The Parliament, however, well assured of the disposition of the inhabitants, had also estimated the value of the City, and extended its affection towards it. Denzil Hollis, as we learn from the following extracts, was now commanding the trainbands raised for the protection of the City against their Sovereign.²

“Paid for six drums and fifes that went about to warn the trained bands to appear in the Marsh before Mr. Denzil Hollis, and for their attendance there that day, at 1s. 6d. per man, £0 : 18 : 0.”

“Paid Richard Allen, for himself and the rest of the sergeants of the trained bands, for their attendance in the Marsh, Mr. Denzil Hollis being here, £0 : 15 : 0.”

The extreme opinions of “the impetuous but honest” Hollis,—his prominence in the Lower House, must have been well known; and that he would not compromise himself by training men against the “Good Cause” he advocated. Therefore his presence and his purport here must have been sanctioned by the Chamber,—which leaves no doubt of the existence of a rebellious party within

¹ Seyer, II., 300.

² The trainbands constituted the most unserviceable and yet dangerous force that could be called upon. They appear to have been the least national and the most partizan of all troops; the most ready instruments for revolution, the least faithful to the cause that they espouse.^a They were incorporated in this City in the year 1572, on the occasion of the threatened invasion of England by the Spaniards.

They mustered in the Marsh, [now Queen Square] the usual place where the troops assembled during the national conflict. Some elms had been cut down there, to make carriages for the great ordnance; and within were two additional pieces, with gunners to attend them *when required*.—BARRETT.

^a “Rupert and the Cavaliers.”—Warburton, Appendix 438.

it, already in league with the Parliament; and that its authority was virtually recognized before it had taken possession of the City. Of this party, Richard Aldworth, Richard Long, Aldermen Brown, Vickris, and Jackson, were the leaders;¹ and worthy of being included in the same category was the Mayor, John Locke; and one of his Sheriffs, Richard Balman.

A straw will show which way the wind blows;—and before Sir Baynham Throgmorton had left the City, an incident occurred that too sadly indicated the seditious inclinations of the majority of the Corporation, supported and encouraged as they were by the Mayor and Sheriffs. The Mayor himself not only violated his oath, but actually exercised his authority to the prejudice of the Sovereign who had confided in his allegiance, and whose life and realm he had made a solemn attestation to defend. This contumacious Mayor, and one of his Sheriffs, “had signed a warrant for the conveyance of four cannon to Marlborough, to assist in fortifying that place against the King.”² But they were not removed without a struggle. There still existed in the City some loyal hearts, whom Charles’s fatal weakness and duplicity had not yet caused to swerve from their devotion; who, deaf to persuasion, firm against intimidation, and unshaken by persecution, continued faithful. They resisted the execution of the warrant, threw the cannon off the carriages, took them into their possession, and for a time detained them. A tumult ensued, which Sir Baynham endeavoured to appease. He remonstrated with the Mayor, and upbraided him with his treachery, and in the King’s name demanded that the cannon should not be removed, but to no purpose. He could not support his threats with a force of armed men. His little band were compelled to give way before superior numbers; and the cannon were sent off, in opposition to the protest of the loyally disposed. The character of Alderman Locke appears before us in no enviable notoriety, as the first citizen who openly encouraged an appeal to arms. His subsequent behaviour in an important crisis of the King’s affairs may be anticipated.

Denzil Hollis, was summoned from his military duties in this City,—the Parliament requiring his services at Sherborne, where the Castle was besieged by the Earl of Bedford, and was defended by the Earl of Hertford. The following entry refers to an unsuccessful attempt to forward Denzil Hollis supplies.

¹ Seyer.

² *Ib.* II., 312.

“Paid £20 to Mr. Rowe, Ironmonger, being so much that Mr. Richard Cary paid in part of a bag of £50, to pay for charges and men’s wages, for certain men that were going to Sherborne with provisions and other charges to Mr. Denzil Hollis, *all which came back.*” Before their arrival the siege had been raised.

It comes not within the scope of this work to follow the fortunes of the unfortunate monarch, who, in January, 1642, left his capital, and the strength and riches of his kingdom, in the hands of the Parliament. The progress of events will necessarily place him before us, when his presence in our City was rendered somewhat necessary. But this was not till the sword was drawn, and the scions of many a noble and illustrious House were armed in his defence. In the meantime the Parliament was proceeding with their work, and destroying the pillars of his authority. To stimulate the religious zeal of the people, and maintain it warm and active, the House of Commons went into a committee on Ecclesiastical matters. It is remarkable that the only law the King enacted against the established Church, was the last that he passed; whereby the right of the Bishops to sit in Parliament, and the whole secular power and privileges of the clergy were interrupted for about twenty years. Until the war was over, and the King a helpless prisoner in the iron grasp of Oliver Cromwell, there was essentially no established form of government. The clergy were permitted to read more or less of the Liturgy as they were disposed, and to direct their parishes according to their discretion; but the name, style, and dignity of Archbishops and Bishops were retained till that time. As may be imagined, our ancient ecclesiastical buildings suffered much from neglect alone, independent of the unsparing hand of fanatical violence. A mournful picture has been drawn. The churches, that time had spared and holy uses had sanctified, were no longer adorned and beautified; and the broken roofs, gaping fissures, and shivered windows, remained unrepaired. Rain, and wind and storm entered the buildings unchecked,—and damp and mildew undermined the walls unheeded. Desolate and saddening as were the decaying temples, it was still more grievous to behold the chill and lifeless form to which the Puritans had degraded the beautiful worship of the Anglican Church,—“suffering the Sacraments themselves to be administered where the people had most mind to receive them.”¹ Such slovenliness and indecencies,

¹ Clarendon.

would not have been endured in their ordinary habitations, and are opposed to the genuine spirit of Christian worship.

Beset on every side by difficulties, the Bristol authorities were greatly perplexed how to act. While the fortunes of the Royal cause were hopeful, the Chamber was pretty equally divided. In consequence, the machinery of Government was nearly stationary. Neither Royalists nor Puritans were enabled to give it a decisive move in either direction. To please both parties therefore, a meeting took place on the 21st of May, at which, after a long debate, it was—

“Fully concluded upon and determined by the whole House, that there shall be two petitions in behalf of this City made, one to the King, and the other to the Parliament.” The Committee,¹ [composed of five Royalists and five Puritans,] was “appointed to go with all expedition about them, and first to present them soon to Mr. Mayor and this House.”

The petitions were prepared with unwonted dispatch. They were both completed in *four* days. On the fifth day they were presented to Mr. Mayor and the House. But the literary efforts of the Committee did not meet with unqualified approbation, as we learn from the following:—

“26th May. Mr. Towgood and Mr. Standfast are desired to peruse the petitions drawne to the Parliament, and to signifie what they conceive meet to be amended therein; and therefore the petitions now drawne ~~is~~ to be delivered to them.”

It was some weeks before the amendment was completed. Apparently, where so many separate interests were concerned, the reverend gentlemen had a task of some difficulty, in adapting the petitions to suit their several prejudices. It was yet uncertain which power might ultimately prevail; and much delicate phraseology was necessary in the construction of the petitions, to render them harmless to the petitioners, whatever might be the result of the national contest. Herein, such was the copiousness and the felicity of the diction, they were eminently calculated to be successful. But this

¹ Mr. Alderman Gonnings,
 „ Charlton,
 „ Holworthy,
 „ Taylor.

Mr. Aldworth,
 „ Elliott,
 „ Cann,

Mr. Colston,
 „ Miles Jackson,
 „ Fitzherbert.

occupied some time. And before they could be presented, events had occurred which rendered some change necessary. Accordingly we find, that on—

July 11th, “the petitions formerly consented unto and drawne, to be sent to his Majesty and the Parliament, are thought fitt to be staid, and not to be sent *as now they are*, in regard they have bin soe long retarded.”

Here the matter rested. The petitions were left to slumber amongst the archives; and we hear no more of them, till after the King had set up the Royal Standard at Nottingham, and the battle of Edgehill had been fought. It would seem, upon receiving the news of that merciless conflict, that the Chamber, dreading the misery which would follow the footsteps of discord, were desirous of peace; and accordingly, on November 1st, it was—

“Agreed that the old petitions intended for the King and Parliament should be reviewed by the Committee now chosen, and that a petition now for the time be prepared and presented, as well to the King’s Majesty as the Parliament, for reconciliation.”

It took a fortnight to review the two petitions, and render them satisfactory. On the 16th of November they were approved, and ordered to be engrossed and prepared with all expedition by Mr. Alderman Tomlinson, Mr. Alderman Holworthy, Mr. Alexander James, Mr. Wm. Fitzherbert, and Mr. James Dyer, [Town Clerk.]

Nov. 22. The petitions had not been presented, as we find that Mr. Alderman Hooke—

“Was appointed and desired by the whole House to join with Mr. Alderman Tomlinson and the rest that were to deliver them, in the place and room of Mr. Alderman Holworthy, whoe hath desired to be spared and excused in the employment.”

On Saturday, the 7th of January, 1643, after the surrender of the City to Col. Essex, one petition was eventually presented “to the King’s most excellent Majestie, at the court at Oxford, by foure of the Aldermen.” It is headed, “*The humble Petition of the Citie of Bristoll to his Majestie, for an accommodation of peace betweene himselfe and Parliament.*” The whole is transcribed by Seyer,¹ who says the King’s enemies must have been predominant here, when such a petition could have been publicly exhibited. It is too verbose and tedious to be inserted at length, but a few of the more expressive and informing passages may be given. In the stilted language of the time it

¹ Seyer II., 313.

commences, "The lingering calamities of this present cruell war having with its hideous and tumultuous noyse awakened the sleeping tongues of your Majesty's loyal subjects," &c., especially those of London, to whom the petitioners state they are not "uninferior" in loyalty. They beg his Majesty to take a strict survey of the face of things in England, and tell him that he will find it full of "horror and wrath, appearing merely the ghost of that England which it was so lately." That "Instead of the continuall and gainfull trade and commerce, which all the maritime towns, in especiall this City of Bristoll, had into forraigne parts, our ships now lie rotting in the harbor, without any mariners, or fraught or trade in forraigne parts, by reason of our home-bred distractions being grown so contemptible and despised there." * * * * * Then follows a pathetic description, that "no man enjoyes his life, his wife, children, family, or estate, in safety this day, producing effects of ruine in those places and on those persons, who in the foregoing night were rich and happy; *so that unspeakable is our misery, unutterable our grievances, fathers being engaged against sons, and sons against fathers*; every good towne and city, as this your City of Bristol, being inforced to their great and infinite expense to maintain garrisons and courts of guards¹ for their security, which takes away all sense of our former happinesse, our *sleeps* being disturbed by the surley noyse of drums, we overwhelmed with an increasing perpetuity of cares and troubles, such as no time nor history hath scarce mentioned in this kingdome, neither in the Barons nor any other civill warres." The petitioners go on to allude to his Majesty's divorcement from "those husbands of the Commonwealth, the Honourable High Court of Parliament." They call attention to the "strange and uncouth distractions that have lately broken forth into the Church of *England*, to the too much power of the Prelacie," and conclude by imploring his Majestie to take into consideration their "troubles and unhappy dissensions." We are to suppose that the duty of the reverend and learned clergymen Standfast and Towgood was confined to the correction of the style and orthography only of this plain spoken petition. Its sentiments were rather opposed to their well known principles. A "most gracious answer" from his Majesty was delivered to the Corporation by "my Lord Faulkland, Principall Secretary of State." After much vapid verbiage, Charles, who was

¹ In 1644, there were twenty-three courts of Guards in the City, and each had a fire.—*City Records*.

then at Oxford negotiating for peace, concludes with "not doubting but, ere many days passe, to reduce his affairs to that conformable condition, as to finish all jars and contentions between himself and Parliament by an happie union." But even while this hope lived in the thoughtful Monarch's mind, the cloud of future sorrow flung its dark shadow on his path. Henceforth all was confusion, a desperate and unavailing struggle.

Our trace of the fortunes of these petitions, has carried us over some local incidents to which we return. June 13. A letter received from the Speaker to the Mayor and Aldermen, dated 7th instant, for raising money for the maintenance of the armies in Ireland, was read to the House; when it was agreed that all persons lending money, were to pay the same to the Mayor and Aldermen, or Chamberlain, who was to remit the same to the Chamberlain in London, as directed by the letter. "£2625, was subscribed by Members of the Corporation, and £1000, was lent by the Chamber. The Corporation and citizens had already suffered great loss of wealth from the visits of the Commissioners, and the further proceedings against them in the Star Chamber. In the present disbursement we see but the commencement of a series, that however well filled the Treasury might have been, led to its entire impoverishment. Another entry in reference to this subject, occurs on the 19th of the following October:—

"This day, upon opening the matter touching the loane mony desired by Parliament, and intimated by the Speaker's letter of the 7th June last, and now revived by the two Parliament men, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Goodwin, whoe lately came to this Citty, and are bound over to Ireland by order of Parliament. The House are generally of opinion, and doe declare that as the case now stands, considering their great disbursements and the daily charges they are at, the losse of debtes and the decay of trade, and for other causes, they cannot lend any money, and therefore the above are desired and appointed committees on this behalfe, and to meet in the Council House this afternoone, to consult of some meet reasons to be given the above said Parliament men in answer to their not lending. And hereupon Mr. Townclerk is appointed to deliver the same as the answer of the whole House; and Mr. Colston and Mr. Fitzherbert are desired to goe with Mr. Townclerk to the said Parliament men."

The Committee appointed, were Aldermen Hooke, Charlton, Holworthy, and Long; and James, Colston, Gonning, and Fitzherbert, members of the Council. The Puritans were sensitively alive to considerations of self at this second

application, and could cordially unite with the Royalists, and gladly avail themselves of their services to negotiate the delicate business.

While each day but widened the breach between the King and his Parliament, and hastened the outbreak of the approaching storm, so soon to burst upon the devoted land, the Marquis of Hertford, "one of the most heroic of the Cavaliers," visited this City. He was sent by the King with a "Commission of Array," to secure Somersetshire; and it is also probable the visit was designed to ascertain the affections of the citizens, and the extent of their resources. That the latter were considerable, and that the affections of the higher classes were for the most part sincerely bound to their Sovereign, the sacrifices they made bear ample testimony. To what extent they parted with their wealth, we shall (as our records furnish us with direct information) shortly proceed to show; but first we will turn to the entry which has reference to the visit of the Marquis; it is dated July 11th.—

"This day, upon notice and intimation given that the Lord Marquis Hertford is shortly to come to this City, the House think fit that for his Lordship's accommodation, as other Noblemen on the like kind have been, and that his Lordship at present be not driven to take up his lodgings in an Inn, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges' house, on St. Augustine's Back, be obtained for that purpose; and which both Sir F. Gorges and Mr. Thomas Smyth have voluntary offered, *as is informed*. And therefore Mr. Sheriff Yeamans, Mr. Fitzherbert, and Mr. Chamberlain, are desired and appointed this afternoon to give meeting to Sir Ferdinando and Mr. Smyth, and to give them thanks from this House for their love and free offer; and beside they are to consult with them touching the things in the house that may fitly accommodate, whereof Mr. Chamberlain is to take notice."¹

The civic authorities appear to have been represented by Yeamans. His brother Sheriff and the Mayor would be slow to show any honours to the Lord Marquis; who probably was prepared, from the bearing of the Chief Magistrate, for a second manifestation of that officer's disloyalty, which in a few days occurred to this effect:—Lord Paulet, who was desirous of introducing troops of horse into the City on behalf of his Majesty, sent Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Mr. Smyth, of Ashton, to the Mayor to request his permission.

¹ There is no charge for the entertainment of the Marquis in the Treasurer's account, but a small item occurs of three shillings, an expense incurred by Sheriff Yeamans and Mr. Fitzherbert "on going to confer with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, concerning having the great house on St. Augustine's Back for a lodging for the Marquis of Hertford."

The Mayor was consistent. He had allowed artillery to be sent from the City against his Majesty, and he now refused admission to his forces; under the subterfuge that he had received express orders from the King to admit no troops of either party, but to keep and defend the City for his Majesty's use; alluding to the letter wherein the King had exhorted the City to obedience, which had been conveyed to the Mayor in February.¹ His Majesty little supposing that his loyal subject would thus construe its instructions to the injury of his Royal Master.

Bristol, from its commanding at once the rich county of Somerset, and the chief entrance into Wales, was of the utmost consequence to both King and Parliament, though it had not yet publicly declared for either. But the proceedings of the Corporation were too partial to allow their political bearing to be long concealed. The decisive moment approached, and the agitation of the citizens rose to its height. The dread note of martial preparation resounded through the City; and the peaceful inhabitants were disturbed from their wonted placidity by anxiety and excitement. Anxiety for the preservation of their trade, excitement from the daily muster of the trainbands, and from the military preparations on every side. A daily sense of insecurity is expressed in the minutes of the Common Council's proceedings, portentous of the evil days to come. A crisis was evident. Thus we learn that on the 15th of August, the City gates and walls were ordered to be forthwith repaired, and made strong with chains, poullis, and other necessities. Seven gunners were appointed,—and ordnance, and ammunition, fit and expedient to be prepared for the safety of the City.²

The sum of £1000, had been expended in the purchase of arms and ammunition in London; and it was now ordered "that three hundred musketts, and one hundred corslets, be purchased and added to the store." Also, that "the Aldermen of each ward were to see what arms each person hath in his ward, and who are capable to bear arms; who have none of their own, and who are able to provide arms. A committee of ten was appointed to carry the above into execution, and with every speed."

¹ Seyer, II., 309.

² "A piece of ordnance to be placed in a piece of void ground in the holding of Robert Dearn, situate between Bridewell and the Pithay, in a tower there standing, as a very fit place." Part of the tower still remains; it stands at the bottom of the yard of the present Central Police Station.

To avoid disturbances, the strictest discipline was observed; and "The Mayor sent orders through the drummers and fifers, that all soldiers were not to be out of their lodgings after six o'clock at night."

Mr. Joseph Jackson, a violent fanatic, was "appointed the fourth Captain of this City, with one hundred men assigned." This appointment is another evidence of the waning power of the Loyalists in the Council Chamber. It was also necessary to lay in a store of provisions, in case of siege; accordingly, we find there was,—

"£1000, to be expended in the purchase of corn, butter, cheese, for the relief of the inhabitants; and another £1000, as occasion may require."

Suspicion and mistrust dwelt in every breast. On the 15th of October a letter from the Speaker to the Mayor was read, touching the receiving of two thousand soldiers, making provision for them, and causing them to be transported to Ireland. The House was alarmed, perplexed. At this exigence to have so large a force entering the City, under the command of officers opposed to Monarchy, did not appear a prudent course to the Royalists. This consideration influenced the House, and it was agreed that the soldiers should be received; but, except the Captains and Officers, all should be disarmed. The charge for provision and transporting to be paid by the Parliament, according to the letter. It further appears from the entry of this day, that there were ten members of the House chosen to be a Committee for,—

"Safe guarding and for settling and placing ordnance in and about this Cittie, of which Mr. Mayor and the Sheriffs were three. That now in regard of their extraordinary employment and care these times, that Mr. Edward Pitt, Mr. Farmer, and Mr. Bush, be added to the other seven, and are desired to join with them in fortifying the Castle, according to directions forthwith. And to compound with such persons as have houses and hovels against or about the Tower, fit to be pulled down. The Engineer to be continued until further orders. And Mr. Sherman, Capt. Day, and Mr. Chamberlain, proceed to buy the Spanish pikes spoken of, for the use of the Chamber." On the 24th of November it was ordered that the planking of the Tower of the Castle be proceeded with, and that outworks be made round about the City for its defence.

A fortnight after,—"It is agreed that one hundred musquitiars shall watch every night, to be taken out of the four severall bands, viz. twenty-five out of each band, with muskett and halberds, and five of the Common Council, to watch

“every night amongst them, one at each gate, and to begin with five of the youngest, and soe upwards, every night, and to continue untill further order. The common and ordinary watch is to stand likewise. And tis thought fitt that a drummer or two be at each gate, to give notice of preparation, as occasion shall require *in these times of distraction*. Such persons as are not provided of armes are to be furnished out of the common store of the Cittie, as the captains of each band shall desire to have done. Everie daie one of the trayned bands to be in readiness with their armes, and be in field. And Captain Langton to begin. And soe to goe on according to each man’s seniority dailie.” Also two committees were appointed for land and sea service; and it was ordered that “a ship be got ready, with men, and another if necessary.”

On the following day a warrant was issued from “the Maior and Aldermen, directed to the Waterbailiff and to John Ramsthorp, Mariner,—

“To take into custody all the ordnance that are aboard the Bristoll ships now in Hungrode and the Pill, and to bring them up to Bristoll, and to order and settle a guard upon the rest of the ships and ordnance aboard that are there lying.”

Thus Bristol was become a martial City, and we behold our forefathers armed for its defence, though divided amongst themselves, and influenced by anything but a spirit of concord. Our records, however, would instruct us otherwise, that the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council, now having everything tending, as they would desire, to the subversion of monarchy, are well pleased, and in newness of feeling, on Nov. 8th, “declare themselves *to be in love and amity one with another*, and to desire a friendly association together in all mutual accommodation.” The like peaceable disposition and harmonious desire pervades our next extract.

“Mr. Towgood and Mr. Standfast are desired, in the name of all the rest of the Ministers, to give meeting to the committee for general association and amicable accommodation one with another throughout the whole City, to the end that the Ministers themselves and other inhabitants may be drawn thereunto with the better alacrity.”

Following close upon these warlike preparations, we find our Corporation in league with the “Mutual Association,” ostensibly for the defence of the King and kingdom; but considering the anti-monarchical principles of its leaders, and how speedily we discover them in open rebellion, their object is too palpable to be mistaken.

In a letter, dated 24th October, confirmed by the whole House, with the very significant exception of Mr. Alderman Taylor, and Mr. Thomas Hooke, both staunch Loyalists, who absented themselves; the House pledge themselves to oppose any forces brought into Wilts, Somerset, or Gloucestershire, without consent of the Parliament. Thus indisputably placing the authority of the latter before their allegiance to their Sovereign. They certify that they shall be ready to afford assistance as occasion may require, and remain "verie loving friends and neighbours." No signatures are attached to this treasonable epistle, and a blank is left for the name of the party to whom it was sent. Another letter, that will throw some light on the disposition of the Corporation at this eventful season, is directed by them to "THE WORSHIPFUL OUR EVER LOVING FRIEND, ALEXANDER POPHAM." This we transcribe.

"Sir,—We are given to understand by an inhabitant of this City, who grounds his report upon sight of a letter written by yourself to Capt. Harrington, that you have a purpose of bringing some forces out of that county into this City, and to that purpose your direction to Mr. Harrington was to be ready with his trained bands and volunteers, at an hour's warning, and mean time to use all secrecy touching this design. Sir, we hope you will not take any resolution herein without our privity; and mean time shall desire you and all others to desist from so doing, and that you will be pleased to afford us a word in writing of the truth of this report. *We shall be glad, when occasion shall require, to receive all friendly assistance from you*, but as we now stand, we conceive there is none; and thus, with remembrance of our love and best respects unto you, we rest your very loving friends.

"Bristol, 24th November, 1642."

It will be observed, that to all the letters of the Corporation touching their attempt to deliver the City to the Parliament, no names are affixed. The corporate body cautiously avoided committing themselves. Though we find them in amicable correspondence with an officer opposed to Royalty—though they only waited till measures were sufficiently matured to admit his troops—though their preparations from the commencement of the war had been directed to this end,—yet they become ruffled at the statements of the Colonel, and assume an aspect of indignant loyalty, in the same line that they advise him not to do any thing without their "privity." They will let him know when all is prepared, and acknowledge they shall be glad of his *friendly assistance*. The Colonel, knowing the temper of the corporate body, is astonished, as well

he might have been, at their affected innocence. He is desirous some decision should be arrived at, and indicates the course to be pursued.

"Gentlemen,—I have received your letter, and do think it strange you should lay an aspersion upon me for bringing forces into your City without your privity, never yet intended. The single testimony whereupon you divine of this my intention is scarce warrantable; *if I should deal thus with you on fairer grounds by many letters out of your City, it might affect those of you which I am loth to entertain*, and give me cause to think of a remedy to prevent these evils which unwittingly you may bring upon yourselves and us your neighbours and true friends. I confess ingenuously a friendly desire to aid you when occasion requires. I could wish you did as friendly agree in the City, *whether the time be not now come, Sero sapiunt Phryges*. To deal clearly with you, we have appointed a meeting of the gentlemen of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire, at Bath, on Monday next, whither, as I understand you are desired to send some committee for you, this question I hold up for that meeting, where we shall agree upon all courses for our common safety, and know who are against us or with us, and provide accordingly. Thus hoping to meet your committee at the time and place, I rest your faithful friend to serve you.

ALEXANDER POPHAM."

"Pensford, 26th November, 1642."

The committee was not sent. Thereupon the representatives of the county of Somerset write to the Corporation, that they fear their resolutions are unhappily altered; that they had learnt from a Mr. Nathaniel Stephens, of Gloucestershire, "that Monday *night* be a fit *daie* for their meeting;" and desire they would send on that night, or the following morning very early, the gentlemen they intrust with the management of the business. That,—

"Such overture (they conclude) be propounded and debated, and so much debated and concluded which may satisfie both you and our desires and intentions for the publique safety, and in particular that of your Citty, which is cordially desired by your affectionate friends and servants.

E. HUNGERFORD,
WM. STRODE,
JOHN ASHE."

"Bath, 25th November, 1642."

On the same day they appointed the committee to go to Bath, but neglected replying to this letter, stating what they had done; and in consequence received another, dated Bath, Nov. 27th, signed by Edw. Hungerford, Jno. Horner, Alex. Popham, Wm. Strode, and Jno. Ashe, expressing surprise at the want of civility in not answering their letter, and allowing them to depart without knowing what the Mayor and Aldermen intended doing; that they

had appointed Col. Popham to draw together so many of his regiment as he should think fit near the City, to be ready for its defence, and the men to help in the fortifications; and nothing moved them to this but the great care of the City and themselves. Whereupon the Mayor and Aldermen address Col. Popham; and to clear themselves of the imputation of want of civility, send him his own letters to review. They inform him that "upon due consideration they had agreed with some meet persons to accommodate the service," and doubt not but that he will still retain them in his good opinion.

The "meet persons" they had agreed with to go to Bath, were Alderman Charlton, Messrs. Wallis, James, Fitzherbert, Hodges, and Dyer.

While the Common Council¹ were considering the propositions they had received from their committee at Bath, we learn from a letter written by the Corporation to Col. Popham, that their deliberations were brought to an abrupt termination. They inform him of a,—

"Sudden and certain report of a company of Volunteers coming into Bedminster, whose numbers were on the increase; of the report of some others to be billeted at Westbury and places adjoining; which has so distracted them that they do not know what to be about, and cannot satisfy his expectations till they know for what the preparations are intended."

How they extricated themselves from their "distractions" will be immediately seen; meanwhile we may not omit, as conveying a good understanding of the period, a characteristic letter which we find amongst our records, addressed "To the Right Worshipful Mr. Mayor."

"Sir,—Although our hearts are good, yet we have no place of strength in this county to defend *against* the King. Wherefore I desire to know your resolution if I should march with my regiment, which I conceive will consist of about one thousand well armed men and three load of ammunition, whether you would receive us into your town like soldiers, with our colours flying, drums beating, musquetts charged, and matches lighted, which if you please to do, we shall readily venture for the defence of your City; thus desiring your speedy answer, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty, and rest your very loving friend,

"Brewham, 23rd Nov., 1642."

COL. BAYNTON."

The report of the disaffection of the City, must have been general amongst

¹ December, 1642. Twelve of the Common Council were to consider of the propositions made by the gentlemen of the counties of Somersetshire, Wilts, and Gloucestershire.

the Parliamentary forces, to whom the concluding words of this letter would sufficiently indicate the Colonel belonged, were it not apparent from the previous context. An anxiety to befriend the City is the pervading sentiment of all these compositions. How far the inhabitants were benefited by the *friends* they unwittingly admitted within their gates, will be developed as the narrative proceeds.

To such an extent was religious and political animosity carried, that each individual bore the cognizance of the party to which he inclined; thus begetting and stimulating an inimical spirit towards each other; dividing kindred from kindred, friend from friend, neighbour from neighbour,—and keeping the whole City in a state of contention. To check if possible the increasing feeling of mutual dislike from this cause, we are informed in the peculiar diction of the times, that on the 27th of November,—

“To prevent controversies arising from wearing colours and ribbons in their hats, tending to breed faction and dissensions, the Mayor and Aldermen, with the consent of the House, were to prescribe, as a great breach of the peace, upon pain to receive such punishment as by law and good discretion shall be inflicted upon them.”

One instance out of many may be selected as having reference to the dissensions arising from bearing marks of partisanship:

“18th August, Wm. Moggridge, servant to Mr. Kelly, being convented before the Mayor and Aldermen for assaulting one Charles Greene this morning in the High Street, in Bristoll, and pulling a ribband out of his hatt, doth confesse that he did it, and it was for that they were the colours which the cavaliers used to weare.”

Colonel Essex had now approached the City with an army of horse and foot, and the Council who had previously agreed to admit other forces quartered in the neighbourhood, hastened their arrival to render useless any attempt at resistance on the part of the Royalists. They, however, also apprised of the Colonel's attempt, were in arms and had made earnest preparations for the defence of the City. Two guns were planted at the From Gate where he was expected, and two at the High Cross. The trainbands, to the amount of one hundred men, (armed with pikes and muskets and balls,) kept watch and ward by night and day as well without as within the gates, “to keep out all strange forces.”¹ The Puritans also made a pretence,

¹ Seyer.

it was nothing more, of opposing the rebels. And the Mayor and Aldermen issued a warrant to the Water Bailiff, "to take all ordnance on board the Bristol ships in Kingroad and Pill, and bring them up to the City, and to set a guard upon the rest of the ships that are there lying."

Whatever might have been the political bias of the City, we have seen its rulers in friendly correspondence and treaty with the enemy; and we furthermore learn from the following letter, that Colonel Essex, detained as prisoners, the Committee sent to Bath; probably as hostages for the fulfilment of the promises of the Corporation, till himself and forces were within the gates. This letter dated 7th December, is addressed to Sir John Seymour, Mr. Edward Stephens, and Mr. Alexander Popham, and was sent away the evening before the arrival of Essex.—

"Sir,—*Whiles we were a resolving*, where and how to accommodate such friends of your trainbands to be taken into the City, which we thought with all cheerfulness to entertain, upon your faithful and fair promises of no wrong or injury to be done against us: there came a messenger from our *gents*, which we sent Monday last to Colonel Essex, intimating that they were kept as prisoners, and that the Colonel with his forces with the trainbands, of the county of Gloucester, are this night to be at Thornbury, or near thereabouts, with the intent of being here to morrow next. Sir, we shall desire you, the case thus standing, to do us the favour as to be here on to morrow next some time in the forenoon, whereby we may friendly compose and accomodate the premises to avoid the effusion of blood, which otherwise will undoubtedly happen, and thus with tender of our best respects we rest your very loving friends."

The Corporation had been somewhat tardy in admitting Colonel Popham's troops, and while they were making up their mind whether the *time was come*, Colonel Essex decided that it *was*,—and presented himself before the gates of the City. It is remarkable, that we find no record of any attempt made by the Royalists, to obtain assistance from the King at this desperate juncture.

But it was now too late, had such been possible. Seyer recounts the surrender of the City into the hands of the Parliament to this effect. While Essex's troops were at the gates, the Magistrates were assembled at the Tolzey, professedly engaged in measures for the preservation of the City for his Majesty's use. Presently there was a great uproar,—in which the shrill voice of females predominated; and with the uproar, there came about one

hundred of the better class of the citizens' wives,¹ followed by all the refuse of the courts and alleys. They were headed by the Lady Mayoress, by Lady Rogers,² Mrs. Holworthy,³ Mrs. Vickris,⁴ and other ladies, whose husbands were or had been distinguished in the Council Chamber. In a tumultuous manner they entered the Tolzey, and presented a Petition for the admission of the Parliamentary troops. The wives and daughters of the Magistrates also, were amongst the petitioners, and the appeal was irresistible. The gates were ordered to be opened. These were, however, kept by the Royalists, and at Froom Gate a contest occurred; during which Essex, and his troops contrived to slip in at Newgate, which had been opened, as was said, by the contrivance of a woman. Essex's number was so small, that it showed how vain would have been his attempt to obtain an entrance, had he not depended upon the treachery of those within.⁵ He immediately took upon himself the governorship of the City and Castle; and the inhabitants began to feel, and to have a practical understanding of the meaning of martial law.⁶

Here a circumstance, otherwise trivial, throws light upon the rugged character of the time. It deals more particularly with what was then the every day tale of the Justice room. Such feelings, under no moral or religious control, are better fitted for the depths of a savage forest, than for the cities of a Christian land. Unhappily, they are not confined to a past tense.

✓“Before the Maior and Aldermen, 10th Dec., 1642, Richard Tyler, Baker, informeth upon oath that yesterday last, in the afternoon, being in Wine Street, in Bristoll, where y^e Parliament troop of horse were standing, one Wm. Knight, a Tailor, there standing by them a foote, with a small piece or carbine on his shoulders, y^e said Knight demanded of one of the horsemen if all the foote were come in alsoe; whoe answered him that he knew not whether all the foote were come in or not. Whereupon the said Knighte replying said these very words, (viz.) ‘*Well now, if you doe not plunder soundly, I would that you were all hanged; and we will shew you all the best places.*’ To whom the said horseman made answere, that he should forbear that then, and they would talk of that soone.”/

¹ “The women were great politicians in those evil days, they followed the example of the women of London who had petitioned Parliament.”—WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert*.

² Widow of Sir Robert Rogers, Mayor in 1621. ³ Wife of Richard Holworthy, Mayor in 1635.

⁴ Wife of Richard Vickris, Sheriff in 1636.

⁵ Of his entry into the City, we have only this notice, from which we infer he arrived at night. “Paid for four torches at the coming of Col. Essex, £0 : 2 : 0.”—*City Records*.

⁶ Barrett.

A gloomy Christmas it was in the old City.—The divided inhabitants, who suffered more in loss of substance from the *friends* they had admitted within their gates, than from the extortions of Charles's Commissioners; now, oppressed with the weight of martial law, would have gladly turned for relief and protection to that Kingly power, which through their representatives they had helped to abridge, and against whose rule they had revolted. Add to this, there were ominous forebodings of the future, which saddened every one that still abided by the doctrines of the Established Church. The sanctimonious Puritans overdid the part they played, and under the cloak of religion rushed with frantic enthusiasm into the wildest extremes. Amongst many, the loudest in their preaching, and the longest at their prayers, there reigned, says a contemporary, "immorality, lust, cruelty, and disregard of all the virtues and decencies of life." And into such hands had the City now fallen. We are presented with a type, in the unprovoked murder by the self-elected Governor, Col. Essex, of one of his soldiers, who simply applied for his pay. The Royalists more especially suffered. They could not walk the streets without insults, revilings, and assault,—against which they had no appeal. Even these perambulations were restricted to the City; if found without, they were sent prisoners to Taunton, or Berkeley Castle.¹ Such was the liberty enjoyed under the despotic usurpation of the fanatics; in this manner did they triumph when in the ascendant, and their self-righteousness increased. In their solemn bigotry they would crush every innocent pastime,—every hoary usage connected with the Christian observance of this heretofore festive season. Its warm-hearted hospitality,—its rejoicing thankfulness,—as displayed in mutual offices of kindness and good-will, were changed to acerbity, distrust, and animosity; dividing neighbours, friends, and families. The customary sounds of merriment, of cheerful family gatherings, had given place to timid meetings, and anxious consultations of the Royalists,—and to lengthy prayers, longer discourses, and endless psalm singing of the Puritans. And thus without charity,—without mirth,—without concord,—and without happiness, did Christmas pass!

The old year closed upon the King at Oxford. There was a pause in the hurried movements; a temporary calm in the inhuman storm. Both parties

¹ Barrett.

were ostensibly making advances for peace, but really employed in preparations for war. In the north, the Royalists, under the command of the Earls of Newcastle, and Cumberland, had suspended operations till the Queen's arrival with reinforcements. Essex, lay with his army at Windsor. The Eastern Counties, and the City of Norwich, were engaged in an association to stand by the Parliament with their lives and fortunes. "The King continued to hold his Court at Christ Church, walking daily in the gardens; and what is not to be forgotten, daily at service and sermon, hearing and practising the Protestant religion that hath ever been in our Church, and we think not likely to bring in Popery."¹ The dismal winter had set in with dark and malignant surroundings. The flames of dissent were spread abroad throughout England. And amid troubled politics, amid ominous forebodings of toil, and strife, and peril,—with a long vista of calamities in the gloomy future,—did the old year close upon the sad and mournful King!

¹ Warburton's Prince Rupert, II., 87. "From an honest letter to a doubtful friend."

CHAPTER III.

Character, and removal of Col. Essex from the Government of the City—Fiennes appointed—Money levied upon the Inhabitants for the support of the Garrison—Oppressions on the Royalists—Fiennes ejects the regular Clergy from their Benefices—Money lent by the City to the Parliament—Discovery of a Combination to deliver the City to Prince Rupert—Trial and Condemnation of Yeamans and Boucher—Their Execution—Attack on the City by the Royalists and Surrender of Fiennes—Visit of Charles and his two Sons—They attend the Cathedral—Order of the Procession—Restoration of the National Worship—Curious Letter respecting the Church Bells—Frigates provided by the Royalists to guard the River—Oxford Parliament—Visit of Henrietta Maria—Extraordinary Expenses—Protestation of the Corporation—They raise a Troop of Horse—Preparation for the Reception of Prince Charles—Fairfax and Cromwell lay Siege to the City—Its Surrender—Death of Col. Taylor—Distressed State of the City—Departure of Prince Rupert.

It were vain, to attempt to relate within the limits of this volume, the events of those years, when Bristol was exposed to the infinite calamities and horrors of the great national warfare; and suffered from the severally combined evils of civil war, pestilence, and famine. The severe martial rule of the Puritans—the murder of two loyal subjects, and the imprisonment of others—the desecration of the churches—the disregard of all hallowed institutions and sanctified uses—the siege, the attack, the surrender of the City—the visit of Charles and his two sons,—are all events of thrilling interest, of the highest personal and historical importance,—replete with ideas, scenes, and feelings, mournfully and romantically suggestive! Of these it is necessary we should take a rapid survey; and as far as success has awaited our research, it is better for the good understanding of the civic transactions of this convulsive period,—to endeavour to comprehend them, and the position of the Corporation, through the medium of their own pen, and through such authorities as may assist in the elucidation of their records.

That there was a majority of the Common Council opposed to their Sovereign, if previously questionable, is now made indisputable by the admission of Essex's troops; a measure that by only one vote of the House could have been prevented. But this will not occasion surprise, when we consider that the magistracy had already obeyed the orders of Parliament, in two several

instances; and furthermore, were now led on by such men as the Mayor, Richard Aldworth, and the two Sheriffs, Brown and Jackson; who, as we shall shortly see, sealed their traitorous inclinations, and proclaimed their principles, by sitting on Fiennes' Committee, levying taxes for the Parliament.

Col. Essex was not allowed to retain his post as Governor of the Castle and City, for any length of time. He did not wear with becoming gravity the mask of sanctity. He was fond of the good things of this life, and thought too much of creature comforts, which he had not dissimulation enough to conceal. Instead of mortifying himself by fasting and praying, he was more usually engaged in feasting and revelling. He could not resist the enjoyments of the table, and the charm of animated society; even though his entertainer, was known to possess Loyalist principles. His "excessive prodigality and profuseness in feasting, gaming, and drinking, whilst his soldiers were fasting and perishing for hunger,"¹ offended the Puritanical spirit of his sour associates, and they sought his speedy removal. Beyond this, his violent temper rendered him utterly unfit for command; of which the unprovoked murder of one of his troopers, by firing a pistol at him, is strong confirmation.² However, we may regard his other imperfections, this heinous crime can admit of no extenuation; and yet for this unprovoked murder, such was the injustice and insecurity of the time, he was called to no earthly tribunal, to render an account of his blood guiltiness! Suspicions were also entertained of his fidelity; and the Earl of Essex gave orders to Col. Nath. Fiennes to march to Bristol, which he entered in February, with five troops of horse, and five companies of foot, commanded also by Col. Popham, and Clement Walker. Fiennes quickly removed Col. Essex, who was taken prisoner while "a feasting and revelling with divers gentlemen and ladies, after his accustomed manner, being mighty joviall and merry in the midst of his cups," at an entertainment given by Capt. Hill, at Redland Court.³

¹ Seyer, II., 324.^a

^a The truthfulness of the character given of Col. Essex is borne out by the following entry: "1644. Sheriff Bevan to be allowed £80 for house room, and wasting and consuming his goods, and entertaining Col. Essex for about three months."—*City Records*.

² "The man had only said these words: *Noble governour, give me leave to speak a word or two to you*, when he immediately shot him through the head."—*Ibid.*, II., 327.

³ *Ibid.*, II., 322.

On the 27th of the same month, Sir Edward Hungerford's forces also entered the City, and the Castle was made a garrison for the Parliament. Fiennes, who had been appointed Governor of the City and Castle, gave no cause for being suspected of indifference to his party, as did his predecessor. On the contrary, he promptly disarmed the trainbands, who, as we have observed, were generally favourable to the Royal cause, for the purpose of arming his own soldiers, and the disaffected citizens. Also within a few days, the King having sent a proclamation to Bristol concerning the Royal Navy,—

“He permits it to be proclaimed, that thence he might take occasion to blaspheme his Sovereign; and the next day, (Saturday) being the chiefe market day, when the market was fullest, that the news might be carried into all parts of the country, and every one learne from so desperate an example to contemn their Sovereign's commands, Fines comes in his coach to the High Crosse, attended by a troope of horse, and after a declaration read, that the proclamation published the day before was a scandallous and libellous paper, and such as deserved to be burnt by the hand of a publique hangman; he caused the serjeant that proclaimed it to burne it, holding pistolls to his breast, and threatening to shoot him if he did not hold them high enough, fearing it seems that so damnable, so unpardonable, a treason should want witnesses.”¹

The City having submitted to the authority of Parliament, a committee was appointed for the purpose of levying the assessments the Houses had imposed; this amounted to £55 : 15 per week, derived from every man's lands, goods, money at interest, and stock in trade.² This tax, however, being found insufficient to pay the expenses of the garrison, a further assessment of £400, per week was proposed, and a committee³ appointed to apportion it on the inhabitants.

From some cause not mentioned, this latter assessment did not come into operation; and Fiennes was in consequence continually complaining of want of money to pay his men. He was not however very particular in his manner of obtaining supplies; and he was backed by an unscrupulous committee,

¹ Seyer, II., 371.

² With the committee, besides Fiennes' own officers, (Popham and Walker) were associated Rich. Aldworth, Joseph Jackson, Hugh Brown, Rich. Holworthy, Luke Hodges, and Henry Gibbs.

³ Nathaniel Fiennes, Col. Popham, Richard Aldworth, Sergeant Major Jno. Clifton, Capt. Thomas Hippsley, Luke Hodges, Henry Gibbs, and James Howell.

who, as they had the power, had also the will to plunder the Royalists; a feeling they gratified with impunity, on every imaginable and shallow pretext. As an instance,—from John Gunning, Jun., a member of the Common Council, who refused to take the illegal oath, Fiennes extorted £200.¹ In like manner, he exacted contributions from the City and neighbourhood, more especially from those who were unfortunately suspected of monarchical principles. To sequester their estates, and reduce them to poverty, was the privilege of the power he possessed. But this was not all,—as though the Royalists had been branded with crime, and outlawed from humanity,—they could not appear in the streets without being reviled at, spat upon, threatened,—called “malignants,” and “papists,” and by every conceivable and opprobrious epithet. They were the more particularly exposed to insult on account of their religion, as almost all the King’s friends, except the Roman Catholics, were attached to the Church of England, against which, the Puritans had the most bigoted hatred, persecuting with relentless cruelty, all connected therewith.²

It was at this time, when the Puritans were in the ascendant, that the mob, headed by Walter Stephens (a linen draper) and a leader of the Parliamentarians, destroyed the “Virgin Mary Chapel,” on the Bridge.³ Also by an order of the House of Commons, the churchwardens of every parish were commanded to demolish all crucifixes, crosses, images, &c., whether within or without the church. It was an order well adapted to stimulate the religious frenzy of the people; and at Bristol, the ecclesiastical buildings suffered more injury, from the iconoclastic fury of fanatic zeal,—than they had at the dissolution of monastic and religious houses in the preceding century. Besides this violence to the churches, their estates also suffered. The orthodox clergy were designated as “Priests of Baal;” of these some were plundered, some ejected, and some were killed,—and in their places were substituted “most infamous, notorious schismatics,” who were entitled

¹ See Seyer, II., 332.

² Ibid., II., 336.

³ He appears to have been one of the “Bridgemen,” so notorious for their disloyalty, and not the most ductile of citizens. “23rd February, 1648-9, Mr. Walter Stephens hath *now* promised to confirm himself to the order of the Mayor and Justices, and will either pull down or forthwith repair his arch hanging over the highway leading over the Bridge, which is verie dangerous to all people travelling that way.”—*City Records*.

"Godly ministers." Master Williamson, an orthodox and "Godly man," was ejected from All Saints', and one John Tombs, of Leominster, usurped his cure. The Rev. Richard Standfast, Rector of Christ Church, and Richard Towgood, Vicar of St. Nicholas, "two orthodox and learned and pious ministers," and other worthy divines, were displaced by Fiennes, and "frantic, violent, *inspired* preachers," such as Craddock, Bacon, Walter, and Simonds, intruded themselves into the vacant benefices.¹

Some idea may be formed to what extent the Democrats availed themselves of the wealth of the citizens, by the following extracts from our audits for this year:—

"Payments at various times to Lord Essex, for which he gave a bill of exchange, to be repaid by the Lord Saye (and Sele) in London," amounted to £3200. To Col. Fiennes, with other large amounts, £1000; To Sir W. Waller, £2000;—this sum was put into a cask and sent to Sir William, who was in Cornwall opposing his "old and honoured friend, Hopton."

"Paid Lieut. Col. Calmadge, lent to the association of the counties of Somerset, Gloucester, and Wilts, on the present occasion of the kingdom, £1000."

The same amount was lent to the county of Gloucester; Lord Stamford was also accommodated with the loan of £600, the same to be received of his lady in London; Alderman Locke furnished it, and was paid £15, for the loan. The aggregate amount was £8800, contributed by the City, during the few months the Parliament held possession.

Bristol being the principal port from which forces were transmitted to Ireland, we will take a hasty glance of the employment of the citizens during the oppressive transactions above related. A considerable sum of money and other property, was contributed for the relief of the suffering Protestants there, some of which was granted by the Common Council. This "benevolence" was embarked in two vessels.² Also the sum of £208 : 0 : 2

¹ Seyer, II., 337.

² The "Mermaid" and "The Sampson." Further we have an account of the cost of sending soldiers to Ireland in four vessels:—

"Sam," of Bristol	£105 : 8 : 2
"Ruth," of London	25 : 19 : 4
"John," of Minehead	180 : 5 : 4
"Charity," of Bristol	252 : 1 : 4

SEYER.

was expended in fitting out the "Fellowship" and the "Mary and John" for the Coast of Ireland, by order of Parliament, for *his Majesty's service*, "which amount was to be repaid by the owners, they having been paid by the Parliament." The mockery of the words "*for his Majesty's service*, may be remarked. This form of expression was used by the demagogues, long after they were in open warfare, in commanding assistance and raising supplies to act *against* their Sovereign, in whose name they were levied and enforced.¹⁻²

While Fiennes was impoverishing the citizens, and strengthening his position by extending the fortifications of the City, the defences of the river had not been overlooked. A Pinnace was fitted out, called "The Lion," to keep the Road and Channel, commanded by Captain Hickes.

There are many entries in our records having reference to the port, two of these, at the risk of exhausting the patience of the reader, we give as written in their peculiar phraseology:—

"February 11th, 1642-3. It is this daie ordered *and condescended* to, that all owners of shipping belonging to this port, shall with all convenient speed, clear Hungrode of all their ships, and speedily carry them out into Kingroad or bring them to Roundham, the Graving place, or the Key. And meane time the owners see [illegible, probably warned] and intending to bring up or take away their ships, but cannott, the tyde or weather happening contrary, are ordered and required by this house, forthwith to bring all the ordnance of such ships up to this Citty."

"February 18th. It is this day agreed, that Mr. Kemis and the ship wherein he served at the Holdmouth below Hungrode, shall be discharged, and is from henceforth dismissed of that employment. And it is agreed that one of the two ships of Wexford, which are stayed heere in this porte, shall be prepared and made ready forthwith, by Mr. Thomas Cole, and one other to be employed in the place of the former, which they are desired to see done."³

It is not to be supposed, that the King's friends could long endure to be so

¹ Among the other anomalies of this Revolution, almost to the last, all measures in opposition were enforced in his [the King's] own name, to the infinite mystification of the mass of the people, who were mostly well meaning, though unlearned.—Miss STRICKLAND's *Life of Henrietta Maria*, 86.

² The name of Royalty was still so dear to the country, that every Roundhead edict assailing it, still ran in the name of "The King and Parliament."—HUME.

³ Mr. Kemis was probably a Royalist. Mr. Thomas Cole, is the Roundhead who subsequently obtained so unenviable a notoriety by figuring in the Council of War, that condemned his two fellow citizens to death.

oppressed and trampled upon, by these self-designated "patriots," whom they had imprudently allowed to become masters over their lives and fortunes. Those, whose treachery had advocated the admission of the Parliament's troops, now, on finding themselves sufferers from their severe and arbitrary regulations, regretted their rash step. There were many amongst the officers of Fiennes' regiment, of more liberal minds, to whom the blind zeal of their party had become intolerable. They were weary of the extravagant preaching, and of the extemporaneous devotional rhapsodies of their saturnine associates; and waited but an occasion to rally once more around the Royal standard. This occasion soon offered itself, and was earnestly embraced. Robert Yeamans, (Sheriff in 1641) a staunch Royalist, who had received a commission from the King, at Oxford, to raise a regiment for his Majesty's service at Bristol,—entered into an association with George Boucher, and some of the principal inhabitants, amounting to about two thousand, to let in Prince Rupert and his army, on the night of March the 7th, 1643. The Parliamentary pamphlets give a most sanguinary character to the association, in language too violent and revolting for quotation. The most moderate, relates that the Loyalists in the City, were to break open the house of the Mayor, and, as a preliminary step, to kill him and his family, seize the keys of the City, open the gates, and admit their confederates. This was to be followed by the plunder, and massacre of all citizens, who did not wear white tape as a mark of their loyalty.

The eventful night arrived. Yeamans and his party had been actively engaged.¹ He had brought over some of the officers of the garrison to assist him in the design; and had given money to them to distribute amongst the soldiers whom he believed well affected to his Majesty. An oath had been drawn up by Boucher, expressive of attachment to the King, which had been

¹ The rebels asserted that the following Proclamation was found in writing in Mr. Yeamans' house:—"All inhabitants of the Bridge,* High Street, and Corne Streete, keepe within your dores, upon paines of your lives. All other inhabitants of this City, that stand for the King, the Protestant religion, and the liberty of the City, let them forthwith appeare at the High Crosse, with such armour as they have, for the defence of their wives and children, and follow their leaders for the same defence."—SEYER, II., 343.

* The *Bridgemen* [as they were called,] were generally and notoriously disaffected to the King's cause. When Fiennes surrendered the City to Prince Rupert, their houses were more especially plundered by the triumphant and ungovernable soldiery.

administered to many. Frequent conferences had been holden at Oxford, between some of the citizens, Prince Rupert, and Charles himself,—who approved of the purpose, and said he would “make Bristol a famous place, when he got possession of it.” Prince Rupert was to approach with his army, and send a sufficient force to Durdham Down, ready to enter the City when the signal should be given. Fire-arms and ammunition, swords and clubs, had been provided. On the night appointed, a party of Royalists secretly entered Yeamans’ house in Wine Street, by the side door in the lane.¹ One hundred and sixty men collected at Boucher’s house, in Christmas Street.² Another party met at Mr. Thomas Millard’s house, in St. Michael’s parish. And in the same parish a fourth party, including Thomas, and Matthew Stephens, and John Pestor, met at the house of one Richard Luckett. All was prepared. As soon as Froom Gate should be in possession of the Royal party, the ringing of the bells of St. Michael, and St. John’s Churches, were to signal to Prince Rupert, immediately to march hither with his troops. That night a group of soldiers waited near the gallows on St. Michael’s Hill; and in a house at Redland, was the fierce and impatient Rupert; and near it, a party of dragoons were quartered round a fire, listening with anxious and wearying suspense for the token of success,—that came not. While thus the hand of Time, seemed to move with sluggish pace to the impetuous Prince, ill fared his friends within the City. Their design had failed. Confident of success, they had entrusted the secret of the enterprise incautiously. Barrett (probably from tradition,) says it was discovered by some “tattling females,” who were active on the Parliament side.³ But this is unimportant;—it is sufficient that the Royalists, armed for action, waited but the hour, when Yeamans received directions from one of Essex’s officers to immediately dismiss his men. It was too late. Musqueteers surrounded the house, and Yeamans, his brother, and Mr. Arundel, with twenty-three of their party, were secured; the remainder

¹ Situated on the north side of Wine Street, nearly opposite the Guard House.

² His house appears to have been that which adjoins Froom (alias, Christmas Street,) Bridge, on the side nearest to St. John’s Church. The house is built with a court in the middle, having massy freestone pillars to support one side. On the side opposite to the entrance, is a large room, looking upon the river, lately used as a school room; the entrance to which is by a narrow passage out of the street.—SEYER.

³ “Prynne says, that it was discovered by one Dobbins, to Clement Walker.”—SEYER, II., 348.

made their escape over the top of the house. At Boucher's, "because they of the house would hang out no lights upon this alarm," the soldiers broke open the door; but only six men were taken that night, the others had contrived to elude pursuit by means of a water-gate that opened on the Froom. "They went away through the water, it being low tide." Altogether, nearly one hundred persons were taken, who were immediately imprisoned in the Castle. The number engaged in the enterprise, was supposed to have been about two thousand.¹

Chained by their necks and feet in dismal, loathsome dungeons, without light,—without fire,—and without food, but of the coarsest, and that the most stinted, were Yeamans and Boucher for twelve weeks left to languish in their misery. Denied all communication with relatives or friends,—deprived of all

¹ "The chiefe actors," says a Parliamentary pamphlet, "of this mischievous design, were the aforesaid Robert Yeamans, and George Butcher, Mr. John Taylor, Mr. Coleston and his brother, Mr. Fitzherbert, two Colsons, the two Herberts, N. Cule, E. Arundle, Mr. Caple, and Capt. Cole, of St. Augustine's."—SEYER, II., 364.

Seyer extracts from a Parliamentary pamphlet, to which he makes some additions out of Fiennes' proclamation, a list of the names (as far as they could be recovered,) "of those who stood up in this loyal cause." His list contains upwards of one hundred. We select those who will re-appear on these pages in the progress of this work:—

Edmund Arundell, Merchant.
 George Boucher, „
 John Boucher, Merchant, Son of Nathaniel Boucher.
 John Boucher, Jun., Son of George Boucher; apparently an Oxford Scholar.
 Rev. Mr. Brent.
 Captain Boone.
 John Broadway, [or Bradway,] Vintner.
 Robert Blackborrough, Brewer.
 Robert Browne, of Clifton.
 Griffin Batten.
 Capt. T. Cole, or Coale.
 Mr. William Coleston [or Coulson,] and his Brother.
 N. Cule.
 Edmund Dacres, or Daker, Plumber.
 Mr. Edward Dacres, perhaps the same, [probably Brothers and partners, as Plumbers.]

Capt. Doughtie.
 Mr. Fitzherbert.
 Richard Grigson.
 Mr. Green, Lawyer, Steward of Bristol, [perhaps Steward of the Sheriff's Court.]
 The two Haynes's, William and John.
 William Joanes.
 Mr. Thos Milward, or Millard, of St. Michael's.
 Rowland Searchfield, Merchant.
 Thomas and Mathew Stephens.
 John Taylor, Merchant.
 John Tilly, Mercer.
 Young Mr. Towgood, an Oxford Scholar, Son of the Rev. Mr. Towgood.
 Mr. Weeks.
 Robert Yeamans, Merchant.
 William Yeamans, Merchant, Brother to Robert Yeamans.
 Richard Yeamans, Grazier.

sympathy,—oppressed with gloomy anxieties and dread forebodings,—even hope had fled.—Yeamans “was a man of magnanimous spirit, a large soule, fit for great employments, and therefore more sensible of indignities, for great spirits oppressed, like tapers held downwards, are extinguished by the same matter which gives them life.” Thus reduced, emaciated, and grief-worn, they were brought to trial at the large house at the Bridge End, where Lady Rogers had resided.¹

They were a remarkable party who composed the Council of War, assembled round that Council table. Nathaniel Fiennes, the avaricious, the extorting, and the heartless, presided over their deliberations. The case was conducted for the Parliament by the versatile but gifted Master Clement Walker, Usher of the Exchequer; who with equal composure and indifference, would have undertaken to act in a similar capacity for his companions beside him. He is described as “a man that had his hands stained in his own wife’s blood, before he dipped them so deep in these martyrs’, and as the advocate to that congregation of murderers that judged these innocents to death.”² With the exception of Thomas Cole, of Serjeant-Major John Clifton,³ of Capt. Thomas Hippisley, (the two latter were on the Committee with Fiennes, to apportion the tax on the inhabitants,) and Herbert, late Provost Marshal, the Council of War was principally composed of the “meanest and vilest” in the City. “William Dowell was a pedant, and from whipping of boys was made an unrighteous judge of men; James Hearne was a drunken attorney; and Robert Baugh was a sheepe skinne dresser, who in the time of peace durst not come neare Master Yeamans, but uncovered at a distance, as his duty was, now plucked off Master Yeamans his hat, commanding him to stand bare before him.”⁴ Of such characters was that Council of War composed. Little chance had the brave, the generous Cavalier amidst that unjust assembly of dark, grim, austere Puritans, whose sectarian pride had usurped

¹ Seyer.

² A partizan, Denzil Lord Hollis, writes of him as “a gentleman of great learning and ability, and a zealous defender of the Presbyterian party.”

³ The Serjeant-Major was what we now call the Major. Fiennes afterwards made Clifton his Lieutenant-Colonel.—SEYER, II., 385.

⁴ Ibid., II., 374. “The Two State Martyrs,” &c., conjectured by Seyer to be written by the Rev. Richard Towgood.

the place of Christian charity; whose "scriptural phraseology" had little in accordance with the merciless spirit of persecution that raged and held possession of their hearts. It is an observable fact, that we do not again meet with any of the following parties¹ that belonged to the Council of War, through all our extended researches amongst our archives. They were not probably of sufficient position, or were too corrupt and degraded for that *virtuous* age to enter the Chamber, or their names would assuredly have appeared upon the records.

Hitherto no example had occurred wherein either party had put their adversaries to death by form of trial; this was to be the first. After repeated examinations, Yeamans and Boucher, with Mr. Wm. Yeamans and Mr. Edw. Dacres, were found guilty of conspiring against the Parliament, and condemned to be hanged. There were those sitting in that infamous Court, amongst that Council, who had associated with their victims before them in friendly intercourse, or social companionship, or oft perhaps met at the Tolzey for purposes of trade; who now, blinded and misguided by the insane spirit of fanaticism, forgetful of that sacred thing, a human life,—countenanced, sanctioned, and confirmed the sentence that doomed two worthy citizens to an ignominious death!

It is not to be supposed but that some attempt would be made by the Royalists, to prevent the unjust sentence of the Council of War from being carried into execution. The Earl of Forth wrote to Fiennes, from Oxford, threatening to retaliate on the prisoners taken in rebellion against his Majesty at Cirencester, and to put Master George, Master Stephens, Captain Huntley, and others, "into the same condition." But Fiennes felt his advantage, and insolently replied,—

"We are well assured that neither your Lordship, nor any other mortall man, can put them into the same condition; for whether they live or dye, they will always be accounted true and honest men, *faithful to their King* and country, and such as in a faire and open way have always prosecuted that cause, which in their judgment, guided by the judgment of the Highest Court, they held the justest. Whereas the conspirators of this Citie must, both in life and death, carry perpetually with them

¹ Richard Cole, Walter White, James Ford, John Champneyes, Martin Husband, Thomas Rawlins, Thomas Goodere, Thomas Wallis; who, with those already named, composed the Council of War.—*City Records*.

the brand of treachery and conspiracy." And conscious that the prisoners in the King's hands were but of humble degree, while he possessed the "flower of the nobilitie and gentry." Fiennes warns the Earl of Forth, that should he proceed to the execution of the persons named, "then Sir Walter Pye, Sir William Crofts, Col. Connesby, and divers others here in custody, must expect no favour or mercy."¹

The King also wrote to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, "commanding them to rayse the power of the City, and employ it to the rescue of these men designed for slaughter." If, he says, "that you suffer this horrid and execrable murder to be committed upon the persons aforesaid, and thereby call the judgement of God, and bring perpetual infamy upon that our Citie; we shall look upon it as the most barbarous and inhuman act that hath beene yet committed against us, and upon you as the most desperate betrayers of us, and of the lives and liberties of your fellow subjects." It was in vain. Had Charles known the disloyalty of the Mayor, who writes of the combination as "a treason as horrible, as detestible, and setting aside but the greatnesse of persons, as bloody as the gunpowder treason * * * and ought yearly to be celebrated with praise and thansgiving to the great Protector unto eternity." Had his Majesty read this passage, and been acquainted with the character of the Sheriffs, at this critical emergency, he would have known how inefficacious any appeal, in the name of Royalty, would be to move their hearts in the cause of humanity. Fiennes, who had had intelligence that a letter was coming from the King, kept the gates shut, to keep out the messenger till the dark tragedy was over. He was then allowed to enter. "*Fiennes committed him to prison, where he remained long.*" Such outrages, so opposed to justice and common sense, now appear incredible.²

The gates of the City are shut,—the shops are closed,—and groups of armed men parade the streets. From lanes, alleys, courts, and bye-ways, have the populace emerged; all directed to one spot in the heart of the City, where the windows are thronged with gazers,—and the roofs are covered with human life. In the widest part of the street³ is a scaffold,—girt by a dark and

¹ A letter from Lord Essex, at Lewsham, to Col. Fiennes, March 27th, [intercepted] enjoins punishment of "Bristol traitors."—Index and Abstract of Correspondence, *WARBURTON'S Prince Rupert*.

² Seyer, II.

³ The middle of the widest part of Wine Street was at that time occupied by a shed or pentice, containing stalls and a corn market; the exact spot was at the western end of this pentice, opposite

terrible mass of iron-clad men, with sullen aspect, morose and stern. But there is one house closed—the windows are unoccupied—no people have climbed its roof, or crowded upon its parapet! Affliction is there,—sorrow and deep misery.—Before it is the ghastly scaffold, where the loyal master of that dwelling, Robert Yeamans, and his brave companion are doomed to die. Within, is a wife who, ere another quarter of the passing hour, will be widowed, and her children fatherless.—They hear the doleful tolling of the muffled bell, mournfully and slow,—that adverts the death of the husband and the father.—They hear the din of the multitude,—and they know by its sudden hush,—and silence of the portentous bell, that the awful hour is come! Oh, the agony of that silence to those hearts,—whose distracted minds picture in terrible colours the dread scene! No voice is heard,—no hand is raised to stay the sacrifice,¹—before the paralysed multitude the bodies of their martyred citizens sway from the gallows beam, and the dismal tragedy is ended! In the sight of the rejoicing and misguided enthusiasts, the austere sectaries had done a gracious and acceptable deed; and they appoint a fast, not for humiliation and repentance, but for praise and thanksgiving to a God of mercy and of love!

The advancing spirit of mildness and compassion,—the disapproval of capital punishment, which is now so generally entertained by educated, charitable, and enlightened minds; would of itself lead us to condemn the execution of these men, even supposing them to have been stained with crime, and unscrupulous and dangerous enemies to the liberties of their country. There is no doubt that many worthy and estimable men little imagined, when they upheld the measures of the Puritans, that they were doing more than giving encouragement for the redress of those wrongs of which they most immediately complained; but once having put weapons in the hands of ignorance and fanaticism, they felt it impossible to restrain the deadly course of the intolerant

to the Nag's Head Tavern, which is the fifth house from the corner house (including both houses) between Wine Street and High Street; and, as if to sharpen their cruelty by the most unfeeling insult, nearly opposite to Mr. Yeamans' own house, which was on the northern side of the street.
—SEYER, II., 351.

¹ "Good God," exclaims the appalled and indignant Rev. Richard Towgood, "which shall we most wonder at, either the barbarous inhumanitie of this murther, or the degenerous, ignoble patience of the citizens of Bristol, that could stand by and see all this, and not chuse either to live freely or die courageously together?"—*State Martyrs*.

monster they had rendered powerful. And many who had advocated their cause,—now, shrunk in abhorrence from this merciless deed, renounced their association, and returned to the ranks from which in an evil hour they had seceded.

The bodies of the two martyrs were interred the same night,—that of Yeamans in Christ Church,¹ but no monumental stone or tablet exists as a record. He left “eight small children, the eldest not able to put on his own clothes;” and his wife approaching her confinement: this infant was christened “Posthumous.”² The author of this work has in his possession a full-length portrait (life size) of this unfortunate Royalist, in which he appears in his official robes as Sheriff.

Boucher³ was buried in St. Werburgh’s Church, and mourned by a widow and seven children. The spot where his remains are laid was long distinguished by a table stone, on which the following epitaph was inscribed,⁴ evidently written after the taking of the City by Prince Rupert.

“*Sanguis Martyrum semen ecclesie.*”

“Whene’r chaunceth this way, pass not by
These sainted ashes with a careless eye :
They are undaunted dust, and did outbrave
Whilst they retain’d a soul, Death and the Grave ;
And still bear witness, in our Martyr’s right,
That they dare murder, who yet ne’er durst fight.
Ne’er was so bold a lion, by such hares,
Warried to Death—so merciless their snares ;
Yet he so stout, that whether none can tell,
His courage or their cruelty did excel.

¹ In the parish Register is the following entry: “1643, May 29th, Robert Yeamas [Yeamans] buried.” Seyer erroneously states Yeamans to have been executed on the 30th, the day after his interment.—II., 351.

² “1643, Dec. 5th. Posthumous, the daughter of Mr. Robert Yeamans was christened.”—*Parish Register, Christ Church.*

³ “May 30th, 1643, Mr. Geo. Boucher was buried.”—*St. Werburgh’s Parish Register.*

⁴ Barrett.

Mirror of Patience ! Loyalty ! thy fall
 Hath proved yet a successful funeral ;
 Since 'twas guilt of thy death, no battery
 That storm'd these forts, that gain'd us victory :
 For though our foes were fear'd with wall and roof,
 Yet there's no wall, no fence is conscience proof ;
 Thus is thy murdering wreath to us become
 A laureate—to thee a crown of Martyrdom.

G. B."

More than one hundred of the principal citizens who were engaged in this plot were imprisoned, and their estates sequestered. The Colstons, Mr. Fitzherbert, Arundle, Yeamans, Dacres, and others, who had been most active in the conspiracy, paid dearly for their lives ; which they probably owed rather to the avarice of Fiennes ; than, to any clemency on the part of their adversaries. " Yeamans' estates, which were of great value, were seized ; and his widow was obliged to redeem the small remainder at a cost of £500."

The murder of Yeamans and Boucher—the imprisonment of the leading Royalists, many of whom still remained incarcerated, while others who had escaped had their property confiscated, and could not return to their families without the risk of loss of freedom—the feeling of insecurity which extended to both parties—the decline of trade—the daily impoverishment of the City—the pressure of accumulated exactions, so exasperated the inhabitants, that a general feeling of discontent prevailed. " Groaning under an insupportable yoke of bondage and tyranny, they sighed to restore their former freedom, which could not be obtained, *but by breaking these bonds and casting these cords from them.*" The King, instructed thereupon, was induced by the occasion, and through the encouragement and advice of his friends, to lay siege to the City, on July 24th, 1643. A plan was also concerted to attack the shipping in the harbour, which was effected on the same day.¹

¹ Sir Wm. Waller, after his utter defeat at Devizes, on July 13th, 1643, himself, with a few attendants, made his escape to Bristol ; and that with so much speed, that he brought the first tidings of his own misfortune. The alarm was great ; much of the garrison which had been drawn from Bristol had been sacrificed in his defeat, it was therefore necessary to withdraw forces from Bath, to reinforce the garrison at Bristol, and to prepare for the apparent siege. The Governor made proclamation by trumpet through the City, that all inhabitants should furnish themselves with three months' provisions ; which they very generally did.—SEYER, II., 402.

So circumstantial an account of the storming of the City has been given by our local historians, that its general features may be hastily passed over. The attack on the Somersetshire side was led on by the Marquis of Hertford, and Prince Maurice, who were driven back with great slaughter. But on the Gloucestershire side, where the dauntless Prince Rupert commanded,—Colonel Washington entered at a weak place in the curtain, between Brandon Hill and Windmill Forts, made room for the horse to follow, and the Prince Rupert pressed forward to Froom Gate.¹⁻² Part of his regiment moved forward to Sir Ferdinando Gorges' house, (better known as Sir John Young's,) which his soldiers occupied for about three hours, until all their powder was expended. Fiennes was advised to force or fire the house; but he feared to expose himself. The garrison however still kept the walls and gates, and they planted some cannon on the Quay; one, on the top of Alderman Hooke's house, and stationed musqueteers in others; by which means they drove the assailants from Sir F. Gorges' house, and from the College Green and College wall.³

Fiennes was no soldier, and was incapable of military command. He boasted much of what he would do—he would make the flag of truce to be his winding-sheet—he would lay his bones in the Castle rather than surrender. This high sounding talk was when the enemy was afar; when the enemy was near, his courage could not bear the test. Timid, trembling, terrified, the arrogant boaster appeared the coward that he was, and thought only of a hasty retreat. Prince Rupert's unexpected arrival so terrified him, that he entered into an immediate capitulation.⁴ The besiegers were admitted; but the

¹ "Colonel Bellasis' foot, with Sir Arthur Aston's horse, being advanced towards Froom Gate, next the City, the enemies sallied both with horse and foot, others still shooting out of the windows."—WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, II., 254-5.

² "In a paper drawn up by Baron de Gomme, for an intended Biography of Prince Rupert, a serious engagement is described on Christmas Steps, where the gallant Colonel Lunsford was shot through the heart. From this event, the spot was long distinguished as 'Lunsford's Stairs.'"—*Ibid.*

³ Seyer, II., 406.

⁴ "The conditions of surrender were soon agreed to, in a Council of War holden at Fiennes' house, [in Broad Street,] to which the Mayor and Sheriffs and some chief citizens were admitted. * * * * The business was so hurried on, that before ten o'clock that night [July 26th,] the conditions were signed by the Governor and Prince Rupert. Those articles which were most disadvantageous to the Garrison having been settled by Fiennes alone, as he walked in the garden with Col. Gerrard, who negotiated for the Prince."—*Ibid.*, II., 409.

Governor's unpardonable precipitancy was the cause of considerable bloodshed.¹ The Garrison that was stationed in the "Ship" public house, Steep Street, unconscious of the surrender, fired upon Rupert's party as they advanced; who avenged themselves by putting all the assailants to the sword. In such haste was Fiennes to leave the City, that he neglected to give notice to Capt. Blake, [afterwards the celebrated Admiral,] and Capt. Husband, who commanded Prior's Hill² and Brandon Hill Forts, of the articles of surrender. These doughty commanders kept their posts to the last; "impregnable little spots, alive with fire when enemies approached." "Rupert, it is said, had an intention of hanging Blake, which to Blake, from Rupert, was a high compliment. After Bristol (in spite of Blake,) had surrendered, Parliament gave him a new appointment. He was made Lieutenant to Popham's regiment, the finest militia in the county."³

The surrender of the City was saddened by the loss of some of the best and bravest Cavaliers, both officers and men. Of the latter, at least five hundred "tried and incomparable foot;" of the former, Major Kendall, Col. Buck, "a brave and modest commander," Col. Harry Lunsford (not to be confounded with the notorious Sir Thomas) "an officer of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage," the "excellent" Col. Moyle, and the "pure and faultless" Lord Grandison,⁴ one of the brightest characters that has escaped renown. Almost

¹ Fiennes was afterwards tried, and condemned to death;^a but the sentence was not carried into execution. Clarendon says, "There were in the town 2500 foot, and a regiment of horse and dragoons. The line about the town was finished; yet the graft in some places was wider and deeper than in others. The Castle was very well prepared, and supplied with great store of provisions to endure a siege."

² "Prior's Hill, (belonging to the Priory of St. James,) now Kingsdown. This Fort, stood in an angle, formed by the east end of James's Place and Somerset Street, near the summit of Nine-Tree Hill—so named from nine trees which formerly grew there."—EVANS.

³ Notice of the Life of Admiral Blake, Dickens' Household Words.

⁴ "William Viscount Grandison died this year at Oxford, aged thirty, of wounds received during this siege. He was the father of the Duchess of Cleveland, one of the mistresses of Charles II."—JESSE'S *Court of the Stuarts*.

^a "A curious instance of veneration for the Old Testament mode of warfare, was exhibited at this trial of Fiennes for his cowardly surrender of Bristol. He declared before the Court Martial, that he had surrendered the town because it was untenable; but he was told, in this case he should have fortified himself in the Citadel, even as did the men of Thebez, who betook themselves to their tower, when their city was taken by Abimelech, the son of Gideon. Who knew, it was added, but that some woman of Bristol, after the example of her of Thebez, might have thrown down a piece of a millstone, or a tile, that would have broken Prince Rupert's skull?"—State Trials, *Pict. Hist. England*, III., 96.

equally regretted were two young and gallant friends, Sir Nicholas Slanning, and Col. John Trevanion, "of entire friendship with each other," and with Sir Bevil Grenville; they were buried in the same grave with their last named chivalrous comrade.¹ Master Bellasis was wounded by his own sword, which was struck to his head by a musket, whilst with the Lord Viscount Grandison, he rushed in upon the works: "neither," adds the authority, depreciatingly "in any great danger."

The citizens paid £1400, of a contribution to prevent the City from being sacked.² In consideration, the King sent a proclamation that it should be death to any soldier who plundered. The Royalists, however, obtained property to a considerable amount. In the Castle, was found £100,000, besides all the family plate of Sir John Harrington, of Kelson; he was the first of his family who had ever been reproached for disloyalty. His house had been plundered several times, and it was only the day before the siege his plate had been removed to the Castle for security. Amongst it was a large golden font, a present from Queen Elizabeth, his godmother, at which Sir John Harrington (afterwards a very ingenious poet) had been christened. There were also in the City seventeen hundred barrels of gunpowder, with match and bullets in proportion, sixty brass pieces of good ordnance, "a long brass murderer," and a quantity of arms. In the river, were lying eighteen merchant ships with great store of wealth on board; which the merchants

¹ Warburton's Prince Rupert, II., 265.

² From "A true relation of the taking of Bristol, by an eye-witness, to the Governor at Oxford," we extract the following:—"The City gives £140,000, by way of composition, to save them from plundering; upon which his Majesty hath sent a proposition, strictly to prevent it,—that it shall be death for any soldier to plunder. Sir Arthur Aston came post to Oxford on Friday, to inform his Majesty of the state of things there; upon which the Council of War, and the Council of State, agreed to send away Sir John Pennington speedily to Bristol, to have the command of the ships, and a proclamation to all that are willing to serve the King, to this effect:—that they shall have their pardons that have served under the Earl of Warwick, and also the pay that is due from him presently, paid at Bristol, and his Majesty's pay and his favour for the future." It goes on to state, "The report is that Bristol is to pay but £9000, in money for composition, but that they were to clothe fifteen thousand of the King's soldiers, according to their quality,—all common men allowed £3 a suit, and gentlemen, or commanders, £6. If this be so, it amounts to little less than £140,000, according to the former intelligence." This amount appears enormous, especially when we consider it would be equal to three times the sum to agree with our present standard. We shall learn presently, from *our records*, what the City really did give.

were about removing to London. There were also four ships, under the command of the Earl of Warwick, that had arrived with stores of ammunition, on the eve of surrender. Sir John Pennington was speedily sent by the King to take command of the ships. Prince Rupert, with nine hundred horse, two thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred auxiliaries, took possession of the City, and sent a messenger to the King requesting the governorship thereof for himself, which his Majesty granted.¹

According to the conditions of surrender, Fiennes, with the garrison, Sir John Horner, Sir John Seymour, Mr. Edward Stephens, and those citizens who had cause to dread being called to an account for their rebellious and cruel conduct, were allowed to leave the City,² with their goods, without hinderance or molestation. The conditions were ill observed. The garrison, in marching away, were robbed and ill treated; and many private houses which belonged to persons known to be disaffected, were broken open and plundered. The Parliament, in publishing the Articles of Capitulation, annexed to them a letter, which is characteristic of the pen of Richard Aldworth, whose position and democratic principles, would indicate him as a meet object for spoliation. In a passage, (after commenting on the broken faith of the enemy) he says, "I praise God I have escaped with my life to the towne of Southampton, with my son John. But before I could come forth of the gates of the City of Bristoll, I was deprived of my money, plate, and baggage, from behind my servants, who were throwne off their horses, *and the same cut off their backs and utterly lost, and themselves and their horses in like condition for ought I know*; and only wee ourselves, with some other gentlemen, escaped hither with our lives, on Friday night last. And on Saturday, came in also the late Governor of Bristol, Col. Fiennes, and his brother, with the remainder of the whole soldiery, who were served with *the like sauce*; such is the faith held with the present victors."³

¹ Barrett, Seyer.

² Matthew Hazard, Vicar of Redcliff, and his wife, were amongst the Parliamentary adherents, who quitted the City with Fiennes; but they returned here upon its surrender by Prince Rupert, in 1645.

³ Fiennes, in his printed relation, makes the same complaint of the disgraceful conduct of the Royalist soldiers; he not only nobly exonerates Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice from participating in the outrages, but acknowledges that they did their utmost to repress them. "I must do this right to the Princes," he says, "contrary to what I find in a printed pamphlet, that they

A manuscript among Prince Rupert's papers,¹ describing the taking of Bristol, says,—

"And thus the fair City of Bristol, being by prince Rupert reduced to the King's obedience, there was great hope of rigging out a fleet also for his Majesty's service. For this purpose Mr. Fitzherbert, a Merchant of Bristol, came the Sunday before, to the Prince at Clifton, with an overture of divers ships in Kingsroad, (the harbour of Bristol) likely to return to their obedience. That day also, Mr. William Bevan, Merchant of Bristol, brought word unto the Prince, how that by virtue of a commission from my Lord of Herbert, directed to himself and some others, the owners and masters of eight ships being treated with, had surrendered themselves to his Majesty's obedience joyfully. In sign whereof, they then shot off above sixty pieces from aboard; which they desired might be answered by a general volley from the army. Divers other ships imitated these; and one of 'the King's whelps' came in to begin a fleet with, which Sir John Pennington was left to command."²

"A few days were passed in the captured City in re-organizing the troops, and drafting such of the prisoners as volunteered to take arms for the King into new regiments. The important matter of ransoms and contributions was also to be arranged."³ Great promptness was evinced by the Common Council at this conjuncture. They met immediately. It was necessary they should propitiate offended Majesty, and with unwonted unanimity,—

were so far from sitting on their horses, triumphing and rejoicing at these disorders, that they did ride among the plunderers with their swords, hacking and slashing them, and that Prince Rupert did excuse it to me in a very fair way, and with expressions as if he were much troubled at it."—SEYER, II., 411. Col. Fiennes, writing from London to Sir R. Hopton, August 13th, complains that the articles of the surrender of Bristol have been infringed; expects "what belongs to honour and justice," * * * "as the faith and honour of the soldier are the choicest jewels that he carries about him."—Abstract of Correspondence, WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert*.

¹ Ibid. Prince Rupert, II., 262.

² April 26th, 1644. It was agreed "that the particular persons which, the 6th of October last, advanced severall sums of money for Sir John Pennington and Prince Rupert's warrants, shall be satisfied their monies which are unpaid, with the first moneys that shall be received, for sale of any the Citty lands or estates to be granted. And the same shall be repaid to the Citty againe out of the moneys now in arrear to the King's Majesty and Prince Rupert, *when the same shall be received*; and in case it cannot be had of the said arrears, then to be collected by an assessment upon the inhabitants, to satisfie the same to the Citty as aforesaid."—*City Records*.

³ Warburton's Prince Rupert, II., 267. This authority, of whose able labours we have availed ourselves so largely, regrets that after diligent search in the State Paper Office, he could not find Prince Rupert's own report of his actions to the King.

"Agreed to present his Majesty the sum of ten thousand pounds, *as a present of love and affection of the City*, to be paid a third in hand, and a third a month after,—and a committee be appointed to treat with the inhabitants for raising the same."

"Love and affection" towards the King had but little place in the hearts of many who contributed to the raising of the £10,000. It was neither from motives of affection, nor from good will, that Richard Aldworth (inferring from the part he had hitherto played) so far deserted his principles, as to give £300, towards the cause of Royalty;—neither did such men as Alderman John Tomlinson, Miles Jackson, and William Wyatt, who had made themselves conspicuous, by their overt acts of rebellion, part with their plate in aid of the party they had so strenuously opposed, had they not been necessitated, as the purchase of their pardon, to contribute in proportion as they had been most forward in abetting the designs of the enemy. The annexed list of names, with the amount contributed by the several members of the Corporation, has led to the foregone conclusion.¹

It is somewhat remarkable, that not one of the members of the Corporation, who combined with Yeamans in his attempt to deliver the City to the King,

¹ Richard Aldworth	£300	Hugh Brown, Sheriff	£150
John Gonning, Alderman	150	Alexander James	100
Humphrey Hooke, „	150	Francis Creswicke	100
Andrew Charlton, „	600	Miles Jackson	20
Richard Long, „	200	Thos. Lloyd	50
Ezekiel Wallis, „	100	John Langton ^a	200
Geo. Knight, „	100	Thos. Woodward	50
John Lock „	50	Matthew Warren	60
William Cann	60	William Wyatt	50
John Gonning, Jun.	150	John Younge	40
George Hellier	100	Henry Gibbs	60
Richard Balman	100	Arthur Farmer	100
Walter Sandy	50		
Walter Stephens	60		£3250
Joseph Jackson, Sheriff	100		

^a Lord Francis Hawley, writing from Bristol, to Prince Rupert, Nov. 22nd, has been very industrious to enquire into the reported "treachery against the town, but can find nothing of consequence in the business; the Priggs, poor miserable people, and *Langton*, a rich fellow, but of lethargic humour, not awakes but once a week." —WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert*, Abstract of Correspondence.

is included in this *loyal* list. Strange that the Colstons, and Taylor, who had ventured their lives and fortunes for their Royal master, should be omitted from this tribute of "love and affection,"—that so few Royalists should have a place here,—while the Puritans appear to vie with each other which should support most the cause they had so lately opposed. Andrew Charlton, with a noble magnanimity, comes prominently forth. Aldworth and his colleagues, who sat on Fiennes' committee, are all down; and others are become so suddenly converted to Monarchy, that they enthusiastically sacrifice their plate rather than they would miss the occasion of displaying, according to their own showing, their *love and affection*.¹ The latent attachment of the English heart for ancient institutions, is unwittingly suggestive upon the page, where compulsory contributions from the Puritans, are made to appear as the offspring of loving regard for the Monarch they had dishonoured, and against whose government they had revolted.

The Committee² appointed to treat with the inhabitants for raising the £10,000 was composed of men distinguished for their strong attachment to Royalty,—men of high and noble bearing,—who had suffered for their principles—who had been reviled, insulted, and contumaciously treated with every species of obloquy. Three of them had been engaged in the unsuccessful attempt to admit Prince Rupert into the City; and had not long, at the sacrifice of great part of their fortunes, been emancipated from their fetters, and from the gloomy dungeons beneath the Castle's walls.

In order to compose a difference existing between Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford, arising from Charles having bestowed the government of Bristol upon the former, and at the same time to settle some little matters with the

	oz.		oz.
¹ Alderman Tomlinson	199	Mr. Miles Jackson	198 $\frac{7}{8}$
Mr. Gabriel Sherman	132 $\frac{1}{4}$	Mr. John Younge	97 $\frac{1}{8}$
Mr. William Wyatt	200 $\frac{1}{2}$		

The plate was sold to John Griffiths, Silversmith, at 4s. 4d. per oz.

² Mr. Alderman John Lock.	Mr. Alderman William Jones.
„ Giles Elbridge.	„ Francis Creswicke
„ Richard Long.	„ Thomas Colston.
„ Ezekiel Wallis.	„ John Gunning.
„ Alexander James.	„ William Fitzherbert.

Corporation, it was deemed necessary that his Majesty should visit this City.¹ In a letter from Oxford to Prince Rupert, July 31st, the King "signifies his intention of setting forth on the morrow for Bristol; will lie that night at Malmsbury; and desires a troop of horse be sent to attend him." He says, "*the Mayor and Corporation have deserved so ill of him, that he will neither be reasoned by them nor admit them to his presence till the businesses be settled.*"² The King was accompanied by his two sons, Charles, Prince of Wales, and James, Duke of York, and attended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Hyde, and a long train of the nobility. There is an apocryphal account which relates that the Royal party arrived without the City on the evening of the 2nd of August; after the hour when Temple Gate was closed, and the Drawbridge raised for the night.³ They took up their residence in a small house on the bank of the moat in Pile Street.⁴ Why the gate was not opened for the admission of his Majesty and retinue, we are not informed; it was but a sorry accommodation for the mind-saddened Monarch,—and to the Prince Charles a precursor of the vicissitudes to which for many years he was exposed.

We may imagine the scene, with all the stirring events of the time,—with all their kindling emotions.—Night-fall before a fortified City,—where, but a few days passed, stalwart men had chafed and struggled in fierce and fiery conflict,—and mangled forms had strewed the ground whereon now a Prince

¹ The facts seem to have been, "that there had long been a just jealousy on Lord Hertford's part of the assumption of Prince Maurice, who was only his Lieut.-General, yet he frequently affected an independent command. On the other hand, when Bristol was taken by the Prince's forces, and surrendered to him, Lord Hertford claimed the right of disposing of its government, as being within the limits of his command, and he thereupon, without consulting the Prince, appointed Sir Ralph Hopton to be governor. Rupert, who highly esteemed the latter, not only as a gallant soldier but as his mother's friend, would not set up any of his own army in opposition to him, but claimed from the King the governorship for himself. To this the King assented, before he heard from Lord Hertford. He then perceived how delicate a predicament he was placed in, and hence his expedition to Bristol. His presence calmed the passionate strife between the two parties." Lord Clarendon relates the whole affair (IV., 163, &c.) with admirable tact and gracefulness, throwing especially a bright light on Hopton's nobly disinterested character.—WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert*, II., 269.

² Abstract of Correspondence.—Ibid.

³ Evans.

⁴ "The house is still standing, now [1824,] the property of Messrs. Henry Ricketts & Co., and opposite to the windows of their show room, which was thence called 'the Palace.'"—Ibid.

and his train reposed. The old gateway,—the dark outline of the frowning battlements,—the sluggish waters of the moat,—a King with his two sons,—his nobles,—and all that was loyal, refined, and learned, surrounded by brave and valiant Cavaliers, waiting with weary watch the morning's dawn for admission into the City, that the Monarch's forces had at the waste of so much blood obtained possession! Such was the present—amongst the cushioned halls of luxury had been the past!—And for the future there was for him war, and strife and struggle,—unavailing and disastrous.—Lives consumed in the camp or battle field,—in hurried movements,—restless bivouacs,—fierce contentions,—and desolating war! Death in rugged ways,—some in the raging battle slain,—some upon the ghastly scaffold doomed to perish! Whatever is darkest in human destiny.—Whatever could humble the arrogant or bend the proud,—all the miseries of fallen greatness and of blighted fame,—were fast gathering in evil clouds for many there,—whose hearts now beat with loyal love and pious enthusiasm. Free, chivalrous, high-spirited, and reverential to the King—they could not restrain the headlong torrent of ambition, patriotism, and fanaticism that submerged every thing that was most social and endearing in domestic character,—and levelled all that the wise, the good, and the heroic had laboured for ages to erect! And the Sovereign that without the City gates now tarried, would by his martyrdom expiate his ancestral sins,—would with his blood wash out a nation's wrongs,—and by the greatest of all human sacrifices purchase a nation's freedom from all future despotism!

The following morning the King made a public entrance into the City; and was entertained at Mr. Colston's house on the north western side of Small Street. His Majesty lodged at Mr. Alderman Creswicke's in the same street; and Prince Charles, and the Duke of York, at Mr. Alderman Holworthy's, directly opposite.¹ The same day the King presided at a momentous debate of the Council of War as to his next move—that move was to besiege Gloucester. A fatal decision. Thenceforth all was a series of misfortunes, errors, and defeats. The Marquis of Hertford having “with his characteristic nobleness,” dutifully yielded the government of the City at the King's first wish. While here, his Majesty confirmed Prince Rupert in the government, but it was settled that he should appoint Sir Ralph Hopton, who is styled the

¹ Seyer, II., 419.

"irreproachable, *sans peur, et sans reproche*," his Lieutenant Governor. The King also created Sir Ralph, Lord Hopton of Stratton, and left him at Bristol to recover from his wounds.¹

On the Sunday following, August 6th, Charles, in his coach of state, in which were also seated his two sons and Sir Edward Hyde, went to the Cathedral, from Alderman Creswicke's, in Small Street. The procession was preceded by his Body Guards, by Heralds and Pursuivants, in their gorgeous tabards,—and the Officers of his Household; followed by the Trumpeters, the Mace Bearers, the Wait Players, the Officers of the Corporation, in black silk gowns; the Chamberlain, with his golden mace; the Town Clerk, in his robes; the Sword Bearer, with the Pearl Sword, and wearing the Cap of Maintenance; the Mayor, walking in his scarlet robes bare-headed, before the carriage; which was followed by the Recorder, the Aldermen, and members of the Common Council, also in their scarlet robes, and the chief officers of the army.

¹ It appears from the following letter that Rupert had speedily fulfilled his promise of resigning the governorship to Lord Hopton: we find the latter at this date asking for a Lieut.-Governor:—

"May it please your Highness,—I find the business of this garrison to be so great and many, and to go on so slowly by reason of the want of money, that I want much the help of a Lieutenant-Governor, for which place I have considered of a gentleman, I think without exception, for a soldier and an honest man, to his Majesty's service, and a humble servant of your Highness;—it is Sir Francis Hawley, who being likewise this countryman, his alliance will assist me in raising the contribution, and many assistances which cannot be so well effected by any that were not this countryman. Colonel Cary went out this morning, and is persuaded he shall bring four hundred horse, though I must confess myself much mistaken if he have half the number; he brought me an order from his Majesty to pay him out of this contribution,—if he comes he shall have his part of what comes in, but that is yet so little, as I protest I am in great doubt whether I shall be able to keep the garrison together; whereas, if I were supplied, I would not doubt in a very short time to raise a very good body of foot and horse. Prince Maurice hath sent me six troops of horse and four of dragoons, whereof four of the horse and two of the dragoons are mine own; but all are very weak and wholly disarmed. It is inconceivable what these fellows are always doing with their arms; they appear to be expended as fast as their ammunition.^a I have likewise two new troops here something stronger, but not armed; and many offer to horse and foot, but for arming and paying they are out of my reach. I humbly rest,

"Your Highness' most humble and faithful Servant,

"Bristol, September 17, 1643."^b

"RALPH HOPTON.

^a "It was observed then, as now in Ireland, that weapons seemed to be the most illusory of all calculated possessions: where they had been distributed by tens of thousands they could scarcely be collected by dozens, and even these appeared to have been suddenly grown old-fashioned, rusty, and worthless."—Warburton's *Prince Rupert, &c.*, II., 291.

^b *Ibid.*

It must have been an act of penance to Richard Aldworth, the Mayor,—and some other members of the Corporate body; to be thus *constrained* to pay homage to the Sovereign they had endeavoured to dethrone.—Charles, forgiving as he was, must have been influenced by the sum of money he was to receive from the City; or he would not so quietly have overlooked such confirmed and acknowledged traitors. A leniency for which they made a most ungrateful return.

Truly picturesque must have been the procession, as it wound down Small Street, over St. Giles's Bridge, and through the gate, along St. Augustine's Back,—passing the mansion of Sir Ferdinando Gorges,—which at that time had an open green sward in front, extending to the river; and thence, by St. Augustine's Church, to the Cathedral. The way on either side, during the whole route, was lined by the trainbands. Thus conducted, the procession arrived at the door of the Cathedral,—where the Sovereign was received by the Dean and Chapter, with antique ceremonial, and strict attention to ancient formalities.

The applicability of the lesson, from the Gospel appointed in the Calendar to be read at Morning Service, to the case of Charles, on the day of his execution, has been noticed by historians.¹ Equally appropriate to the vicissitudes and distressful condition of this Prince, was the language of holy writ on this occasion.² It declared his danger, his forebodings, and spoke his thanks for his recent victory.

To come to a full understanding of the impressive significance of the words of the Psalmist, we may imagine the scene,—taking into consideration previous events, and the dangers which environed the Throne. Under the Bishop's canopy sate Charles and his two sons,—within a City where little reverence had been shown to his authority, and whose civic potentates were hostile to his rule. Around him were many of noble and illustrious race;

¹ On the morning of Charles's execution, "after the prayers of the Church had been gone through, the Bishop (Juxon,) read the twenty-seventh chapter of St. Matthew, which describes the passion of our Saviour. The King applied the passage to his present condition; and thanked the Bishop for the selection. He was much surprised and gratified when he was informed, that it was in fact the chapter set apart in the Calendar for the lesson of the day."—JESSE'S *Court of the Stuarts*, II., 183.

² Psalms xxx. and xxxi.

who afterwards sealed their devotion to his cause, by the sacrifice of their fortunes and their lives; and many substantial citizens, still strong in their attachment, and zealous in his service. *Amongst* them, but not *of* them, were the disloyal Mayor and Aldermen,—with humbled and sanctimonious bearing, but with treason lurking in their hearts. Truly might that hapless Monarch say, with the inspired writer, “For I have heard the blasphemy of the multitude, and fear is on every side, while they conspire against me, and take their counsel to take away my life.” Truly might he say, “*My time is at hand*; deliver me from the hands of mine enemies, and from them that persecute me.” Words so expressive of his fate,—so meet for the occasion,—must have searched the souls of the superstitious who conspired against him, with compunctious visitings, for the oath of allegiance they had broken,—for the sacred obligations they had violated. But there were other feelings wherein the Monarch could sympathize with the divine Psalmist. He had obtained a victory, and all loyal hearts could respond in words of praise and thanksgiving,—“I will magnify thee, O Lord, for thou hast set me up, and not made my foes to triumph over me!” “Thanks be to the Lord, for he hath shewed me marvellous great kindness in a strong city.”

Humble and fervent, we may suppose, were the supplications of the pious Monarch. Already the shadow of his dark destiny gloomed over his pallid, thoughtful brow. Earthly pomp and boast were flitting from him. The crown was falling from his head,—the sceptre withering in his grasp.—Surrounded by enemies, forsaken by friends,—he could not look for support from armed men, or grisly fortresses,—but now, as in the hour of his more bitter fortunes, when all earthly hope had fled,—sought strength by faith in that Immortal Love, to which all aspirations of mankind must merge at last!

The sacred benediction said,—in imagination we again behold that sad procession slowly and gravely retiring from the sacred fane. Dignified was the Monarch, firm and commanding his deportment; but on his sedate and mournful aspect was marked the impress of his trials—his feverish existence of storm and strife. On either side were his sons,—one, hereafter known to history as “folly’s votary”—the other, an exile from his Throne. Lords, Barons, Knights, with all the civil and military appendages of Royalty, completed the solemn train. Subdued by forebodings of coming evil,—depressed with a mysterious and unshapen dread, they passed from out that ancient pile;

never to be entered by their Sovereign more.—Even now, in the more favourable colour of his fortunes, clouds of sorrow were gathering on every side, and menacing all the future!

Except Charles's reconciling the difference between Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford, and his visit to the Cathedral,—our records do not gratify us with any further information as to how he was engaged during the few days he remained here. Neither do they inform us when he departed. This was probably about the ninth of August. On the tenth, we find him at the head of his army, before Gloucester. Prince Rupert attended his Majesty at the siege of that City. But a few days after we find, from a letter written by Lord Hopton, whom the Prince had left here in command, that he was then at Oxford.¹ The Marquis of Hertford, and Sir Edward Hyde, remained here some time.

Soon after the taking of the City, a Military establishment was settled. For its support, as will appear hereafter, the inhabitants were again heavily taxed. Edmond Turnor, Esq., of Stoke Rochford, Lincolnshire, was appointed Treasurer and Paymaster of the Garrison. The establishment commenced on the 1st of November, 1643; but the Commission is not dated till the 4th day of December. Previously to this, considerable forces appear to have been raised,—and all the Garrison and oftentimes provisions of war, to have been sent out to the King's assistance by Lord Hopton, who was zealously devoted to his Majesty's service. In September he writes to Prince Rupert:—

“May it please your Highness,—I have written with all the expedition that may be, and sent your Highness the five regiments of foot, and one of horse, according to your orders, and I hope your Highness will receive them in time. They are a handsome body of men. The foot marched, by our Commissary's muster, sixteen hundred

¹ “May it please your Highness,—I thought it my duty to advertize your Highness, that here is come in a frigate, by the Queen's procurement, with great store of arms, especially pistols, and good store of hand grenades and round shot. But because she came by her Majesty's care, the Captain that brings them is gone to Oxford, and desires first to acquaint her Majesty with it, that the first news of it might come from there; but it being here generally known in this town, I thought it my duty to give your Highness this private advertisement, that the last news of it may not come from me.

“Your Highness's most humble and faithful Servant,

“Bristol, August 15, 1643.”^a

“RALPH HOPTON.

^a Warburton's *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, II., 278.

"men, besides officers ; and the Lieutenant-Colonel assures me, the horse are four hundred, besides officers ; so they may modestly pass for two thousand foot, and five hundred horse. " I humbly rest, your Highness's most faithful servant,

" RALPH HOPTON."

Another letter from the same to the Prince possesses interest. Cirencester had been taken by the Roundheads, into whose hands fell the store of ammunition to which his Lordship alludes.—

" May it please your Highness,—The letter I wrote to your Highness by my servant, that was forced for his own security to cast it away, was to advertize your Highness of the foot and horse I had sent, according to your commands, which are, I perceive, safe come to your army, and with the first supply of eight barrels of powder ; but the supply I sent yesterday morning by wains, of twenty-two barrels of powder, two thousand eight hundred of match, and two thousand of musket bullets, I am in some fear of. I directed it to Cirencester, and sent such a convoy as I could, a Lieutenant, with a few horse—all I had ; I much long to hear it has come safe.¹ This gentleman brings the certain news of his Highness Prince Maurice being within Exeter, by surrender. " I humbly rest,

" Your Highness's most humble and faithful servant,

" Bristol, Sept. 6, 1643."²

" RALPH HOPTON."

Bristol was now under the dominion of its lawful Sovereign, the clergy were restored and the services of the Established Church again admitted. August 9th, the Rev. Henry Syms, who was recommended by Charles, was appointed to the vicarage of St. Michael, *vice* Brent. The Revs. Richard Standfast, and Richard Towgood, also resumed their benefices, and the military preachers and men of wild imaginations who had taken possession of the other pulpits, were removed and replaced by the regular ministry, who, though less inflated, were certainly more learned.³⁻⁴

¹ Sent to Richard Goare to Cirencester who liteth there as an intelligence, £1 ; and to two messengers which came from him, 6s. 6d. Goare and John Thomas were employed as scouts, on horseback.—*City Records*.

² Warburton's Prince Rupert, II., 287.

³ The following is the title of a sermon preached here proving the restoration of the national worship : " Clero Condimentum, or a sermon preached at a visitation, in St. Nicholas' Church, in Bristol, April 16th, 1644. Bristol, by Thomas Thomas, and are to be sold at his shop in Broad Street, 1644."—SEYER.

⁴ By an ordinance of this date, made by the Lords and Commons, all monuments of idolatry and superstition, as altars, crucifixes, images, representations of the Trinity, &c., were to be destroyed ;

Without injury to our narrative, we may overlook the general operations in the field of warfare, with which all England is conversant, and limit ourselves especially to those transactions in this City, which during the remainder of this eventful year claim our attention:—

On the 9th of August a committee was appointed to enquire “who were soldiers and who were not,” and to provide for such as were maimed, or in pay, and to send away all idle people and vagrants then in the town. On the 17th of the same month, it was agreed that a committee (of which Col. Colston was one) should attend the Governor of the City and mediate for the liberties and freedom of the inhabitants, both for their persons and estates, especially those that were under custody and had petitioned for that purpose. To enlist the sympathies of the Governor in their behalf, the Corporation presented him with a butt of sack, two hogsheads of claret, one of white wine, and one hundred of sugar, at the cost of £22. They furthermore, on the 14th of September, presented him with the freedom of the City, as a token of the City’s “affection for him;” and, on his recommendation, also presented the like compliment to Richard Allen, Postmaster General.¹

The presence of the King’s troops appear to have influenced the municipal elections. The places of distinction are now occupied by devoted Royalists, an event we have not hitherto been called upon to record,—Humphey Hooke is Mayor, and Henry Creswicke and William Colston his Sheriffs.²

but images, pictures, coats of arms, in glass or stone set up for monuments of a king, or a nobleman, or any other person not reputed a saint, may be continued. At the same time the communion tables were ordered to be removed from the east, and placed in some other part of the body of the church, and the rails and every thing connected with them to be taken away. While the Royalists held possession of our City these ordinances were not carried into execution, but the Puritans, when they again triumphed, amply revenged themselves for the delay.

¹ This indicates a *general* establishment for the conveyance of letters some few years earlier than has been assigned to its foundation.

² Before we dismiss the Mayoralty of Richard Aldworth, we will note the following expenses which occur in the audit book during his year of office: “Paid the King’s Trumpeters, as a fee due to them, *being the Prince represents the King*, £3.” “Paid Prince Rupert’s Trumpeters £2.” “Paid Capt. Thomas Derham, being wounded and sick, £3.” “Richard Aldworth, Mayor, what he paid the King, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice, officers, and for money paid maimed soldiers in August last, and straw for them, £122 : 8 : 4.” This last item refers to the provision for the soldiery who had been wounded at the capture of the City. “Paid Mr. Mayor, for what he gave to a footman for the portage of a letter, which he took to London, 1s.”

Many of the principal citizens, who had been most active against the King, had been imprisoned; and we learn, from the proceedings of the Council, that its members had petitioned his Majesty to grant a pardon to these his rebellious subjects, and for this purpose Colston and Fitzherbert, waited upon the King before Gloucester.¹ Neither was the necessity of a peace offering to his Majesty overlooked. While he was before that City he was presented with some wine; no doubt in his position peculiarly acceptable. They were, however, so poor in the Chamber, that they were compelled to call on several members to advance the money to defray the cost of the wine. The fiscal involvements are best told from the following entry of the last day of October:—

“Whereas there was £72 in August last laid out in wine, by Mr. Creswicke, and Mr. Brown, for his Majesty’s use, by the order of this house, and the Chamberlain, out of the City’s monies, has to make it good; now, for that the Chamber is at present not so well stored as to disburse it, being much exhausted of late, it is therefore order ed and thought mee thy them that were of the House, at that time being thirty six in number, that they at present disburse the same, and be repaid it again by the Chamber hereafter, which is assented unto by the most voices of all present.”²

The pardon of the rebellious citizens was not granted till February of the following year (1644). Probably the motive for delay, was consideration of the continual presents of wine which flowed in the direction of the Court, and which would cease when the pardon should be obtained. The grant, with its beautiful seal, which is in excellent preservation, is dated Oxford,³ 24th of

¹ The 7th of December, it was resolved by the Corporation “that the grievances of the inhabitants be presented to the Governor for reformation,” and that Mr. Colston and Mr. Fitzherbert do travel on horseback to the court at Oxford, for taking off the £200, weekly rated upon the City, and for hastening the pardons which had not yet been obtained.

² In 1644 there was “paid unto several persons, who lent forty shillings a piece towards paying for wine sent the King before Gloucester, £36.”

³ The King was obliged to raise the siege at Gloucester on September the 5th, from thence he went to winter, at Oxford, to which place we see our citizens so often travelled to the Court. The Mayor and Aldermen were shortly after his Majesty’s arrival there, “to order the disposing of a tun or two of wine at Oxford.” Again we have another notation as follows:—“Mr. Wm. Cann and Sheriff Creswicke’s expenses of a journey to Oxford on City business, for wine, &c., £41 : 1 : 6. On the 6th of March, £150 was “to be levied upon the inhabitants towards the expense of obtaining the pardon.”

February, in the nineteenth year of his Majesty's reign.¹ The pardon extends to the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty, excepting the "abettors in the sanguinary and detestable murder of Robert Yeamans and George Boucher." The exceptions are the persons who composed the Court Martial, whose names are already given. These, too conscious of the guilty part they had taken, fled the City with Fiennes, and escaped the punishment that awaited their foul deed.

A copy of a letter from the Corporation, informs us, that our Church Bells were at this crisis in great jeopardy. The desperate state of the Royalists compelled them to have recourse to every available means to enable them to meet the expenses of the war:—

"To the Right Honourable our very good Lord, the Lord Piercies, these presents at Court.

Right Hon.—Upon Receipt of your Lordship's letters, by which you make claime to the Bells of this Cittie, as general of his Majestie's Artillery, we doe humbly conceive that yf any such forfeiture were incurred (as is pretended) yet by agreement on his Majesties parte when his forces entered, it was in effect condescended unto that there should noe advantage be thereof taken, but that all things should continue as formerlie without prejudice to any inhabitant. And the Bells of each church being (as your Lordship well knowes) the proper goods of the parishioners, are not at our disposall, neither have we to doe with them. All which we humbly submitt to your Lordship's better judgment, and taking our leaves, doe rest

Your Honor's most humbly at commandment,

"Humphrey Hooke, Maior,	Ezekiel Wallis, Alderman,
John Gonning, Alderman,	George Knight, „
John Tomlinson, „	John Tailor, „
Richard Long, „	Henry Creswicke, „
William Jones, „	William Colston. „
John Lock, „	

Bristol, this XXIst of November, 1643.”²

¹ May 4th, 1644. While the Royalists held possession of the City, Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Smyth were desired "to travel to Oxford to petition his Majesty to take off the contributions from the inhabitants, and that it be taken out of the excise." Among the evils and impositions arising from the tragic contest, was the introduction of the excise. The Parliament at Westminster having voted an excise on wine, beer, and other commodities, that at Oxford followed their example, and established the like impost.

² E. Coll. Nostris MSS., XLVII. 61. British Museum.

That the arguments of the respectable Aldermen, whose names are appended to this document, prevailed, we have evidence in the sweetly mellowed tones that so harmoniously issue from many of our belfries. We did not know till we dragged this letter from its dark depository, of the narrow escape from destruction of our ancient Church Bells, and of our obligation to these worthy Aldermen who have by their cogent reasoning, preserved to us their hallowed music. Associated with bright images of joy,—with softened memories of grief,—when the noisy turmoil of the day is over and the tranquil eve is ours,—sweetly do their ærial music fall upon the ear, as with the voice of olden ages,—subdued and dreamy. They are in character with the time-honoured buildings in this old City, and part of its charm had gone, had they given place to the loud vulgar clang of our modern instruments, that too oft intrude their iron tongue, to the confusion of the silver melody of their antique rivals.

Towards the end of the year a vessel, from Bristol, laden with oil, wine, sugar, and other commodities, was taken by a Parliamentary frigate. This occurrence gave alarm to the Royalists of Bristol and Wales, who, to prevent the like inroad, set up divers frigates, to guard the river. The trade of the port suffered great annoyance from the fleet belonging to the Parliament. When, therefore, on Feb. 27th, 1644, an offer was made by Sir John Winter of a pinnace, fit to be employed for guarding the River Severn, and that he himself would be at half the expense, it was eagerly accepted. The Society of Merchants agreed to pay £20 towards its maintenance, the rest to be raised upon the inhabitants. On April 15th, another frigate was ordered to be provided, to guard the Severn.¹ Sir John finds it more difficult to keep his promise than to make it. The 4th February following, the Chamber order him to be informed that “unless he or the country pay their half for maintaining the frigate, this City will be at no further charge.” The Corporation are vacillating, and undecided concerning these said frigates,—at one time they will maintain them,—at another time they will not.²

¹ On the 21st Nov., 1644, it was agreed that Sir John Winter should “be supplied with victuals, as salt beef and other provisions, for his occasions in and about Chepstow, to the extent of £180, which was to be repaid in three months.”

² July 3rd, 1645. “In answer to the King’s letter respecting arrears of the frigate money to be paid, and the continuation of them; it was resolved by the House that a letter be written the said Thos. Lunsford, Governor of Monmouth, that in regard of the great charge already expended

On the 27th December, a letter was received from the King, addressed to the Mayor and Aldermen, "touching disaffected persons to his Majesty and Government, which was openly read in the House." The record adds, "the inhabitants [were] to be assessed in the sum of £20,000, for the King and Prince Rupert, as his Majesty's warrant did authorise." The City coffers being "much exhausted;" as also the resources of the inhabitants, extraordinary means were resorted to for obtaining money. We have no relation however that the Royalists retaliated upon the Roundheads, and plundered and sequestered their estates, in order to save themselves; on the contrary, that the somewhat arbitrary measure by which it was proposed to raise supplies extended indiscriminately to both parties, is quite clear from the following copy of a resolution of the 3rd of January, 1643-4, "That one or two men bee appointed to take *a inst.* accompte of all the howses in every parish, the valewe to bee lett at, the rente they paye, and the landlord's name and dwelling." This large sum was collected;—and in the following Mayoralty, Mr. James, who wielded the civic sceptre, paid "Prince Rupert £310, in full payment of the £20,000, due to his Majesty and Prince, at the rendering of the City, and £20, given as a gratuity to Mr. Godwin, the Prince's Secretary."¹

"All England," says a powerful modern writer, "was in a hot but very dim state, and the country was all writhing in dim conflict, suffering manifold distress." At this crisis the King convened a Parliament of his adherents at Oxford,² and on the 21st January, sixty Peers and three hundred Commons assembled in Christ Church. The Bristol representatives were, Alderman Taylor, and Alderman Humphrey Hooke. Though both attended the anti-parliament, the former was the active member. It was a mere show

for a year and a half in maintaining the two frigates, and the great and heavy visitation now upon this City, and that for maintenance of the poor and infected, all the collections in this City that can be raised will not be sufficient. That in regard thereof this City are unable longer to undergo the maintenance of the frigates, the letter was written and sent." On the 10th of the same month the Chamber ordered "a month's pay to be assessed for the frigates in the Severn."

¹ Sept. 16th, 1644, Brainsford writes from Exeter to Prince Rupert, to enforce the payment of £90, being a proportion due to him from the Mayor of Bristol. Prince Rupert issues his warrant." —WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert*, Abstract of Correspondence.

² Towards the close of this year, 1643, the Duke of Hamilton, had been accused of high treason, and arrested by order of the King at Oxford. He had been in confinement for some time, and was now sent in custody to the Castle of Bristol, on his way to Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall.

of legislation, without executive power. But "It voted £100,000 to the King, and sent out letters to all loyal subjects, requiring them to pay certain sums according to their ability. These letters unexpectedly produced the required sums." Relative to Alderman Taylor's attendance is the following:—

"15th February. Upon receipt of a letter from Mr. Alderman Taylor from Oxford, with an order from the House importing that some must be sent from hence to Oxford, to answer and conclude upon the particulars there mentioned by Mr. Alderman Taylor; the House here thought meet and soe did order, that a letter should be forthwith sent to Mr. Taylor, to determine the business himself with the Committee if he could, otherwise upon the next letter from him touching that order, some are to be sent from hence according to his letter." But Alderman Taylor, if he could, did not please to undertake the responsibility, apparently he had written to that effect, as we find that on February 23rd, It is agreed,—

" Mr. Maior.	Alderman Creswicke,
Alderman Gunning,	Mr. Sheriffs, <i>both</i> ,
„ Longe,	„ Gunning, Jun.
„ Locke,	„ Jackson,
„ James,	„ Fitzherbert.

These or any six or more are desired to prepare instructions for such as are to be sent to Oxford, and to consider of some that are to be sent, and to meet to morrow next for that purpose, in the forenoone nyne of the clock."

What the instructions were, both the writer and reader would equally like to know. Taylor was at Oxford for seventy-eight days, and was paid 6s. 8*d.* a day by the Corporation, amounting to £26, to which was added £5 : 8 for house rent. Further information as concerns the doings of our representatives in this remarkable Parliament are wanting.

It was a wet and miserable day upon which the Prince Charles parted with his unhappy father at Oxford, never again to meet on earth. Dark were the forebodings of the hapless King, on whose bereavements and misfortunes there scarcely gleamed a ray of relief. A few days after, we find the Prince in Bristol, where he conferred the honour of Knighthood on Capt. Macknelly, who had distinguished himself by the capture of a ship belonging to the enemy.¹ Our annals are silent as to this visit. If the year named by Corry be correct, which we doubt, the Prince and his Court were probably at Bristol

¹ "In the month of January, 1644, a new ship, called the "John of London," belonging to the English merchants who traded to the East Indies, was brought to Bristol by Capt. Macknelly, his

when the Queen visited the City. She had separated from her husband at Abingdon, on the 3rd of April;¹ her delicate situation rendering her removal to Exeter necessary for her greater security. That parting was their last.* On her rout she stayed a few days at Bath, for the purpose of using the waters. In a letter written from thence to the King, April 21st, she says, "I go to-morrow to Bristol, to send you back the carts; many of them are already returned."³ Under circumstances so pregnant with danger—at a time so fraught with calamitous events—the absence of the usual pomp attending the reception of Royalty on this occasion, will not be matter of surprise; and such we may presume was the cause why our annalists have left this visit of the Queen wholly unrecorded. That her Majesty did come to the City, and passed a night here, in the house where Prince Charles held his Court, is ascertained from the following entry in the Chamberlain's account for this year: "Porterage of beds from the Red Lion to the large house on St. Augustine's Back, when the Queen was here, and for returning the same, 5s. 4d."⁴

officers and ship's crew, for his Majesty's service. This ship mounted twenty-six guns, and contained £17,000 in money, besides some valuable commodities. The Prince of Wales came to this City on the 10th of March following, and conferred the honour of Knighthood on Captain Macknelly."—CORY's *History of Bristol*.

¹ Miss Strickland says the Queen left Oxford on the 3rd of April; but Warburton, allowing the usual accuracy of that talented authoress, proves, by a letter from Henry Jermyn, that the 17th was the day of her Majesty's departure.

The Earl of Digby writes from Oxford to Prince Rupert, April 3rd, 1644, "unwelcome tidings that the defeat of Hopton and Forth, by Waller has made the rebels triumphant, and his Majesty requires all his forces to relieve Prince Maurice, who is at Lyme. *The Queen in peril at Bristol*."—WARBURTON's *Prince Rupert*, Abstract of Correspondence.

The discrepancy in date, of these various statements is left to the consideration of the reader. Even allowing for the difference of the old and new style, we find it impossible to reconcile the conflicting authorities. One thing is clear that our records have no mention of her Majesty's presence here until April 22nd.

² The disasters that followed the decadence of the fortunes of her Royal husband compelled her to leave Exeter, and the country twelve days after her confinement. She had applied to Essex for a pass to Bath or Bristol. But the Earl, instead, offered to conduct her before the Parliament, to answer for her transgressions. Whereupon she contrived to travel in disguise to Falmouth, and on Sunday, 14th July, sailed for France.—See *Life of Henrietta Maria*, by MISS STRICKLAND. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Beds were at that period a luxury not of general use. They were to be found only in the chambers of the most opulent merchants, and at the principal Inns; from whence, on occasions of entertaining distinguished visitors, they were often borrowed.

How long the Queen remained in the City we have no opportunity of knowing; but on the 23rd of April, some of the most enthusiastically loyal members of the Corporation, warmed into admiration by her energetic services to the Royal cause; proposed that five hundred guineas should be presented to her Majesty, which "it was humbly desired and hoped she would graciously be pleased to accept, as a poor token of their duty."¹ The gift, without doubt, was "graciously" accepted by the poor bereaved Queen, to whom money was at that juncture of timely service. Her Majesty could have scarcely suspected the great exertions required to obtain it from a City so renowned for its opulence. Considering the financial difficulties of the Corporation, their present was generous and noble,—though not altogether agreeable to some of the citizens who were compelled to contribute. The manner of raising the money, otherwise trivial, places before us the emptiness of the Treasury. The Chamber was to pay £150, and the residue, £375, to be provided by the inhabitants. But as this would take time, and as it was necessary that the money should be immediately forthcoming, several members of the Corporation lent the amount, which Aldermen Wallis and Creswicke were to see paid, as soon as they had received it from the inhabitants.²

¹ April 23rd, 1644. There is an entry in the Chamberlain's accounts of 2s. 8d., "paid for ten linen money bags, to put in the 500 guineas presented the Queen."—*City Records*.

² From an entry of the 4th March, 1644-5, we learn that the amount had not then been received. "It appears that divers sums of money have been paid and disbursed by the Chamberlain, which should have satisfied several persons for monies lent and disbursed by them to the Lord Hopton, and for the Queen's money, amounting in the whole to £309, still owing to them. It is now ordered that Mr. Chamberlain shall make a writing under his seal of office, declaring to each particular person to whom the money is owing; that the same is to be made good by the Chamber by the end of three months next."

The Names of the Persons to whom the Monie is owing, with the particular Sums.

"Mr. Hooke	£35	5	0	Mr. Woodward	£12	10	0
Mr. Cann	25	0	0	Mr. Balman	12	10	0
Mrs. Barker	25	0	0	Mr. Knight, Alderman	12	10	0
Mrs. Butcher	12	0	0	Mr. Stephens	19	10	0
Mr. Gunning, Jun.	45	0	0	Mr. Warren	6	5	0
Mr. Locke	12	0	0	Mr. Browne	6	5	0
Mr. Deyos	6	5	0	Mr. Fitzherbert	10	0	0
Mr. Langton	12	10	0	Mr. Blackborrow	20	0	0"
Mrs. Charlton	37	10	0				

City Records.

A curious idea of the condition of our gaols at this period, and of the long credit taken by the Commonwealth Corporation, may be found from the perusal of the following:—

“June, 1644. Present Mr. Maior—Messrs. Aldermen Gonning, Wallis, Lock—This day ordered, that inasmuch as there is at present noe Keeper of Bridewell, or the House of Correction, the former Keeper, Freland, being removed to Newgate, and Hitchins dead, and there is noe lokinge to the house as it ought, that John Faine, sometime a Keeper there, is to goe and dwell there againe, and to have his habitation for his wages, unles, by putting up loomes for his weavers trade or otherwise, he can make benefitt by the Brassell Mill¹ there.” The Commonwealth Corporation do not appear to have been very prompt in the payment of their officers.

“20th March, 1655. Upon the humble petition of Nicholas Freland, late Keeper of the House of Correction and Gaole of Newgate, setting forth how that upon his undertaking of the said offices, in the yeere 1643, he was promised forty markes a yeere, as Keeper of the House of Correction, and the same to be repaired from tyme to tyme at the Citties charge, as formerly; which, from Michaelmas, 1643, to Michaelmas, 1646, cost him at least five pounds a yeere, and that he hath beene neither satisfied for the said disbursements in reparation, or received any part of the said forty markes a yeere, though often demanded;” after some debate, it was resolved that “the said Nicholas Freland shall be allowed the sum of thirty and five pounds in full of all his demands.”

From the source whence we have so copiously extracted,² we again derive a few gleams of light thrown on the circumstances and condition of the Garrison within this City. They reveal, though shaded and indistinct, some portion of its military life, over which Time has darkened and our records left impervious. Amidst the confusion of the passing scenes, amidst the inhuman contentions and deadly warfare, a fiery spirit reigns, and “ever and anon there darts out, now hither, now thither, across the dim smoke element, a swift, fierce Prince Rupert, too like a streak of sudden fire.”³ His name is before us in every martial movement wherein our City at this calamitous period was concerned.

1643, June 14th, Craufurd (dated from Farringdon,) to Prince Rupert, has intelligence

¹ A mill used for extracting dye from an American red wood, so denominated because first brought from “Brasil.”

² Warburton's Prince Rupert.

³ Carlyle's Cromwell.

of two hundred rebels belonging to Bristol, and of the horse, they have quartered in villages remote from the town, asks leave to fight them.

October 25th. Lord Hopton writes from Bristol to the Prince, reports the disaffected state of the country, and measures are adopted to separate the rebels' army. And another letter from his Lordship to the Prince [no date] complains of want of powder, (Oxford Mills seem to have been destroyed) of money, and Col. Long levying in *his* quarters.

November 20th. General Gerrard, Bristol, acknowledges Prince Rupert's favours in recommending him to the command; "wishes that some good occasion might present itself wherein he might be serviceable to Prince Rupert."

November 30th. Thomas Sudford to Prince Rupert.—"My Garrison in Bristol Castle is zealous in desire to wait on Prince Rupert;" not advance of title he covets, but his Royal Highness's commission to receive him to his old duty.

December 4th. Sir William Vavasour to Prince Rupert, from Bristol, alludes to some supposed plot against the Prince; intends this winter to block up Gloucester, and present his Royal Highness a handsome army by the spring. On the 9th Sir William writes again to the Prince, from Bristol, to say his designs are frustrated from having the means withdrawn; "the King being made to believe that twelve hundred foot and three hundred and twenty horse will do it." "Charles Vavasour's forces come to Bristol from Ireland this December, but refuse to fight with the King against the Parliament."

December 14th. Sir Francis Hawley, from Bristol, to Prince Rupert; the enemy in great numbers have fallen upon Lyme and Taunton, and driven out the Garrisons; Sir F. Hawley entreats Prince Rupert to appoint him commander to all the horse and foot in Somersetshire, "to avoid confusion."

1643-4, February 13th. Daniel O'Neill, from Bristol, to Prince Rupert, waiting for ammunition from Ireland, for Prince Rupert, complains of the Prince taking his troops with him; if his Royal Highness does him not the favour to send them back, he must sell his horse to buy the others meat.

February 18th. Michael Sheddencourt, from Bristol, to Prince Rupert, concerning the taffety for the colours, which has been in the town this month, but Capt. Deane, [Deale] in whose custody it is, will not distribute without ready money, prays his Royal Highness to give orders for them, as "it will give some content to the soldiers, though they have no clothes."

In a letter, dated August 16, from Lord Digby to Prince Rupert, he says "There are a hundred barrels of powder sent from Bristol through Wales, and recommended to Charles Gerrard to have them conveyed as fast as shall be necessary." The Prince left the King at Bocannock, the 5th of October,

for Bristol, attended by Lords Hopton and Digby. The Prince was delayed here till the 28th of October, while endeavouring to raise a sufficient force to move to the King's assistance, and was marching with the few hundred men he had with difficulty obtained, when he learned that the King, who had been defeated at Newbury, was at Bath.¹

Many indications of the eventual destitution of the inhabitants were manifest, should the national conflict be prolonged. The resources of the Chamber were exhausted.—The people's means had lessened, but the exorbitant demands upon them had increased. Our omissions for the sake of brevity are numerous, but it is necessary, in order more fully to develop how the funds of the City departed, to turn again to the account of the Chamberlain, and add to our page a few more extracts; some we give in notes,² that need not be read by those who consider them as importunate:—

“Paid Wm. Hinton, Esq., deputed by Sir John Stawell, Sir Henry Berkeley, Sir Edward Rodney, and other Commissioners of his Majesty's service for Somersetshire, £1000, *lent* them.” It was to be repaid, but that important feature in the transaction was frustrated by the adverse fortunes of the King. An entry of April 29th, informs us that Mr. Thomas Colston “freely offered to see the mount and redoubt³ by Alderman Jones' house forthwith furnished; and it is promised he shall not be a loser, and his disbursements on account shall be satisfied.” August 14th, he was ordered to be paid £27 : 2, balance due to him for “finishing the redoubt by Alderman Jones' garden,” and “£313 : 12 : 2, in full of all demands, for disburse-

¹ Warburton's Prince Rupert.

² “Mr. Thomas Colston to pay his Lieut. Colonel £30, for a year's service. A committee appointed to consider of raising £20 a week, for payments of the Lieutenant Colonel, Serjeant, and Drummers of the City regiment, and £5 for the Garrison.” A letter was received from the King concerning “ten guineas weekly to be paid to the Serjeant Major of the forces here.” This the Chamber did not approve, and Alderman Wallis and Sheriff Creswicke, were to ride to Oxford “to mediate that and other business relative to the City.” Sir John Winter was paid £30 towards fitting his frigate for the Severn. “Sir Francis Hawley, Deputy Governor of the Castle, presented by the Mayor and Aldermen, with “a hogshead of racked sack, £11 : a hogshead of Gascoyn wine, and a hogshead of Claret, £11.” Lord Hawley [late Sir Francis] was paid for entertaining Prince Rupert £200. A committee was summoned to treat with Lord Hopton, for taking the £10 weekly, paid to his Serjeant Major.

³ This was the redoubt on Kingsdown, with outworks, &c., which was designated “Colston's Mount.” The gallant Colonel superintended the fortifications, and in every case of emergency and consideration, his advice was sought by the Deputy Governor.

ments about trainbands, &c." Mr. Alderman Taylor received at the same time £140 for ensigns, arms, and for the auxiliaries, and in full of his account for charges in London and Oxford, and for charges in entertaining the Lord Admiral Piercie, £203:17." May 21st, "The auxiliary forces [were] to be made up one thousand, with arms and ammunition. £1000 to be taken up for the defence of the City and to be assessed on the inhabitants,¹ Alderman Wallis to be Treasurer."

This loyal citizen advanced money on the assessments, which the change of Government prevented his being repaid. Fourteen years after, we find him making an application for the money to the dark-robed Commonwealth men, who then occupied the seats of the Royalists in the Council Chamber, which they dismiss in a very off-hand and somewhat insolent manner:—

"10th August, 1658. Upon reading a letter from Mr. Hooke, Mr. Knight, and Mr. James, touching moneys lent by Mr. Wallis to the Governor of Bristol in the time of the late wars, this House are of opinion that they are *not obliged any way to take notice thereof, it being noe City debt*, and the Chamberlain is hereby appointed to return them *that for an answer*."

The entertainment given the Lord High Admiral, during the Mayoralty of Taylor, in 1640, cost £42:4, but had not been discharged, in consequence of the City having fallen into the hands of the Parliament. This is one of many instances of money advanced on the credit of the City, the payment of which had in like manner been postponed. Others will be revealed:—

"July 17th. Alderman Jackson stated that he was owed £15 for a present sent to Col. Fiennes when he was here; this to be moved at the next House when 'tis full, and then ordered for repayment out of the Chamber." Mr. Hugh Brown was also owed £10 for wine furnished Col. Fiennes, and which with the £15 due to Alderman Jackson, was paid September 6th.

A siege appeared inevitable, and again the inhabitants are assessed. In the beginning of the year, the Mayor and Aldermen consented to pay Lord Hopton £284:10 "for victualling the Great Fort and Castle." April 8th,

¹ "13th January, 1645. The Commissioners appointed by his Majesty in Council at Oxford, 11th October, 1643, for getting in the monies assessed for his Majesty's army from those who are in arrears, whatever they do this House will approve."

two of the Common Council in succession were "to view the works and notice the number of workmen." On the 28th, six weeks' payment for the bulwarks were ordered to be made in advance, "for the speedy finishing them."¹

The complaints of the citizens, however, grew loud and frequent, when it was found necessary to enforce a tax sufficient to raise a weekly sum of £300, for the support of the Garrison. To such a height arose their discontent, that the authorities were obliged to send a deputation to the King at Oxford, with a petition for relief from a burthen so onerous, and so inimical to the Royal cause. Their prayer was graciously entertained.—

June 22nd.—A letter was read from the King, dated 23rd of May, reducing to £200 per week the amount considered as requisite for the maintenance of the Garrison, on condition that the Royal Fort be furnished with all necessaries.² It was agreed that £2000, for maintaining the Garrison, be bestowed in bread, butter, cheese, &c., that Capt. James and others confer with persons in every parish for raising the amount. On the 17th, it was commanded that "the works in Canons' Marsh be now speeded."

August 8th, there is an order for "a warrant to bring in trees and timber for making the platform for the Gunners, and to expend £20 in the business. Mr. Alderman Taylor, with Messrs. Bevan and Blackborrow, to wait on the Governor for the warrant." There was paid the Mayor, for arms, £155:3:10,—for platforms, £102:13:8,—and Mr. Alderman Long, for twenty barrels of French powder, at £5 per barrel, and of fine powder for pistols put in the Armoury, £102:13:2. "Those men that have musketts, or money to furnish musketts, to Col. Deale, are contented for as many as are [illegible] that the musketts or money already had or to be had from Mr. Deale, [probably Capt. Deale] shall be for a common magazine for the defence of this Citty, and kept accordingly."

"30th September.—It is agreed that four weeks' pay, lately assessed for Prince Rupert's firelockes, frigate money, and other urgent occasions, shall forthwith be collected and paid unto Mr. Mayor, to be issued for the uses aforesaid. £100, and

¹ "July 17th. The six weeks in advance of ten pence a piece, be raised by the wards and not the parish; those who cannot pay, to send an able labourer to continue from six in the morning until eleven, and from one until six, and in case of failure to be punished."

² "Agreeably to his Majesty's letter, read on the 30th, fifteen hundred shoes and fifteen hundred stockings, were ordered to be provided for his Majesty's army, which the Sheriffs were to see done. The cost to be assessed upon the inhabitants."

a tun of wine, was" also ordered "to be presented to the Governor, for the Prince's table." Mr. Colston, and others, "to think of levying and bestowing it."¹

It was not alone the continued and repeated assessments on the inhabitants for the repair of the fortifications,—for the maintenance of the Garrison,—and for the necessary expenses in placing the City in a posture of defence,—that was draining the civic coffers, and familiarising many with the gaunt face of poverty, and its corroding anxieties. This was not all.—Out of its reported abundance, it was called upon to assist with loans the neighbouring counties; and, in the present resistless, downward course of the King's fortunes, on no very substantial security. October 8th, a letter from the King was read, touching the City assisting the county of Somerset with a loan of money, upon good security, "for the payment of his Majesty's army." It was propounded by Lord Hopton to lend, according to the letter, £3000, ready money,—£2000, for shoes and stockings; £1000, to be repaid in three months. This proposal was taken into consideration by the Chamber, who on the 14th agreed that only £1000, be lent,—

"If it can be procured, and accepted, upon security for repayment in three months."

The money was lent upon the security of the Somersetshire Commissioners, and procured from the following members of the House.²

Arthur Farmer, Cann, and Hellier, lent £100, each. The Corporation to give their bond as a security. £500, more was requested by the Commissaries of Somersetshire, for present "commodities;" but the Chamber delayed the payment, "until the £1000, already promised be furnished." From an entry, Jan. 7th, 1644-5, we learn, that £150, was "to be assessed weekly, under the Great Seal of his Majesty; and four *gents.* to consult with Col. Slingsby in the absence of the Governor.—Another letter was read from

¹ The Chamberlain to pay the particular sums following:—

Mr. Brewerton	£95
Alderman Taylor	70
Mr. Thomas Colston	60
Mr. Latham	30
	<hr/>
	£255

² Mr. Sherman, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Langton, Mr. Cann, Mr. Woodward, Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Hellier, Mr. Warren, Mr. Deyos, Mr. Balman.

the King, on February the 4th, to the purport of furnishing the Commissioners of Somersetshire with the loan of an additional £1500, for his Majesty's service,—

“ Which, upon reading thereof and propounding it to this House, they were generally of opinion that it cannot be furnished at present, the state of the City considered, and the debts they already owe, and are engaged for.”

The Chamber was principally occupied in superintending the workmen engaged in repairing the fortifications, according to the instructions of the Governor. Pieces of artillery were planted along the walls, and new forts constructed for the defence of the gates, &c. The merchant vessels in King-road were removed, and anchored at Hungroad; their cannon taken from them, and placed along the ramparts of the City. The pinnace liberally offered for that service by Sir John Winter, was stationed near the ships, for their better protection. Two frigates were brought to anchor in such a position, as to preclude the enemy from approaching by water. All above the age of sixteen, capable of bearing arms, were enrolled and exercised as soldiers. On the 29th of October, the Mayor and Aldermen resolved to call to their assistance such as they might think fit, to consider of the protestation to be taken by all the inhabitants of the City above the age of sixteen. Col. Taylor and Col. Colston to attend the Governor, or his Deputy, “ to consult and certify his opinion thereon,” and “ if approved, all citizens and freemen are to take the protestation, also the Garrison and strangers in the City.”

The following was the oath or protestation taken on the 2nd of November, by every loyal member of the Corporation then present, including the Mayor, nine Aldermen, the two Sheriffs, and twenty-one Common Councilmen:—

“ I do seriously protest before Almighty God, that I will to the utmost of my power, and with the hazard of my life and fortune, keep and defend the City of Bristol for his Majesty's use, against all forces that shall or may attempt it, by virtue or colour of any order or ordinance, made or to be made by the two Houses of Parliament now in Westminster, without his Majesty's Royal assent thereunto. And this protestation, according to the literal and plain sense and meaning of the words before by me spoken, I do freely and voluntarily make, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. So help me God.”

The protestation was submitted to the Governor and other authorities. At the same time, a considerable sum of money was lent by the civic powers, for defraying the expenses of the fortifications. A general subscription for the same purpose was also set on foot, and each Alderman was directed personally to canvass his ward, accompanied by the Clergyman and other parochial authorities. In addition, "It was agreed that a troop of horse should be raised, for the necessary defence of the City; whereupon those of the House then present, did voluntarily offer to furnish as followeth."¹

Almost the last loyal bonfire that probably would blaze in the old City for many years, took place on the fifth of November. It is thus related:—"Bonfire made before the Mayor's door, the King's holiday, 3s. 4d." The bonfires were a test of the political merit of the householder, before whose doors they were kindled; the larger the fire the greater the loyalty. In the midst of warlike preparations,—in the midst of poverty, disease, and death,—it must have been with mournful observance the pile was fired. It could not irradiate the gloom that ominously loomed over the drooping fortunes of the King,—it could not brighten the hopes of the brave but depressed hearts which still clung to his broken cause. Amongst many entries, we will select one more, showing the yet remaining loyalty of the Chamber, struggling to maintain itself against adverse circumstances,—against poverty, and almost against hope!²

¹ "Col. Taylor and Alderman Creswicke, two horses, completely furnished. The Mayor; Aldermen Hooke, Gonning, Long, and Locke; Nathaniel Cale and Wm. Bevan, Sheriffs; Thos. Colston, John Gonning, Wm. Cann, Arthur Farmer, and John Young, each one horse, completely furnished. And the following contributed each one horse, only without the appendages,—Wm. Fitzherbert, Gabriel Sherman, Thos. Woodward, Wm. Wyatt, George Hellier, Richard Balman, Henry Creswicke, John Bush, Wm. Colston, Robert Challoner, Robert Yate, and Robert Blackborrow."

² "A present of Wine sent to Bath, to Oliver St. John,^a the King's Solicitor General:—

Tierce of Claret	£3	0	0
22 Gallons of Canary	4	8	0
Cask of Canary	5	0	
Excise, £1 : 5—Porterage, 6d.	1	5	6
The Chamberlain's Horse Hire with Mr. White to Bath	1	0	0
Carriage of Wine to Bath	10	0	
	<hr/>		
	£10	8	6"

^a "Men used to name him the Ship-money Lawyer, the political 'dark-lantern.'"

The sums required by Charles at the rendering of the City,—the demands of Prince Rupert for the repairs of the fortifications, and support of the Garrison,—the voluntary contributions, presents, &c., already obtained from the citizens,—may in the aggregate be nearly arrived at from the details which have been placed before the reader. In 1645 the loyal disposition of the City was again put to the test, by a further taxation upon the inhabitants, for the entertainment of Prince Charles; who, March the 11th,¹ came to reside here with his Council,—including Sir Edward Hyde, the Duke of Richmond, and Culpepper, the best and truest friends of the King. The Great House on St. Augustine's Back, had been prepared for his reception. Warburton alludes to this visit,—“March, The Prince of Wales is now gone to Bristol, under Lord Hopton's especial care, Lord Berkshire's nominal governance, and his Council's direction. The south-western counties had associated themselves ‘for peace, and for the King,’ and the Prince of Wales was specially their General. His own forces consisted of *two imaginary regiments*, quaintly described by Lord Clarendon as *to be raised by Lord Capel, and at Lord Capel's cost.*”²

The Corporation having had notice of the intended honour about to be paid the City by the presence of the Prince, in the first place set about providing a store of wine for his Highness's comfort; and March 8th it was ordered that—

“A Hogshead of Sack, ditto of White, and two ditto of Claret, with coal and wood, be sent to the Prince's lodgings by the Chamberlain.” The cost of the wine appears in the audit:—“1 hogshead of Canary, £14—3 ditto of Gascoyn, £16 : 10—Excise, £5—Hauling, 2s. 6d.”

¹ In a letter from George Digby to Prince Rupert, dated March 5th, 1645, he says:—“Since your Highness's going, my Lord Hopton is come hither, and having represented unto his Majesty the state of the Garrison at Bristol, it is, upon a full debate at the Committee which your Highness was wont to honour me with your presence, thought fit to be represented unto you, as most necessary to the support and improvement of the Garrison of Bristol, *whither the Prince of Wales is to-morrow going.*”—WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert, Abstract of Correspondence.*

² A body of horse and foot, as his Highness's guards, and £100 a week for his support, had been promised by the Commissioners of the four counties. But the Commissioners had failed to fulfil their promise. The Prince in consequence met the Commissioners at Bridgewater, on April the 23rd, where he remained a week; with what result we do not learn.”—*Prince Rupert*, III., 68.

The Corporation provided the above, and placed it in the cellar for the entertainment of the Prince and suite;—their next consideration was to obtain beds for their noble visitants; accordingly, on March 9th, they issued the following singular notice:—"Whoever of the City shall furnish and lend any bedding or furniture for the Prince's accommodation in the Great House on St. Augustine's Back, shall have the same safely restored to them; and in case any shall be lost, or spoyled, the same to be made good to them."¹

"Mr. Fitzherbert, Mr. Langton, Mr. Balman, Mr. Wyatt, and Mr. Tate, members of the Corporation, each lent a feather bed, a matrass, a bolster, two pillows, two pillow bearers, [cases] a pair of sheets, and a pair of blankets." There was also sent a quantity of pewter, purchased of John Knowles, a Pewterer, at a cost of £19.

Furthermore we learn, that, on the 15th of March, it was resolved to present the Prince with £500, and that three shillings and upwards was the weekly contribution rated on each person in every parish.² This amount was presented to him on the 5th of April.

At the same time another resolution was, "That the Mayor, and Alderman Wallis, do consider of a remonstrance to be presented to the Prince, and his Council, of such grievances as shall be thought fit." Some of the parishioners were unable to pay the rate and the deficit was borrowed from the Mayor.

"Paid Alexander James, Mayor, £70, to make up £500, *which should have been collected of the inhabitants*; which money was presented to Prince Charles, 5th April, 1645." And with a curious minuteness, we are informed there was "Paid for five money bags, to put in the money presented to Prince Charles. . £0 : 1 : 8."

¹ "Paid Nihan, for her attendance, when the bedding and other things were brought to furnish the Great House on St. Augustine's Back, for Prince Charles, and for one dinner, 5s."

² Referring to the contributions that were levied upon the citizens for the support of the Garrison, we read, "April 3rd. The order for his Highnesses Council for making good £400, in provisions for the Garrison, and said to be due for contributions from the 4th of January last, ordered to be made good in provisions by the Chamberlain, on behalf of the City." The Prince appears to have been somewhat exacting in his expectations, and is informed as much by the Mayor and Aldermen.—May 15th. Whereas Prince Charles having propounded to the Mayor and Aldermen, the loan of £400, for present service, and that the same "should be allowed out of the arrears owing by the inhabitants, which are pretended to be very great. The House are of opinion that *their many former advances of money, and the quartering of soldiers duly considered*, there can be nothing due for old arrears upon the weekly contribution. That the Mayor and Aldermen do give a meet and fair answer to his Highness."

No incidents or casualties occur to vary the monotony of the preceding records. They contain all the information we can adduce in reference to the Prince's sojourn here. Apparently he was well satisfied with his reception by the citizens, remaining amongst them till the fear of the plague, and the approach of the enemy, occasioned his removal,—first to Bath, where some of our Council waited upon him, with a petition,—and thence to Barnstaple.¹ But we must not depart from our locality, to pursue his wanderings. It is not our province to tell of the vicissitudes of his early career, his changing fortunes,—from peace to strife, from gloom to sunshine.—After many years we shall again behold him enter the old City, a crowned King,—not altogether forgetful of its former hospitality, but withal thoughtless, profligate, and unfeeling.

The citizens, weary of their burthens, apply to the Prince for relief. We learn that he must now have left the City.²

“May 22rd, The Sheriffs Cole and Bevan [were desired] to travel to Bath, with a petition to the Prince his Highness, to take off contributing to the Garrison, and payment for the charges of the frigates.”

It remains to be seen how the expenses for the Prince's entertainment were obtained from the needy and harassed citizens.

“July 19th. Lord Hawley and others, by order from the Prince, propounded to the Mayor and Aldermen, the payment of £40 or £50 weekly, towards the payment of his Highnesses housekeeping during his abode in the City; and that it was expected by his Highness from the City.”³

“It was agreed the sum of £200, shall be raised upon the *able* inhabitants of the City and presented unto him as a gratuity, which they hoped his Highness will accept in

¹ Soon after he set out on this journey, a letter came from the King recommending that the Prince should reside at Mr. Smyth's, at Ashton.—SEYER, II., 428.

² Consequent upon the Prince leaving the Great House in St. Augustine's Back, there were certain expenses which were paid on the 16th of July. Though otherwise trivial, they throw an amusing light on the character of the times.—“Paid to Halliers, Porters, &c., and to Mr. Perry's man, £1, for two days' attendance, and for wine, beer, &c.; in sending home the bedding and chairs from the Prince's lodgings, and the Bishop's house, which were lent by several men at Prince Charles' being here.”

³ Warburton says, “His Royal Highness lived at Bristol, at Lord Hopton's expense, the King having not one penny in his exchequer to bestow upon him.”

discharge and satisfaction of the weekly payments demanded for the use aforesaid."

This appears an extraordinary compensation for the Chamber to propose, in lieu of a weekly assessment of from forty to fifty pounds, for upwards of two months.

Loss of trade, combined with the expenses of the war, had impoverished the merchants and tradespeople, and consequent want of employment for the labouring classes, had left numbers of families wholly without the means of support, for whom the City was necessitated to provide. To the bane of poverty, real and tangible to many,—its indescribable, blighting, withering cares, anticipated by more,—were added the horrors of an invisible agent of destruction, before which the garrison diminished,¹⁻² and the inhabitants sickened, paled, and died. Sorrow and mourning spread through the plague-smitten City,—and voices of grief and anguish were heard from the homes of the bereaved. Even hope had almost sunk within the hearts of the distressed citizens, as humbled by afflictions, war, and pestilence,—they awaited the issue of the great struggle. Till then, Peace could not smile again upon their dwellings, nor employment and industry pursue their tranquil and ennobling course. But the tale of misery is told in the simple, touching pathos of the records of this period. There is poverty and the existence of great calamity expressed upon the page. Though trifling be the facts, they have significance for what they shadowed.

¹ August, 1645. The auxiliary and trainbands, by interruption of trade and commerce, by the pestilence then raging there, by their poverty and pressures laid upon them, were reduced to eight hundred; and the mariners, for want of employment, betook themselves to other ports, or to the enemy.—WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert*, III., 166.

² It is said one hundred and fifty died in a week.^a One of our Calendars relates that "there was then (1645) a mortality or sickness, or pestilence in the City which continued until near Christmas following. Whereof in the parish of St. Michael died 180 persons or thereabouts." Weston, the associate of Ferdinando Gorges in his "Colonization of Nations," who had received by grant from the Crown large territorial rights in America, died here at this time from the "sickness" as it was called.—*Hist. New England* by THOMAS PRINCE. This is probably incorrect as to the time and manner of his death. "A gentleman of quality," of the name of *Weston*, belonging to Prince Rupert's Troop, was shot on Durdham Down, on the 8th March, 1642, when retreating from the City, after the failure of Yeamans' design.—SEYER II., 356.

^a "October 15th. Mr. Thomas Colston, and Mr. John Gonning to confer with the Governor, and, in his absence, with Col. Slingsby, for removing to Knowle House, or some place without the line, persons infected in the Castle. Knowle House being considered by Lord Hopton as a desirable place."

"10th July, 1645. The House agreed that Thomas Wickham, carpenter, who had laid out one hundred and thirty pounds odd, in building hutts and other things by their order, shall have the same made good by the City. And that the 2 great seales given the said Thomas Wickham for one hundred pounds on Saturday last, the other portions to be paid him at different times specified."

"It is further agreed that the 36 pounds already lent by the brewers, and what other monies shall be lent by any other companies, or by any other well disposed towards the relief and maintenance of the sick and infected people of this City, now in great want and necessitie, shall be made good by the Chamber of this City, and shall have writing or instrumentes made for that cause." Such was the afflicted strait to which the City was reduced, when the army under Fairfax and Cromwell appeared before its walls.

When the movements of the Parliamentary force gave indication of the approaching siege, Prince Rupert came to Bristol to prepare the City against the attack. From his narrative of the state of the garrison, we learn that he gave orders "for all the inhabitants to victual themselves for six months; and upon strict survey, there were 2,500 families then remaining in the City; whereof 1,500 through indigence and want could not provide for themselves. To supply this deficiency, 2,000 bushels of corn were imported from Wales; and on the certain approach of the enemy, all the cattle thereabouts were ordered to be drove in."¹

The first manifestation of the enemy's design appeared in the arrival of some Parliamentary ships in Kingroad, for the purpose of blockading the City. It was not, however, till August 17th, that the Council of War finally resolved to march for Bristol. Two thousand horse were sent before, under Commissioner General Ireton, to preserve the neighbourhood of the City from plunder and firing, and thus secure quarters. These "military saints" desecrated Bedminster Church by its appropriation as a stable. Saturday, August 23rd, says a Parliamentary pamphlet, "the army encompassed the City round, both on Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire side, our horse having been there some days before, to prevent the burning of the houses and villages adjacent, whose occasional coming saved the burning of Stapleton, Hanham, and other

¹ August, 1645. The Commissioners entrusted for the contribution and support of the garrison, upon the enemy's approach, abandoned the Town, and many considerable persons had liberty given them, and quitted the Town, which much weakened and disheartened the rest.—*State and Condition of the City and Garrison of Bristol*. PRINCE RUPERT, III., 167.

towns, which the enemy had sent out parties of horse with fire-balls to set on fire, but that our horse repulsed them, but that Bedminster, Clifton, and other places they consumed by fire.¹ The enemy omitted no opportunity to solicit the minds of the inhabitants, trained bands, and auxiliaries; and to that purpose, sent secretly in these lines following, signed and sealed by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell; as likewise, further instructions to the citizens of Bristol, for the delivery of Bristol to the Parliament:—

“ We do hereby promise and engage ourselves, that all such citizens of Bristol, now inhabiting within the said City, which shall from henceforth forbear to resist the army under our command, in the attempting to enter the said City, and the lines of defence, and forts made about it; and shall appear to do their best endeavour for the delivering in of the same into our hands, for the use of the Parliament, shall, in case the said City be delivered into our hands, be secured and protected by the authority of the Parliament, in the enjoyment of their lives, liberties, and estates, as freely as in former times, and as any other persons under the obedience of the Parliament, notwithstanding any past acts of hospitality, or any other thing by them done, in the former delivering up of the said City to the enemy, or maintaining it against the Parliament, or otherwise, in assistance of the enemy. For assurance, and in testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this twenty-fifth of August, 1645. Subscribed and sealed by

“ THOMAS FAIRFAX,
“ OLIVER CROMWELL.”

“ Upon the interception of which paper, his Highness caused several suspected and active persons to be restrained which prevented the design, and, withal, by his personal presence, secured the great fort from surprisal.” Doubtless there were many in the City disaffected to Royalty, whom the Garrison had kept in order. Cromwell in relating its capture observes: “Some inducement to bring us hither was the report of the good affection of the Townsmen to us, but that did not answer expectation.”²

¹ The enemy, upon the 22nd of August, appeared before the town, upon Pine [Pile] hill to the south side. To encounter them, his Highness sent a party of horse, commanded by Sir Richard Crane, who, in that action received his death wound; a little before that, Bedminster was fired, upon intelligence the enemy intended to quarter two thousand men in it; and, notwithstanding the fire, the enemy drew thither, and plied their small shot all night.—*Prince Rupert*, III., 167.

² Whitelock says that “ Prince Rupert disarmed divers of the citizens, and fired Bedminster, and some villages near Bristol, and the whole Temple Street, in the City.”

Our Calendars, with the usual indifference of their writers to the curiosity of succeeding times, do not inform us who were the suspected persons that suffered the penalty of imprisonment. They contain in fact nothing relating to the general operations of the siege, nothing of the raging of the civil warfare,—nothing but what may be conjectured from the constant recapitulation of guns, and pikes, and powder, drums and trumpets. The fortresses bristle with cannon,—the guards are doubled at the gates,—whether against Puritans or Royalists is never fairly stated—it is left for the sequence of events to disclose the invisible enemy. When the chronicler sadly and briefly notes the “distractions and troubles” of the City, it is at a considerable stretch of his descriptive powers. The passages we have so frequently quoted of its distressed state—standing alone without the familiar facts of history, detail only the duties of citizenship at an unhappy time, proclaim only the advent of some great crisis. We could not infer from the limited information of these periodical entries, that the people had risen in arms against their King,—that the best and noblest blood in the country had been shed in his defence,—and that now the heart of his cause was broken, and the power of Royalty was no more!

As copious extracts from the Parliamentary journals, and from other contemporary pamphlets, occupy the pages of our local historians, giving ample accounts of this siege, we shall rapidly pass it over, staying only to note any incident that from its interest, or its novelty should claim attention. The following entry is chiefly remarkable for the desire and anxiety evinced that strangers should partake of the burthens of the citizens,—and what is somewhat curious, it suggests the anticipated surrender of the City, two days before the summons of Fairfax, and seven days before the actual storming occurred:

“2nd day of September, 1645. The House thinks fit that the goods of *strangers*, as well in the Backhall as in other cellars, shall be left wholly to the Commissioners to dispose of for and towards some gratuity required to be given and be bestowed upon the common soldiers. Mr. Alderman Long and both Mr. Sheriffs, are desired to treat with Mr. Pindar touching these four particulars:—

“1. What the gratuity required may be.

“2. The goods of strangers may be taken as parte of it.

“3. That in raising the residue, strangers in town at *the time of rendering it* and remaining in the towne, may pay with the inhabitants.

“4. That these fines may free the City from other fines, or impositions, or delinquents, or others for the future.

“Agreed that nine of the committee for raising [the gratuity for] Prince Rupert shall be of this committee. Eight of the council and four of the commons are appointed and desired by this House to raise £1000 upon the inhabitants, which is agreed by the House to be offered as a gratuity, and this money to be raised by the discretion of the committee with all equality and indifference.”

The 4th of September the City is summoned to surrender, by Sir Thomas Fairfax ; we give an abstract of his letter to Prince Rupert.—

“Sir,—For the service of the Parliament I have brought this army before the City of Bristol, and do summon you in their names to surrender it, with all the forts belonging to the same, into my hands to their use. Having used this plain language, as the business requires, I wish it may be as effectual with you as it is satisfactory to myself, that I do a little expostulate with you about the surrender of the same, which I confess is a way not common, and which I should not have used but in respect to such a person and to such a place. I take into consideration your Royal birth and relation to the Crown of England, your honour, and the virtue of your person, and the strength of that place which you may think yourself bound and able to maintain.”

After this preamble, Fairfax proceeds to show that “the King, misled by evil councillors or through a seduced heart, hath left his Parliament under God, the best assurance of his crown and family;” and that the sad effects “this schism hath produced in the three kingdoms, are visible to all men.” A principal cause of their fighting, he pleads, is *to maintain the Crown of England where it ought to be*, and “to punish those wicked instruments to justice” that have misled the King to adopt the ill-judged course of rejecting the guidance of “the great council of the kingdom, instead of being advised by men of whom the law takes no notice.” He points out to the Prince that his surrender of the City would restore him to the endeared affection of the Parliament and the people of England. He appeals to the righteous God to be judge between them, and requite the wrong “if so great, so famous, and ancient a City, and so full of people, be exposed to ruin and extremity of war.” And, he adds, “let all England judge whether the burning of its towns, ruining its cities, and destroying its people, be a good requital from a person of your family, which hath had the prayers, tears, purses, and blood of its Parliament and people.” After a pathetic remonstrance not to pursue the unnatural warfare, he concludes:—

“I expect your speedy answer to this summons with the return of the bearer this evening,
and remain

“Your Highness’s humble servant,

“September 4th, 1645.”

“THOMAS FAIRFAX.

The Prince briefly replies:—"Sir,—I received yours by your trumpet, and desire to know if you will give me leave to send a messenger to the King to know his pleasure therein. I am your servant, RUPERT."

To this request Sir Thomas objects on account of the delay. While pending, the Prince has been negotiating with the Common Council, who resolve September the 5th,—

"That the Cittie shall accept of the proffer of his Highness Prince Rupert, touching the taking of the free quarter, both of horse and foot, from the inhabitants, and that in lieu thereof, there shall be £800 in money disbursed upon goods and commodities, as [illegible] wines, ginger, and the like, at moderate rates and prices. And it is further agreed that those of this Cittie that will not take some reasonable proportion of these goods, being men able and not doing duty in person upon the lyne, shall notwithstanding pay so much weekly as they are rated at for free quarter. The same to be issued for supply of those of the trainbands and auxiliaries that need it, according to amount agreed on at the last House."

The deliberations between Fairfax and the Prince continued till the 9th of September, when the Trumpeter returned with an unsatisfactory answer from the latter.¹ Fairfax issued orders for the City to be attacked on the following morning, at two o'clock. The signal was given by setting fire to some straw and fagots, and the firing four great guns against Prior's Hill Fort, when the storm immediately began to rage around the City, *with all the combined horrors of darkness and carnage "terrible to beholders."* To be brief. The City was on fire in several places. According to some authorities the whole of Temple Street was burned. "All the lines from the Royal Fort down, and the suburbs were taken, with Prior's Fort, in which only two Royalists were left alive."² Then Prince Rupert surrendered, to save blood, upon high terms."³ Humanly regarded, this conduct for which he has been severely censured,

¹ The essential articles of dispute, says a writer quoted by Seyer^a are "*exemption from sequestration.—Cathedral men to continue, against which there is an ordinance—the works to be demolished, and no garrison hereafter.*"

² Prior's Hill Fort, so obstinately held out, that when taken, the soldiers were so little prepared to show mercy by the opposition that they met withal in the storm, and the refusal of quarter when it was offered, that they put to the sword the commander (one Major Price, who was a Welshman), and almost all the officers, soldiers, and others in the Fort, except a few which at the entreaty of our officers were spared their lives.—Parliamentary Relation. BARRETT, 236.

³ Moderate Intelligencer, Friday, Sept. 12, 1645.—*Prince Rupert*, III., 182.

^a II., 446.

prevented an useless sacrifice of life, and the destruction of property to a most calamitous extent.

During the attack the Corporation lost a distinguished member, and the King a devoted subject, in the death of Col. Taylor. The day previous, he had attended the Common Council, for the purpose of filling up some vacancies,—that attendance was his last! When the hour of peril approached, he shrunk not from the duties of his command. He was on the line, with a party of the Royal Horse when the enemy entered by a gap the pioneers had made. Forced with his party to retreat he fell mortally wounded. He had marked his place in our records in times of factious discords, and momentous councils. The struggle and the strife was over,—and he had passed to the last best resting place of weary humanity—happy that he lived not to behold the enemy trample through the streets of his loved City, and lord it over his dwelling! The few lines of the historic page which tell of his honourable death, are his enduring monument.

From his house in Broad Street,¹ a mournful procession issued on the 13th of September,—following his body a few paces to the Church of St. John, where it was deposited in the family vault. So great was the disorder and agitation,—so violent had been the disruption to all familiar customs and hallowed rites, that no funeral bell was tolled on the occasion of the melancholy burial.²

Among the losses sustained by the Royalists, may be added to those incidentally named, Sir Bernard Ashley,³ Col. Daniel, Major Reade, Col. Fortescue, Lieut.-Col. Pomfrey, and Capt. Hill. There fell among the Puritans, Major Bethell, Major Cromwell, [cousin to the Lieutenant General] Capt. Guilliams, and about two hundred men.⁴

¹ On the site now occupied by Messrs. Phillips and Co., Wine Merchants, and lately by the Exeter Railway Company.

² No other allusion is made to the death of this gallant Cavalier, than if he had gone quietly to his rest. We may almost imagine the satisfaction with which the Puritan pen records his democratic successor.—“20th October, 1645. This day, Mr. Richard Aldworth is chosen to be an Alderman, in the place of Mr. Alderman Taylor, deceased.”

³ “Sir Bernard Astley, who was taken prisoner, was carried to Bath, where he died of his wounds, Sept. 16th, 1645.”—*Prince Rupert*, I., *Appendix E*, 471.

⁴ “At Stokes Croft Gate, the officer-in-chief, who was Major of the town, was slain.”—*Prince Rupert*, III., 175.

During the siege, the General Fairfax and Cromwell, remained at a farm house situated on Ashley Hill, above Rennison's Bath, about half a mile from Prior's Hill Fort. They were sitting at the top of this Fort which had been taken during the storming, when "God to show the watchfulness of his providence over them," brought them into some danger, and delivered them out of the same graciously, a piece of ordnance was shot thither from the Castle, and the bullet grazed upon the Fort within two hands breadth of them, but did them no hurt."¹ This remarkable escape, combined with other instances of a like nature, the natural occurrences, incidents, and chances, of a life of warfare, was regarded by Cromwell as a miraculous interposition of Divine Providence! It kindled his enthusiasm, and gave vigour to the genius that raised him to the pinnacle of his fearful ambition. That night, the General, with Cromwell, removed from their quarters at Ashley Hill, and came to Bristol. An affecting picture is drawn by a Parliamentary writer, of the miserable strait to which the evils of civil war had reduced the once prosperous City. "They [The General and Cromwell] found it so unlike what it had been formerly, in its flourishing condition, that it looked now more like a prison than a City, and the people more like prisoners than citizens, being brought so low with taxations, so poor in habit, and so dejected in countenance, the streets so noisome, and the houses so nasty, as that they were unfit to receive friends or freemen till they were cleansed."²

An involved account says, "Sept. 11th, according to the articles, Prince Rupert marched out in this manner, having first drawn all his foot into the Royal Fort and Castle, his horse standing on the green, under the Fort, within the line, those waggons appointed for him being laden with his baggage, in all not above eight. He drew out part of his foot and horse before his waggons, and part following, himself next, with his Life Guard of firelocks came forth, all in red coats, before him, and his Life Guard of horse following, accompanied with some Lords, viz.: Cromwell, Grandison, &c., by a numerous train of nobility,³ ladies, and gentlemen, five hundred horse, and fourteen hundred foot. Col. Hammond's regiment of foot standing at the

¹ Seyer II., 451.

² Ibid, II., 458.

³ Lord Hawley, Lord Lumley, Col. John Russell, Sir Matthew Appleyard, Col. Tillier, Col. Fox, Cols. Robert and Walter Slingsby, Col. Murray, Lieut. Col. Osborne.

post to receive the keys of the fort and march in. Lieutenant General Cromwell, Col. Montague, Col. Rainsborough, and some other officers, waited at the post of the fort for his coming out, and waited upon him to the General, who accompanied him over Durdham Down. The Prince was clad in scarlet, very richly laid in silver lace, mounted upon a very gallant black Barbary horse. The General and the Prince rode together, the General giving the Prince the right hand all the way." "A great appearance there was of the country to see the marching away of the Prince, and extremely cried they out against the Prince, 'give him no quarter, give him no quarter!'" There were many whom the outrages committed by the Garrison had provoked. Prince Rupert and his followers had obtained no enviable notoriety, for their marauding expeditions; it is indeed recorded that "the cause of sitting down before Bristol was to prevent the plunder and cruelty of Prince Rupert in that country."¹⁻²

"The General upon his return from escorting the Prince, received the keys of the Royal Fort, which is one of the finest citadels in England. In it were twenty-four pieces mounted on five bastions. Victuals in abundance of all sorts, eighty or one hundred tons of beer, bread sufficient to serve almost 100,000 men a day. Upon the line, castle, and forts, might be in all about two hundred pieces of ordnance, mounted; two or three barrels of powder, two great magazines of arms, some say, three or four thousand; the City itself being the next to London in the kingdom: all this success is the Lord's doings, which ought to be marvellous in our eyes."

The King was at Ragland when he received the fatal news of the loss of Bristol. He had had the fullest assurance from the Prince that he could defend it for four months, and intending to make it his head quarters, was forming schemes and collecting forces for its relief. The Prince was severely censured by the King in a letter written at Hereford, wherein he described the loss of the City as the "greatest trial of his constancy that had yet befallen him." Charles writes from Newton, to Prince Maurice, Sept. 20th, that he is "confident that this great error proceeded not from change of affection,

¹ "Prince Rupert has been especially upbraided with slaughtering of children, and some very godly persons have hinted that he *ate* them too." To such an extent had distorting fame misrepresented his character,—at the same time that his most bitter enemies could not advance one single act of inhumanity against him.

² Parliamentary Journal.—*Prince Rupert*, III., 182. Seyer, II., 452. Whitelock.

but merely by having his judgment seduced by some rotten-hearted villains." With Rupert's departure from our City, his interest, locally regarded, ceases. His character seems to have been little known or understood. Warburton says in his vindication "his true memory lies hidden under the calumnious cloud of Puritan hatred, and Royalist envy, and disparagement. He was bravest among the brave; honest among knaves; reproached as pure by profligates; philosophical among triflers; modest among boasters; generous in his lifetime, and poor at the period of his death."

CHAPTER IV.

Election of Mayor—His Removal, with thirteen of the Council, by Fairfax—Preaching Officers—Money levied on the City to restrain the Soldiers from plundering—Removal of the Orthodox Clergy—Iconoclastic Fury of the Mob—Injury to the Ecclesiastical Structures—Fire on Bristol Bridge—Resolutions adopted in consequence—The Plague—Monies lent by the Corporation on the Public Faith—Licentiousness of the Garrison—Imprisonment of an Alderman—The City put into a Posture of Defence—Death of Charles.

THE possession of Bristol by the enemy was fatal to the King's cause. Cromwell's intoxication with continued success, betrays itself in a letter to the Parliament, couched in humble phrase, and in accordance with the temper of his party. He calls the capture of Bristol, "the work of the Lord, which none but an Atheist could doubt;" and says, "God hath put the sword in the Parliament's hands, for the terror of evil doers and the praise of them that do well." In the same strain he continues.—"It may be thought some praises are due to these gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made; their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing is, that in remembrance of God's praises they may be forgotten. It is their joy, that they are instruments to God's glory, and their country's good. It is their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service, know that faith and prayer obtained the City for you." This event was considered of so much encouragement by the Parliament, that September 17th it ordered a General Thanksgiving for the taking of Bristol should be observed on the next Lord's day,—to be held by the rest of the kingdom on that Lord's day fortnight, the 5th of October. The newspapers of the time inform us, that the day appointed, September 21st, according to the order of Parliament, Cromwell's letter on the taking of Bristol was read in "the several congregations about London, and thanks returned to Almighty God for the admirable and wonderful reducing of that City. The letter of the renowned Commander is well worth observation." Traditionally associated with Cromwell, is a mooring-post, built into the masonry of the wall of St. Mary-le-port Churchyard, to which his barge is said to have been moored after

the capture of the City. Its historical association is, however, somewhat dispelled by the grave consideration, that unless for a *pleasure party*, Cromwell could not himself have had the slightest opportunity of making use of the barge; nor could it have been of any material service to him. Connect the post with the landing of the Lord Lieutenant, on his return from his sanguinary and cruel massacres in Ireland, and the tradition comes within the bounds of probability.¹

Scarcely had the disquietude, confusion, and alarm of the captured City subsided, when the annual election of the municipal officers pressed upon the attention of the Corporation. After duly considering their critical position, the Mayor [Alexander James,] and Council, resolved to send submissively to Sir Thomas Fairfax, desiring his guidance in the choice of a chief magistrate. Sir Thomas in the most courteous manner declines to interfere, and begs them to adhere to their ancient custom. Beguiled by this unexpected permission, it was implicitly followed. The Royalists did not perceive the subtlety, and with great simplicity elected one of their own party, Francis Creswicke. The first Sheriff was the obstinate visionary, Walter Stephens, the other, John Young, a name of repeated occurrence in these pages. As might have been foreseen, a Royalist would not be long suffered to occupy the extreme civic dignity. Creswicke was soon displaced, with many of the Chamber whose sentiments were supposed adverse to the dominant power. An order of the Parliament, dated October 28th, directs the removal of the following² "Aldermen and members of the Common Council, *being disaffected to the*

¹ On taking down the shambles, an old mooring post, with an iron ring much worn, was discovered, anciently used by the vessels lying in the river below. This post was removed to the Church about the year 1750. Barrett says it stood within the north door, against the east side, under the monument affixed to the north wall, to the memory of Thomas Smith. It is still to be seen, inserted into the stones, near the centre of the western extremity of the churchyard wall. How it has been preserved, and from what cause destined to survive the hand of improvement that has changed the aspect of all around, is now unknown. By most, so simple an object may be disregarded. It is only by connecting it with the relics of bygone days and things, when ships loaded and unloaded their cargoes in the port below, where now the present Bridge Street stands,—it is only by contemplating the vast changes with which it is associated, that it becomes an object of dreamy interest for busy imagination to speculate upon.—*Churches of Bristol*, 146.

² Francis Creswicke, Mayor; Humphrey Hooke, Richard Long, Ezekiel Wallis, Alexander James, Thomas Colston, William Fitzherbert, Henry Creswicke, William Colston, Nathaniel Cale, William Bevan, Richard Grigson, John Elbridge.

proceedings of Parliament, and active in promoting the designs of the enemy, in these times of war and danger." Furthermore, it desires the Committee of Parliament¹ sitting in the City, "to enquire into their delinquencies, and report to Parliament for their judgement." It appoints John Gunning Mayor, removes Creswicke, and all inferior officers who can be proved delinquents, and adds to the Committee of Parliament then sitting in the City. By a second order, dated November 1st, Alderman Richard Aldworth, Richard Vickris, Luke Hodges, "who for their fidelity to Parliament had been displaced," were now to be admitted into the government of the City, "the Parliament having proof of their great integrity and great suffering in their cause." The 19th December, General Skippon, the Governor, came personally to the Council House, and in the presence of the Common Council, directed the two ordinances of Parliament to be read, to which every one submitted. The next day Creswicke yielded up his office, with the Sword and Cap of Maintenance, to Mr. John Gunning, "who was then sworn Mayor."

Fiennes, it will be remembered, had extorted from this said John Gunning, who refused to take the oath tendered by the Parliament, the sum of £200. His loyal principles must therefore have declined, with the waning fortunes of his party. He had forsaken his King, and we now behold him appointed by the Parliament chief officer in the City. Gunning had not sacrificed his fortunes for the sake of consistency.² He had watched the current of events. "He seized the exact moment for deserting a falling cause." He had suffered in person and purse for his loyalty, but finding that cause hopeless,—himself and others had changed sides, with a promptitude that did credit to their discernment, if not to their fidelity. The Committee of Parliament had now purified the Chamber of the "Malignants," as far as it could discern. The Corporation at its next meeting consisted of the members mentioned below.³ In the mean

¹ General Skippon, Edward Stephens, Alexander Popham, John Ashe, Richard Aldworth, Robert Haynes, Dennis Hollister, George Harrington.

² "One who in such an age is determined to attain civil greatness, must renounce all thoughts of consistency."—MACAULAY, II., 182.

³ Convocatio Domus Consilii, 30 die Decembris, 1645. John Gunning, Mayor; John Tomlinson, George Knight, John Locke, Richard Aldworth, Aldermen; John Young, Walter Stephens, Sheriffs; Gabriel Sherman, Myles Jackson, Thomas Lloyd, William Cann, Richard Vickris, Thos. Woodward, Luke Hodges, George Hellier, Matthew Warren, Walter Deyos, Henry Gibbs, Richard Balman, Joseph Jackson, Hugh Browne, Walter Sandy, Arthur Farmer, John Bush, Robert Challoner,

time, October 1st, Col. Fleetwood had been made Governor of the City, and November 21st, Major-General Philip Skippon, "that real piece of valour, humility, and sincerity," was appointed Governor of the Castle.¹ The sum of £200, a month was ordered to be levied upon the City, in aid and support of the forces in the Garrison. A City regiment was also raised,² officered by the following citizens—Capt. Hart, Sen., Capt. Grigg, Capt. Pope, Capt. Roe, and Lieutenant Richards. They were trained by Major Samuel Kem, who received government pay.

It must not be forgotten that Bristol was a conquered City, under military law, filled with a successful soldiery. These had been disappointed in their hopes of plunder, according to the conditions of surrender.³ But to ensure their forbearance, Sir Thomas Fairfax reminded the Chamber that it would be necessary the sum of £5000, should be levied upon the inhabitants, to be presented to them as a gratuity. To this the Chamber not only consented, but the 4th of October resolved, on the casting vote of the Mayor, that the sum levied should be £6000. The demand was urgent. Experience had taught the Royalists that it was necessary for their own safety, to prevent a spirit of discontent from arising amongst the soldiery. They therefore desired to render them an acceptable offering; and Col. Colston, who in such a case naturally knew what was most required, voted for the £6000. The Chamber, in the hurry of compliance, hold no very conscientious scruples how the money was to be obtained;—it was ordered that "All *strangers'* goods in the Back Hall and other cellars, [were] to be sold toward some gratuity to be given to the soldiers."

William Dale, Robert Yate, Robert Blackborrow, William Penny, Jacob Croft, Thomas Armory, George Hart. At which Meeting they chose as members, Edward Tyson, George White, Josias Clutterbuck, and George Lane,—who took the oaths.

¹ "General Skippon was commissioned by the Parliament, in 1646, to carry £200,000 (half the price set upon Charles by the Scots,) into Scotland, to induce them to deliver the King into the hands of his enemies."—*Knight's Pictorial History of England*.

² On the surrender of the City, the trainbands and the auxiliaries yielded up their arms, which were placed under the Guildhall; and subsequently deposited for greater security in the Castle.

³ "That all the citizens of Bristol, and all noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and all other persons residing in the said City and suburbs of the same, shall be saved from all plunder and violence, and be secured in their persons and estates from the violence of the soldiers, and shall enjoy those rights and privileges which other subjects enjoy, under protection and obedience to the Parliament."—*SEYER*, II., 450.

No alternative remained for the Royalists, but to be humble and submissive; and endeavour by concessions to obtain favourable consideration for the City. Accordingly we find, October 6th, the Council judiciously selecting a Puritan to negotiate;—"Resolved, that Mr. Joseph Jackson and the Town Clerk, should wait upon Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General, and request his recommendation of the City to Parliament;—and proceed from the General to the Parliament, and prefer such petition to the Parliament, on behalf of the old City."

Again we have a most conclusive fact as to the condition of the Chamber. The £6000, "the gratuity to the soldiers," was not forthcoming so speedily as desired. The delay produced some disagreeable intimations, that filled the minds of the inhabitants with alarm! November 20th, £1500, part of the amount which was ordered to be levied for his "Excellencie, Sir Thomas Fairfax, by his *especial* order," was paid to some of his officers; the remainder "*being threatened to be collected by the common soldiery, to the great grievance of the inhabitants;*" it was determined, "that the Committee of Parliament residing in the City, be intreated to postpone such until Monday next, and longer, if necessary, and that the party in arrears be sent to." December 30th, a Committee¹ of advice was appointed, to levy the arrears of the £6000. At the same time, it was deemed prudent, to ensure the toleration and patience of the Governor, that a pipe of Canary wine, and a tun of Gascoyne, "as a gratuity from the City," should be presented to him. "It is plain the Corporation esteemed [wine and sugar] a sovereign remedy for all the inward bruises of the Commonwealth; and in this sense have tendered it to their august visitors, both princes and statesmen, whenever they came here. Whatever, in fact, was the aspect of affairs, when civil war was raging, or the vessel of the state was plunging amid the breakers, as certainly as they were able to get hold of the pilot, they endeavoured to fortify him with a little of their sherry; and generally, as the Corporation records show, with the additional present of some fine white sugar,—as if to suggest its conversion into sack."²

¹ Aldermen Tomlinson, Knight, Lock, Aldworth: Mr. Vickris, Gibbs, Jackson, Browne. John Gunning, the Mayor, was empowered to advance money, not exceeding £200, for the service of the Parliament. In July, 1646, he advanced them £150, "which money is promised to be repaid by the Committee of Parliament now resident in this City."—*City Records*.

² Illustrations of Bristol History, by Samuel Lucas, Esq.

Unhappy citizens! How vain the ventures of the merchant,¹ the toils of the artizan—the profits of the one—the earnings of the other; alike wrenched from them by the arbitrary exactions of each martial power that successively occupied the City! We, who live in times of peace, and calm domestic quiet, can scarcely estimate the blessings of that security for property, life, and liberty, of which our ancestors were deprived! What a melancholy picture of the intestine conflict, is imaged to the mind on perusal of the following entry:—

“August 16th. Paid Spurrier and others for *burying the dead people and horses* about the line, by Mr. Mayor’s order, £1 : 6.”

These were the soldiers slain at the various skirmishes, before and at the time of the attack. Amidst the trampled corn, or stubble of the harvest field—on the pasture land, or broad barren down—by the roadside hedge, or river’s brink, had death o’ertaken them—and where they fell they lay. The sun shone, the rain descended, and the darkness of night environed them. There was a City to be taken—who cared for the nameless dead? There was an enemy to be conquered—who cared for the unburied corpse? There was a dynasty to be overthrown—who cared, when the hot blood burned and maddened in the mortal conflict, for the dying groans of the prostrate life that was ebbing fast beneath them.—Who cared?—let the sorrows that visited many a household hearth mournfully relate!²

An agreeable task to the serious civic potentates was now to be put into execution. This was the act passed by the Parliament in 1644, appointing committees to enquire after the clergy not well affected to its levelling principles, and “to appoint Godly men to the churches.” February 26th, 1646. The “chosen servants of the Lord” who formed the standing committee for

¹ The Merchants of Bristol suffered much from the Irish Rebellion in the loss of their ships. The 12th December, after having had ten vessels taken, they petitioned the Parliament, complaining of neglect in guarding the coast.

² The wounded men were conveyed to Newgate and to the cellars of the Great House on St. Augustine’s Back. From an entry, August 17th, we learn there was “Paid by Mr. Mayor’s order, to John May for ten dozen of straw brought into the Great House on St. Augustine’s Back, to put under the wounded soldiers, 17s. 6d. William Dent and Anthony Wheeler, Surgeons, for dressing many maimed soldiers, £3 : 10 : 8.” The charge for maintaining the soldiers was £3 : 10 weekly, which was paid by the Mayor [Francis Creswicke] who was *promised* repayment by the Governor.

Bristol, sequestered the Rev. Richard Towgood, vicar of St. Nicholas, "for his great disaffection to the Parliament of England and their proceedings," for which he was committed to Bristol Castle. He was followed by the Rev. Richard Standfast, Rector of Christ's Church. A few days previously, the lectureship of St Werburgh's, which the latter held, had been given to Major Samuel Kem,¹ who had undertaken that duty since the surrender of the City by Prince Rupert. Major Kem appears to have been one of those half soldiers, and half preachers, which the peculiar complexion of the times created. He not only trained his regiment in military discipline, but also in spiritual. In a letter written by himself in 1645, to the Roundhead Earl of Denbigh, we may take the portrait he there gives of another, as no inapt similitude of himself. He says that the City is greatly moved "at a Lieutenant that goeth up daily and preacheth in a scarlet coat with silver lace, and with a sword by his side, and delivers very strange things; he also holds the mortality of the soul!"² The multiplicity of sectarian opinions, and teachers in this City, seems to have grieved the Presbyterian spirit of Major Kem. He speaks of the time as being sad, but a more sad omen of "worsen times even the rabble of opinions in this City of Bristol; of which I may say, that as the sword has slain many, so hath error many more in a few moneths time. One while such a man preacheth truth, and you are willing to *pull out your eyes to do him good*; a little after you *are ready to pull out his eyes*, and he is a low man, and not worthy your presence, and so discouraged." There is more of a similar strain in the page from which we have made our extract, which the reader will readily pardon our omitting. But compared with others, the Major's sermons were neither enthusiastic, nor extravagant. It was no unusual thing for officers to set up for preachers in their several regiments, without study or preparation, which might have restrained the irregularity of their zeal. Illiterate, incoherent, noisy, and ludicrous, they gave utterance to the most intolerable and inconceivable absurdities—insisting that they were guided and

¹ "10th February, 1646. The allowance formerly given to Mr. Standfast for preaching the Thursday lecture at St. Werburgh's for the quarter, ended at Christmas last past, which cometh to £6 : 5, shall be given to Samuel Kem, who hath performed the service for the quarter. March 10th. He was chosen Major of the trainbands, to be paid a salary of £40."

² Warburton's Prince Rupert.

influenced by the miraculous teaching of the Holy Spirit, thus endeavouring to throw obloquy on the regular clergy, who claimed no special interposition of Divine Providence to enable them to fill their holy office. The "military saints with hats upon their heads, and pipes in their mouths, loved to lie at ease in our old desecrated churches, and listen to some '*babe of grace*,' in buff and bandolier, blaspheming from the pulpit." For these "babes of grace" were now removed—the Rev. John Pierce, vicar of St. Philip,—Jacob Brent, vicar of Temple, and all the orthodox clergy, who were with many other persons to the number of fifty, rigorously confined in the dungeons of the Castle, and treated with great severity. To Constant Jessop, "a Godly minister" and enthusiast, of most undisguised fervour, a "mighty favourite with the Puritan Corporation," was given the ministry of St. Nicholas.¹ After he had continued here some time, "he was put by his ministry, as to Bristol, to the great grief of all that feared the Lord in it; whereby the City quite lost him." Mr. Ralph Farmer was instrumental in effecting his removal. A Mr. John Paul had the ministry of St. James. It was afterwards given to Mr. Ralph Farmer, with the lectureship of St. Nicholas. Farmer was a high severe Presbyterian; most violent against the Quakers, who honoured him with special marks of their attention. One Evens, a tailor, an Anabaptist, was promoted to the pulpit of Christ Church.² The recommendation of Sir John Horner,³ a Roundhead, who had suffered for his attachment to the Parliament, would be of course efficacious with the Corporation, and as the vicarage of St. Philip was vacant by the sequestration of the Rev. John Pierce, Sir John recommended his butler, Edward Hancock, as a *meet person*

¹ "25th February. This day the Tuesday and Thursday lectures at St. Nicholas and St. Werburgh Churches weekly, was confirmed and settled to and upon Mr. Jessop, now Minister of St. Nicholas, and Mr. Paul, Minister of St James, who are to have the stipend for the same as formerly was paid to Mr. Towgood and Mr. Standfast."

² "Upon the petition of the parishioners of Christ Church, this House doth approve of Mr. Tilladdams to preach in the said church, yet so as that Mr. Evens, the now Lecturer, be not hindered or interrupted in preaching in the said church once every Lord's day, as now he doth and formerly hath done. Mr. Blackwell and Mr. Aldworth are desired to draw up a letter in answer to ye letter now read from General Disbrow, touching Mr. Evens, and that the same be read at the next House."

³ "Wednesday, 17th July, 1644, the King went to Wells and stayed two nights at Sir John Horner's, the King's by attainder. Sir John had fought in Waller's ranks at Lansdown and Roundway Down.—*Prince Rupert*, III., 3.

to fill the holy office, and the butler was appointed to undertake its sacred duties.¹⁻²

We have noticed the ordinance of August, 1643, when "all images, pictures, &c. having a superstitious tendency" were commanded to be destroyed. Exception alone was made to "monuments, &c. not having that tendency."³ The republican mob were, however, but very indifferent judges of the distinction. Whether objects of religious regard, or honourable memorials to the "illustrious dead,"—whether the idol before which the superstitious devotee had knelt, or the tomb where affection's tributary tears had flowed,—whatever was sacred in religion, or beautiful in art, escaped not their defacing and destroying hand, and many empty niches, and bare unsightly tombs, witness to their sweeping vengeance. This they represented as "doing the work of the Lord." Ostensibly, in God's holy name they violated His Tabernacle. As in ancient days the inspired Psalmist wrote, "They break down all the carved work thereof with axes and hammers." "They have set fire upon Thy holy places, and have defiled the dwelling place of Thy name, even unto the ground."⁴ "What a pity it was" pathetically exclaims Bishop Hall, himself a witness to similar outrages, "to see the Holy of Holies now thronged with Pagans, the veils rent, the tables overturned, the altars broken down, the pillars demolished, and the pavements digged up."

The ordinances were well adapted to keep alive the religious enthusiasm of the people. This expended itself in demolishing whatever sanctuary of the Old Worship they could approach. So zealously did they enter into the work, that our ecclesiastical structures were subject to every species of spoliation, degradation, and indecency, to an extent hardly credible. From St. Mary Redcliff's the vandals tore down the ornaments and pinnacles, hurled the statues from their niches, and destroyed every particle of curious stone work that in their misguided judgment they regarded as superstitious. Not content with this record of their fury, they forced open the doors and rushed hooting,

¹ Barrett. Seyer.

² At the Restoration Hancock was removed, when he took a public house at Horfield; an occupation for which his education and experience in his former capacity, must have rendered him much better qualified than for the vocation into which he had been thrust.

³ At this period £3 : 7 was paid for "134 feet of new glass put in St George's Chapel [adjoining the old Guildhall] the painted glass having been taken down by ordinance."

⁴ Psalm lxxiv. 6, 7.

howling, and blaspheming through the sacred edifice. They ripped the brass plates from the monuments, mutilated the effigies, overturned the Communion table, tore down the rails and altar pieces, scattered to fragments the storied windows, and laid their sacrilegious hands on every thing their cupidity and inordinate zeal could approach. Then collecting in one wild heap all inflammable materials,—chairs, rails, benches, pictures, curtains, cushions, hassocks, bibles, prayer-books, and homilies, they fired the whole before the defiled building, and danced like savages around the flaming pile. With a march of triumph through the streets, they finished their “holy work,”—tooting upon the organ pipes, flaunting the cassocks and surplices which they had stripped into streamers and flags, and shouting, bellowing, and uttering impious and ungodly cries disgraceful to any age, but more especially abhorrent to a civilized people. Fanaticism in its fierce and pitiless spirit had done its work, and its victory was complete.¹⁻²

The Cathedral also suffered many mutilations. The venerated structure was despoiled of its enrichments, converted into a stable by the Parliamentary troops, and its sacred walls defiled and polluted to purposes the most degraded and the most vile. The Bishop, [Thomas Howell] says Barrett, was barbarously treated. “His palace was unroofed, and his wife, who lay in child-bed, was exposed to the rain and wind, from the effects of which she died.” The Bishop himself, who was dragged violently forth, expired in less than a fortnight from the inhuman treatment he had received. Ten children were rendered parentless by this unprovoked outrage of the barbarians,—excited by the levelling ordinances of Parliament,—unchecked,—naymore, encouraged, by the “heroic” Puritans.

The See remained vacant for fourteen years. Service there was, after the Puritan fashion. But not for such had laboured the toilers of the past. In the abandonment of its appropriation to the worship for which the earnest piety of foregone generations had given with no stinted hand,—in its desecration and mutilation, what a monument of reproach to the fierce and rugged men

¹ Barrett.

² “Whate’er the Popish hands have built,
Our hammers shall undo,
We’ll break their pipes and burn their copes,
And pull down churches too.”—*Song by FRANCIS QUARLES.*

who spared neither the highest nor the holiest. To whom no place was a sanctuary,—no chancel was hallowed,—and no hoary pious usage in God's house revered.¹ "What occurred in the French Revolution happened here: an age of impiety! Society itself seemed dissolved; for every tie of private affection and of public duty was unloosened. Even nature was strangely violated. From the first opposition to the decorous ceremonies of the national church by the simple Puritans, the next step was that of ridicule, and the last of obloquy."²

The following entry, renders it very ambiguous whether divine service had as yet been performed at the Cathedral, since the ejection of the orthodox clergy:—

"August 8th, 1648. That the petition now read, touching allowance out of Dean and Chapter lands, towards the maintenance of preaching in the Cathedral within this City and other uses, it is thought meet to be preferred in the Parliament for the obtaining an ordinance to that purpose therein expressed, and the Burgesses of this City in Parliament are desired to pursue it with effect."

The *effect* was, that Walter Deyos, no friend to the monuments of the discarded episcopacy,—but nevertheless a "God fearing Mayor," during his year of office [1654-5] stripped the lead from the Cathedral and cloisters, and deposited it with the Chamberlain. This was the preliminary step to the ruin of the building. Like all over-zealous Puritans, not content with desecrating, he also sought to destroy. But amongst his brethren, were many of higher and better feelings, whose religion was not hypocrisy, whose zeal was not fanaticism, and who have left an earnest of true worth, piety, and benevolence. These, caused the spoliation to cease. January 8th, "the Chamberlain was ordered to sell the lead and to expend the proceeds in the repairs of the Cathedral." With how niggardly a hand the reparations were executed, will be apparent from the statement, that October 5th, 1658, Jane Barry, Sextoness of the Cathedral, "was paid £79: 8: 6, for the repairs." Prior to the 10th March, 1659, morning service had been resumed.—

"Whereas there hath been noe preaching, either in the Colledge, St. Augustine's, or the Gaunt's, upon the Lord's dayes in the afternoone, whereby the children in the

¹ The conversion of the Bishop's Palace into a malt house is well known. A mill was erected there in which corn was ground. It was even in contemplation to erect a furnace for brewing, at the east end of the choir in the Cathedral, in the place of the altar.—BARRETT.

² Milner's History of Winchester.

Hospitall of Queen Elizabeth in the Colledge Greene have very much wanted the public ministry of the word near unto them, and there being a *very considerable revenue belonging* to the said Hospitall,—It is enacted that twenty-four pounds a yeere shall be paid for the maintenance of a Lecturer on every Lord's daye in the afternoone, to be preached in the Gaunt's Church by such Minister as shall be chosen by this House, at the preaching whereof the master and all the *blewcotes* shall be present, and to begin the 20th of this month, March."

The City had experienced all the horrors of a great national convulsion.—It still groaned under a military despotism,—and a blighting fell disease was withering its population, and spreading terror throughout its streets;¹ when another calamity overtook the already affrighted, and afflicted citizens. An alarming fire broke out February 17th, at ten o'clock at night, in the house of a Mr. Edwards, an apothecary, on the Bridge, and destroyed all the houses on both sides, from the "Virgin Mary" Chapel to St. Nicholas Gate,—twenty-four or five.² This conflagration probably destroyed that portion of the chapel

¹ Three thousand persons had been destroyed by the plague during the last year. It still continued to rage. February 10th, 1646. The Chamber was ordered to levy £150, "for the relief of the infected, and for preserving those that are well." In March the Sheriffs were to "consult with the Governor for convenient places within the line for pest-houses, in case the sickness increased, and an additional £100 was to be levied for the relief of persons infected with the sickness." Neither was the Corporation, in the midst of its many troubles and afflictions, unmindful of its humbler brethren. This worshipful body, though now mostly composed of grim, acerb, and solemn men, extended their sympathies for the necessitous. October 15th. "£156 was lent by several members to purchase butter to be sold to the poor."

² Evans says the houses were rebuilt with the lead and timber taken from Ragland Castle and Parks. This royal stronghold was stoutly defended by the faithful Marquis of Worcester, until the cause for which it stood was utterly lost. Col. Morgan, in his letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, (dated before Ragland, June 29th, 1646), gives some account of the resolution (obstinacy he calls it) with which the Castle was defended, and encloses Lord Worcester's reply to the first summons. "I make choice (if so please God) rather to die nobly than to live with infamy; which answer, if it be not pleasing to you, I shall not think you worthy to be styled by me,

"Your loving friend and Servant,

"H. WORCESTER.

"From my house at Ragland, June 28th, 1646, for Colonel Morgan, Commander-in-Chief of the forces before Ragland." In August, the Castle was surrendered on honourable terms, as to all but the person of the Marquis. "Weighed down by the sorrows of eighty-four years, he was sent to prison, rigorously treated, and forgotten by all but those who ravened for his wealth. His name appears but once more—on the 19th December, when Parliament ordered £1,000 to be allowed for his funeral expenses."—*Prince Rupert*, III., 412.

which had escaped the rage of Walter Stephens, and his associates in 1643. As we find for his *distinguished* conduct on that occasion, Sir William Birch, of Westminster, granted to him and his sons, in 1649, "the two stone arches on which the Priests' tenements formerly stood to be built upon." "In reference to this misfortune, February 25th, it was ordered that a rate be made to pay for the quenching the fire, and placing rails or a wall to secure the passage upon the Bridge of Bristol." We are inclined to think the "quenching of the fire," arose rather from the simple fact, that in the direction it had taken, there were no more houses to be consumed, than, from any power on the part of the inhabitants to stay its progress. They were even unprovided with an engine—though it will be seen that after witnessing the destruction of their property, and feeling their impotence to save,—according to the adage "when the steed is stolen shut the stable door," they arrived at the wise conclusion, that without loss of time, they would prepare themselves for a future contingency. Bristol, at the period of which we write, betrayed an indifference to avail itself of the improvements, and expansion of the age, until by general adoption they felt compelled to follow in the rear of intelligence. How the inhabitants were furnished with means for arresting the "devouring element" we learn from a bye law passed at the beginning of the century—"Every man of the Common Council of this City shall keep in his house six water buckets of leather, on *paine* of twenty shillings; and every other substantial person, as they shall appoint, on *paine* of ten shillings."

With this circumscribed means of defence, doubtless our citizens felt secure, and considered themselves provided against any extremity; until the roaring flames, the crackling timbers, and the falling rafters, taught them that some thing more than buckets was required to subdue the enemy. Accordingly we find, May 10th, Alderman Brown was requested "to purchase an engine in London, to be sent down with all speed."

This was not all. July 13th, it was further Resolved—"That hooks and ladders be provided by the Chamber," and also that Mr. Powell "do provide an engine and fifty buckets, for quenching fire, to be paid by the Chamber." The engine and buckets were also purchased in London. Every member of the Common Council were to provide six buckets at the least in his house. And the Mayor and Aldermen were to have the same done in every parish, to be kept in the several churches.

3rd April, 1655.—It was deliberated that “for the better prevention of the increase of fire, in case any happen, there shall be two ladders, one long, and the other ~~short~~, forthwith provided by every parish within the City, and the Churchwardens of each parish are required to take care that the same be made accordingly.”

Years after, we discover Bristol's citizens in no progressional state. They rather seem to have relapsed into the inert condition, from which the fire on the Bridge aroused them, when another calamity awakens them from their lethargy.

At the Presentment of the Grand Jury, 11th October, 1670, in the ninth clause, they speak of the great danger “of the late fire in Redcliff Street, where for a long time buckets were wanting, and might, had not the goodness of God prevented, been unconquerable by any ordinary means, before any conveniencies could be had, to employ those who came freely to adventure themselves towards the quenching of it; we therefore desire that an order of sessions may now be made, that whatsoever Sexton shall neglect to bring the parish buckets, within half an hour of the ringing of the bell, shall be forthwith turned out of his place; we likewise present that the buckets are very insufficient, scarce one in a great number that is sound, and desire that they may be made good, likewise that a convenient quantity of linkes and torches be provided at the City charge, always to be had in readiness against times of extremity by fire in the night, the want whereof was sorely experienced at the late fire, the wind being high, *candles could not be kept lighted.*”

We have noticed the sums of money advanced by the Chamber to the Parliament from the commencement of the Civil War; more especially after the parliamentary forces had obtained possession of the City in 1642. These loans were probably eventually repaid.¹ But we learn that November 6th, 1646, one large amount had not been returned, and in regard thereof it was resolved by the Chamber, “that a petition should be presented to the House of Commons, for the £3000, lent to the three counties.” There are other notices, which will throw some light upon this monetary transaction which it is better to dispose of in this place. October 20th, 1647, Alderman Aldworth, who had lent the money during his mayoralty, “was desired to compound for the £3000, owed the City upon the public faith, and those that are interested to have shares out of it.” The 23rd of November, 1649, Aldworth, who had just grounds for anxiety as to the safety of the money, “informed the House

¹ May 2nd, 1648, the Parliament voted the Corporation £6000, and by an ordinance of June 30th, an additional £10,000.

of his having received of the Parliament £3000, lent them in the year of his mayoralty—the monies of orphans put into the Chamber for their use and benefit. This service the House takes very thankful, and desires him to procure some Dean and Chapter land wherein the said £3000, or thereabouts, may be laid out.”¹ The dealings of the new Government with the property of the episcopal establishments, are significant of confused ideas of might and right. Power, was law and justice. Commissioners were appointed in this City, for abolishing Dean and Chapter Lands. The Bishop’s Palace and Park, and the estates of the Bishoprick, were to be sold;² and at this time, to adopt a commercial phrase, were “in the market,” which will account for the directions to the worthy Alderman. An authority states that the Mayor and Commonalty did purchase the manor of Blacksworth, 21st March, 1650, “with other things, for the sum of £3838:1:2, which was paid to Thomas Noel and William Hobson, two of the appointed treasurers.”³ Whether the money Aldworth held went towards this presumed purchase, we are unable to ascertain; from the singular fact, that the audits for 1650, and two following years, in which the information was probably contained, have unfortunately been lost. Were not room so scanty, we should be glad to insert a few notices that evince the scrupulous regard of the Corporation, for the safety of its charitable trusts, at a time too, when the clamours of a rapacious soldiery were alarming,—and the necessity of appeasing them imperative. Of this we must wait some other opportunity of speaking. It will be seen from subsequent proceedings of the Chamber, how faithfully its members performed their trust, and though money at that season of swift vicissitude, may have been diverted from its proper channel, we have no grounds for assuming it did not eventually return to the support of those, for whom in charity and love it had been bequeathed. Kindly human emotions appear to have chilled during this “reign of terror.” The records of private beneficence, and traces of that charitable spirit, which plays like sunshine over peaceful times, are faint and low.

¹ January following, the Chamber orders that “the amount due to Mr. Hodges, for his service and salary in Parliament, for divers years past be paid by Alderman Richard Aldworth, his fellow burgess in Parliament, to the extent of £300, on account of the £3000, due to the Corporation upon the public faith.”

² The Puritans shared the spoils of the Church among themselves and their adherents, by lavish grants or such sales as were little more than nominal.—SOUTHERN’S *Book of the Church*, 507.

³ Barrett.—Questionable. No traces of the purchase to be discovered.

Two entries, that carry us beyond the vexations, spiritual and financial, in which our poor ancestors were involved,—and we leave this subject. Facts though trifling, when indisputable, have their significance. They exemplify the feeling of the Chamber. We are at a meeting of the Council in 1677.

“Resolved that Mr. Alderman Lawford do, before the next meeting of the House, render an account of all the advantages and profits he has made of the gift money in his hands at any time, since he has been Treasurer; and that he pay all such monies to the Chamberlain made out of the same. If not, that immediately suit be commenced against him.”

The Alderman acknowledges that he has £1300, of gift money in his possession, which is ordered “with the monies on that account, in his custody be received by the Chamberlain, and be put into a chest with four locks and keys.” In 1680, the Council enacted that the “Act of Parliament of the 39th of Elizabeth, for the due employing of all charitable trusts, *be strictly enforced.*”

“So conscientiously,” [says Barrett] “exact and scrupulously honest were they in applying the money and estates left to the City’s use, according to the wills of the respective donors!”

Our search after the issue of the monies held by Alderman Aldworth, has carried us speedily over years pregnant with events important to England’s liberty and greatness; in some of these our City played its part. We return to 1646. In April, letters from Ireland were received by the Parliament, intimating that the Marquis of Ormond,¹ was acting openly with the Papists and insurgents, whose main design was to besiege Dublin. It was probably arising from this intelligence, that some months after, the republican Corporation—never particularly alert—considered of doing something to oppose the object of the Royalists and Papists. November 16th, “£153, was lent by the several members, to purchase powder and match, for the relief of *Dublin, in Ireland, and to be sent away with the greatest expedition.*” Here, after a delay of six months, hasty measures are deemed necessary. The local character of this work will not permit us to trace the Irish Rebellion. One peculiarity in

¹ “The Marquis came to Bristol in 1647, and after some days’ stay at his uncle’s, Sir Robert Poyntz’ house, at Iron Acton, in Gloucestershire, obtained from Sir T. Fairfax a pass to go to London; and soon after, by the same means, leave to wait upon his Majesty, the chief end of his coming to England. He went at the latter end of August to Hampton Court.”—CARTE’S *Ormond*.

the extract, however, can scarcely fail of remark,—the preciseness with which the situation of Dublin is laid down. Our readers must unite with us in the regret, that our records are not equally particular and exact, when they inform us of other things, not so generally known as the metropolis of a kingdom.

Although our loyal inhabitants were proscribed,—many exiled, and their property sequestered,—yet so conscious were the dominant party, that their arbitrary measures were likely to raise a spirit inimical to their rule, that they sought protection in physical force, rather, than from that moral power, which subsists in a moderate and wholesome administration of the laws.

It was ordered, November 6th, that a “letter be written the Recorder, [Serjeant Whitelocke,] and to the Committee of the West, to desire an establishment of eight hundred foot for the Garrison.” Our records tell us of their arrival.—“February 10th, eight hundred soldiers coming into the City from the army, to be received and quartered,¹ at the discretion of the Mayor and Justices, according to the discretion of the Parliament. The chief officers undertaking for the payment of the soldiers according to the same directions.”

The King was now a prisoner.—The Presbyterians and Independents quarrelling, and striving for pre-eminence. Had the former triumphed, by uniting with the concealed Royalists, it would have been fatal to Cromwell and the Independents. At this period, the Presbyterians were acquiring an ascendancy over their opponents, that rendered it doubtful whether Cromwell would be hailed as a patriot, or hanged as a rebel! All this has been recorded by able and graceful pens. What transpired in our locality remains for us to relate. Some time previous to the trial of Charles, martial law mostly prevailed. The people were compelled “to submit to that physical strength which is the ultimate arbiter of political contentions.” Their liberties, even the most anti-cavalier writer must admit, were oppressed. For loyalty,—for conscience,—faith,—duty,—and a reverence for things of the past, had been substituted the revolutionary laws of fanatic men, who were guided by the fancied teaching of the Spirit, and their own frantic wills. In the summer of 1647, Parliament submitted to its soldiers. The rapacious and ungovernable

¹ “February, 1653.—Thomas Hobson, Innkeeper, and G. Linelle, Gent., made oath before George Hellier, Mayor, that the Commonwealth was indebted to the Innholders of the City the sum of £988 : 11 : 5, due to them for quartering of soldiers; and that the Court of Parliament which then sat in the City confirmed the account by signing it; to be laid before the Grand Committee at London.”

conduct of those who composed the Garrison at Bristol, under General Skippon, is described as most intolerable to the inhabitants. The old City ranted, raged, fermented. Never had the citizens been so tyrannised over. The following is as suggestive, as the description of volumes would be, of the fearful danger and insecurity of those unconstitutional and despotic days.—November 23rd, letters were received by the Parliament from Bristol, informing of a mutiny in the Garrison, and of their having seized and imprisoned an Alderman there, [probably a Royalist,] until they should have a month's pay, and indemnity for the outrage.¹ The indignation of this important civic potentate, may be easily conceived. The dignity of the whole corporate body was insulted, their sympathies aroused, and their faith in the beauty of the "patriotism," as exhibited by their military rulers was shaken. Complaint was made to the Parliament. In reply, a letter was received by the General, ordering the immediate discharge of the unfortunate captive, and directing the soldiers to be reprimanded. The Aldermen were therefore to be exempt in future from similar outrages. The exemption, it appears, was not considered by the soldiers to extend to any lower in degree. Accordingly, their next exploit was to kill a citizen; for this, they were more than reprimanded,—the three most active were sentenced to death.² Our records do not state that the sentence was carried into execution. But this does not signify. It calls attention to the fact of the terrible ordeal through which the City passed, during the reign of democracy and military despotism. Little cause indeed had the community to triumph in their escape from Monarchy, with all the exactions of the "Star Chamber." It had yet to be seen, that from out the chaotic mass of festering opinions, would spring, when the great mind-struggle of the able legislators of that day was over, the glorious and matchless constitution, that has rendered Britain the admiration and asylum of the world!³

Such was the social condition of the City. Blood had been shed,—lives had been sacrificed,—treasure had been wasted,—and for peace and security, there was inquietude, and unrest,—dissensions, distrust, and the bitter enmities of

¹ Corry's History of Bristol, I., 462.

² Evans.

³ "The cause, (of Charles,) if at first triumphant, would have led to despotism and intolerance; by such agencies the higher destinies of this great nation could not have been promoted or achieved."—MACAULAY'S *History of England*.

political and polemical factions. It was well known to the Government, that though it had compelled the election of its creatures to all civic offices,¹ that the wealthy, intelligent, and most distinguished citizens were loyal,—only to be subjugated by arms; and whose plotting and conspiring, created continual apprehensions. They had been crushed, but not subdued. They had been plundered, but not exterminated. They had been astounded at the encroachments of the Parliament on the constitution, far greater than their Sovereign had ever made; but they had not ceased to hope; and now, with remarkable facility, were regaining some of the strength that had been impaired. There was a reaction. Fearing the rising of the Cavaliers, Parliament felt the necessity of strengthening the fortifications, and commands were issued for the walls about the Royal Fort to be made.² The City was put into a posture of defence, for which the Corporation received a letter of thanks from Sir Henry Vane,³ Lord High Steward, [*vice*, Philip, Earl of Pembroke,] and also a letter from the Parliament's Council of State, thanking them for “the City's readiness for defence.”

At this time the solitudes of the Chamber are lessening. Only at great sacrifices had it maintained its credit; it was not unusual to pay eight per cent. for the use of money. We have numerous notices to this effect. The following will serve as instances:—

¹ October 4th, 1649, the government of the City and Castle was given to Mr. Adrian Scroope, and all posts were occupied by the partizans of the Parliament. June 19th, 1647, Parliament voted that Bristol Castle and the Great Fort of Carnarvon should be continued. The keys of the Garrisons to be delivered to the Mayor and Corporation, to be governed as formerly.

² By an ordinance of May 10th, 1648, money was granted for fortifying Bristol in some new places. Another, of June 21st, is for settling the militia; and orders a sum of £1000, for the fortification and victualling of the City. July 14th, the Chamber directed £200, to be levied on the inhabitants for furnishing the auxiliaries; “the amount to be repaid out of the Excise.” By an act of Parliament in the following year, the citizens were obliged to pay £168 : 19 : 0 $\frac{3}{4}$, monthly, towards the maintenance of the army. The Commissioners were, the Mayor, [for the time being,] five Aldermen, and nine of the principal inhabitants.

³ 1653. James Powell, the Chamberlain, proceeded to London, to invite Sir Henry Vane to the City, which invitation he accepted. For his entertainment there is the limited charge of £11 : 10. Sir Henry's salary of £5 : 5 per annum, was four years in arrears: it was paid him in gold. He was one of the regicides, for which he was executed; and was succeeded in his office by the Duke of Ormond.

"16th October, 1643. Mrs. Sarah Prim, to whom one hundred pounds are due, is from henceforth to have *eight pounds per annum interest*, and soe accordinge to that rate untill the principall be paid."

Such was the value of money during the Civil Wars. In a very few years, so great was the elasticity of the City and its commercial gains, that it appears to be recovering itself from its late depression. Although its assessments for the support of the army were numerous, and an unusual number of auxiliaries were maintained, in apprehension of the rising of the Royalists, yet conclusions favourable to the better prospects of the treasury, may be derived from these entries:—

"January 14th, 1649. Mr. Saul, servant to Sir Robert Pointz, lent the Chamber £800, at five per cent, to enable them to pay Alderman Charlton £500, and Alderman Holworthy £300, at eight per cent." "10th February. This day it is ordered, upon the petition exhibited on the behalf of John Lawes' children, that for the time past there shall be seven per cent. allowed for the interest, and the principal to be paid in as soon as convenientlie it may be; and in the mean time from henceforth only five per cent. until it be paid in."

Since the date of our last extract, a terrible day has passed,—a monstrous regicide has been committed! There has been the mockery of a trial, but the reality of a murder.—There has been a righteous King brought to the scaffold,—slain by his own subjects,—before his own palace,—before the face of day!—In the name of Freedom,—in the name of Justice,—in the name of Religion,—the "Military Saints" have destroyed an amiable and pious man,¹ against whom they could produce no accusation, but infirmity of purpose. Against whom they could lay no crime, to extenuate and absolve them from their abhorrent deed! Upon the sanguinary character of the last scene in the direful tragedy, our chronicles take no note. A King is murdered.—The cherished institutions of an ancient country are disrupted.—Church and State are degraded and overthrown. The event has astounded all Christendom and paralysed the land; but the tale in our records is unwrit. We only behold upon the open page that a mighty power has been at work,—that an

¹ In considering the character of Charles I. we must endeavour to distinguish between the Sovereign and the man; the latter was what Heaven and a thoughtful youth had made him, grave, temperate, kindhearted, learned, and brave; the former what King James and his vile Court had rendered him, despotic, wilful, subtle, and insincere.—*Prince Rupert*, I., 140.

important change has been effected,¹—that stern fanatic men reign in the Council,—that the laws are more intolerant,—the military more unbearable, and cant and hypocrisy supreme. But wherefore the time-honoured name of King, dear to English hearts and associated with England's glory, had been erased from the municipal scroll, the pen of the recording scribe passeth silently. And had the memory of a meek and patient Sovereign, sublimely triumphing in his redeeming death, depended upon the archives of our City, the guilt of rampant fanaticism, and unscrupulous ambition had been unknown !

¹ The oath of the Common Council, 1649.—We give the orthography and phrases according to their ancient usage, where they are not of doubtful signification or otherwise liable to misconstruction.—“You shall sweare that you shall be true and faithfull to the Comon Wealth of England, *as it is now established without King or House of Lords,*^a and to the Maior and Cominalty of this Citty and their successors. You shall come att the Maior's somons to the Guildhall, Counsell House, and to all other places within the franchises of the same, unlesse you shall have lawfull cause to the contrary. You shall give good and holsome counsell, and advise, according to the best of your skill, knowledge, and power, in all matters wherein you shall be required for the good and comon profit of this Citty. And noe partiall counsell or advise shall give for any favour or affection concerning any matter touching the Maior and Cominaltie or comon profit of the same Citty. And you shall secretly keepe all such matters as shall be secretlie communed of in the Counsell House, and which ought to be kept secretly. And you shall wholly uphold and stand with the benefitt, comon profit, and liberties of this Citty to your power, and truly and indifferently, without favour or partiality, give your advise and counsell concerning the same according to your skill and knowledge, see helpe you God.”^b

^a This portion is evidently an interpolation which took place after the passing of the act declaring the Constitution a Commonwealth.

^b Wednesday, the 7th day of May, 1651. The former manner of expressing the assembling of the Corporation in its classic diction, is suspended, and is rendered in plain English, “*the calling of the House,*” varied sometimes to “*the calling of the Common Counsell of Bristol.*”

CHAPTER V.

Proclamation against Royalty read by command of the Mayor—Visit of Cromwell—Distinctions conferred by the Corporation on Cromwell's Favourites—Life's Contrasts—Observance of Christmas day abolished—Cromwell's Parliaments—Persecutions of the Quakers—Restrictions for the Observance of the Sabbath—Alarms—Conspiracies—General Desborow orders the Removal of three Aldermen—Destruction of the Castle and Royal Fort—Distress of the Labouring Classes—Public and Private Fasts—Mr. Arthur Farmer appointed Minister of the Chamber—Cromwell's Anxiety for the Safety of the City—His Letters to the Corporation—Meeting of the Council—Visit of Richard Cromwell—Official Announcement of the Death of the Protector—Proclamation and brief Reign of Richard Cromwell—Doddridge, the Recorder—The Soldiers paid to prevent Plundering the City—Insurrection of the Apprentices—Admiral Penn—Last Meeting of the Commonwealth Council—How Employed—Restoration of Monarchy.

THE "glorious reign of freedom" had commenced.—An act was passed for abolishing Monarchy.—A Proclamation issued declaring there was no King in England, and the successors of Charles I. traitors to the State! This the Lord Mayor of London would not permit to be read; but the Mayor of Bristol [William Cann] would. He was either more subservient, or fearfully cringed before the dominant power. Or it may have been he had no scruples of conscience upon the subject,—but considered it time all ancient institutions, all ancestral predilections should be swept away. Acting therefore in this spirit, he rendered himself notorious by taking the precedence of the whole country. He ordered the Proclamation to be read according to the act. The defacing and tearing down of the Royal arms and mottoes in all public buildings followed. Every semblance of Monarchical Government was destroyed. The 29th of May, an act was passed declaring and constituting the people of England a Commonwealth and Free State. The triumph of Democracy was complete.¹

Our City, which a few years past entertained a Sovereign and his train, was now to extend its hospitality to one who had been instrumental in sealing that Sovereign's doom. Oliver's presence was demanded in Ireland; he was to embark from Bristol. The Royalists were making rapid progress in that

¹ Seyer.

unhappy land, under the command of the Duke of Ormond. The Roman Catholics everywhere predominated. Decisive measures were required to support the Protestant cause, and stay the advance of the Royal forces. To Cromwell the task was given, who with ruthless cruelties reduced the country by almost exterminating the people.¹

Assuredly the great *local* event of the year was the visit of Cromwell on his way to Ireland.² "This evening" [July 10th] runs the newspaper paragraph of the day,³ "about five of the clock, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland began his journey by the way of Windsor, and so to Bristol. He went forth in that state and equipage as the like hath hardly been seen, himself in a coach with six gallant Flanders mares, whitish grey; divers coaches accompanying, and very many great officers of the army; his life-guard, consisting of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a commander or esquire, in stately habit, with trumpets sounding almost to the shaking of Charingcross *had it been now standing*; of his life-guard many are colonels, and I believe it is such a guard as is hardly to be paralleled in the world; the Lord Lieutenant's colours are white." The Perfect Diurnal, of July 16th to the 23rd, says, "By letters from Bristol, we are certified that the Lord Lieutenant came thither on Saturday night last, where he was royally entertained by the soldiers, and officers in armes, and others who held offices by order of Parliament. The citizens likewise expressed much joy at his coming, and entertained him with great respect."

The Corporation had been apprised of the intended visit of Cromwell. July 10th. "It is thought meet by the House, that convenient lodging be provided for Lieutenant-General Cromwell, against his coming to

¹ "Cromwell's murderous hand soon smote them to the earth. He slaughtered with a ruthlessness only to be paralleled by his prototypes, the chiefs of Israel, and with much the same object and intention; but he made Ireland pay a still more bitter penalty for opposition to his rule—he flung her back a century in civilization, and perhaps for ever, in that hopeful spirit so essential to the prosperity of a nation." In an "Act for *settling* Ireland" occur these words, "that the people of Ireland may know it is not the intention of the Parliament to extirpate *that whole nation*."—WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert*, III., Appendix G.

² 4th July. The Parliament informed the House that sixteen hundred and sixty barrels of beer, with other proportionable provisions, were ready in the City for the soldiers destined to that country.

³ Moderate Intelligencer, July 5th to 12th.

towne, being daily expected, for which cause Mr. Alderman Jackson's house¹ is appointed for his entertainment and provision ; *this to bee at the City's charge.*"² Alderman Jackson's house is situated in Small Street, within a retired and gloomy court. Its rooms are partitioned and set apart for offices, but traces of their antiquity remain, in highly decorated chimney pieces, where, amidst lavish ornament, the heraldic distinctions of the Jacksons are preserved. Cromwell, however, would not be much here. He would more probably be at the Castle, issuing his orders, and energetically preparing for his embarkation. His domestic affections are the only gentle thought united with his memory; we may, therefore, picture him,—the day's business over,—as retiring from the stern companions of the Garrison, to the quiet house, in the quiet court, where the welcome of Mrs. Cromwell awaited his coming. In a letter to his "loving brother-in-law," Richard Mayor, at Hursley, dated Bristol, 19th July, 1649, Cromwell writes, "my wife, I trust, will be with you before it be long, in her way toward *Bristol*." Though it was "thought meet" that the Lieutenant-General should be entertained at the City's charge, there is no payment in the Treasurer's accounts for that purpose. No civic banquet honoured his advent. No municipal address congratulated, flattered, and exalted him. He had great work to perform. No leisure for feasting and ceremonies. The little leisure he had, was probably passed with Mrs. Cromwell in the homely discussion of family affairs.

The extract above, is all our Corporation records contain, having reference to this visit. It is not significant of any very joyous demonstrations, or extraordinary preparations, as usual on the reception of royalty. Had the Corporation issued forth in great pomp to escort the Lord-Lieutenant to his lodgings, it would have scarcely passed unnoticed in our annals. We may surmise, therefore, that the Civic Body, played second to the Military, by whom the honours were performed.

¹ "July 7th, 1651, a letter was received by the Parliament, stating that the house of Alderman Jackson, near Bristol, had been burnt, with his children in it."—EVANS. Alderman Joseph Jackson was at this time Mayor.

² At the same time Alderman Vickris "is content to provide a lodging for the Lord Chief Baron, and it is agreed that the House shall be at the charges of his entertainment, *for one supper or more.*" The Alderman resided at the corner of High Street and the shambles, within St. Nicholas Gate.—EVANS.

It is remarkable, though Cromwell made some stay here, we should have no particulars of his movements. In "The Perfect Occurrences" from July 20th to the 27th, we are informed "The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is yet at Bristol, money is sent him, and under God, his Lordship will some seven days hence, meet it at the water side; and about a week after launch for Ireland."

To which of the churches, Oliver repaired during the three Sundays he was domesticated here, we have no mention; nor of the "Godly minister" he favoured. It would, perhaps, be the most "savoury" in his discourse—the most strict in his military discipline. There was the Lieutenant who "preached in a scarlet coat with silver lace, and with a sword by his side." There was Major Kem, and others among the Garrison, that attracted great congregations. Again, amongst the civilians there was Sir John Horner's butler, and a self-consecrated tailor. There was no lack of preachers, not learned, nor orthodox certainly, but that was no disparagement. We can only grope through the dark obscurity surrounding him, and conjecture him at other times "full of business, regimenting, discharging, enlisting, new-modelling," and settling the affairs of the City. At the end of July he quitted Bristol, moving westward, by Tenby and Pembroke, towards Milford Haven. August 15th, accompanied by his son-in-law, Ireton, he landed near Dublin with an army of 15,000 men.¹

One notice, and only one occurs during Cromwell's visit, wherein his *name* appears; and even this does not imply his presence here. The 23rd of July "Upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell's recommendation, it is agreed that Richard Allen, surgeon, be upon his petition made a freeman of this City, paying the ordinary fees, who hath promised *to keep no open shop for exercising his art of surgery, to infringe the ordinance of the barber surgeons without compounding with them*, and upon that condition is to be made free." The privileges of the barber surgeons, who clumsily wrenched out teeth, and ignorantly prescribed drugs, must have been great indeed; when a regularly educated practitioner, whom we may suppose well qualified, could not be allowed to follow his profession without compounding with his brethren of

¹ During Cromwell's stay here, the "gallant and devoted Will. Legge," Prince Rupert's valued and esteemed friend, was ordered to be committed in Bristol for high treason. The Colonel was therefore a "*prisoner as usual*."

the pole,—who not only wielded the lancet, but had other qualifications, extending to the clipping of hair, and the use of the razor.¹

Bristol rejoiced in conferring its civic honours on Cromwell's favourites.² Perhaps the Commonwealth was grateful, and granted many privileges to the Corporation, who had assisted so vigorously in its establishment. February 4th, the Chamber is so well pleased with Major-General Skippon, that it elects him, and Major-General Harrison, the regicide, [afterwards executed,] freemen of the City, and ordered that a letter of thanks be written to each. What their thanks were for, not discoverable. Furthermore, the compliment of electing them free burgesses of the Society of Merchants, was subsequently bestowed, but with limitations; "not privileged," so the record runs, "to make their sons, servants, or apprentices, free of this society."³ A letter to be written to them of admission, *in thankfulness for their favours.*"⁴

Cromwell, whose services were now required in Scotland, left Ireton to conclude the war in Ireland,—embarked for Bristol,—and arrived here in May, "after a boisterous passage." He was received with a thrice repeated volley of "great guns," and other demonstrations of joy. The Mayor [Myles Jackson,] presented him with a "butt of sack:" the cost £20. And Mr. Mayor was paid £10, "for entertaining the Lord General." Not a sumptuous entertainment certainly, for so great a personage. Humble indeed, in comparison with

¹ A complaint was made in 1663, by the Master Warden, and Company of Barber Surgeons, that persons unduly qualified had been taking apprentices, to the great prejudice of the Company. This produced the following ordinance:—"Whereas, for the better government, and more flourishing estate of the society and fellowship of the Master Wardens and Company of Barber Chirurgions, care hath been taken for the preventing of the multitude of apprentices belonging to the said trade and mystery, which if exceeded the due number and proportion limited to each respective freeman and member thereof, as in times past, would very much decay and impoverish the same, an unlimited number not being able to maintain themselves and families in any comfortable measure within this City." The Master Warden of the Company was restricted to three apprentices, the Wardens to two, and the Members to one only at one time, under a penalty of 40s.

² "June 2nd, 1657.—The Town Clerk and Chamberlain to present such gratuities to persons of honour as are friends to the Corporation.

³ Harrison was originally a butcher,—did the merchants anticipate that he would become weary of butchering men, and desire to set up again in his former trade, that they excluded any apprentices he might take from the privilege they had bestowed upon himself?

⁴ On March 9th, in the following year, Col. Adrian Scroope, Governor of the Castle, was also presented with the freedom of the City.

the immense sums lavished on courtiers and nobles, for which the Corporation had become famous. This expenditure, however, comprises the whole visible cost consequent upon Cromwell's transit. His stay was brief. After a triumphant journey to London, he, May 21st, took up his residence in the palace of Whitehall.

Meanwhile, the apprehensions of greater evils, than even the desolation left in the track of civil carnage, made the season one of anxiety and dread. In the ominous order issued by the Parliament, is indicated the awful advent of the Great Plague,—the lifting up of the chastening hand of the Omnipotent! And though not known in its dread and dire significance, yet the vague and shapeless sense of the coming calamity, darkens the prophetic soul,—

June 18th, it is directed, "One month's contribution be levied upon the inhabitants, after the rate of £60,000 per month, throughout all England and Wales, for the Plague. The Aldermen in each ward to appoint assistants, to aid them in collecting. The Constables to have warrants for collecting."

"Tuesday next is thought a meet day for a private fast to be kept in this City, to implore God's favour and mercy towards us in ceasing the sickness now begun; and Mr. Mayor is desired to speak with the Ministers of this City to that purpose; and that they give notice of it in the churches the Sunday before."

From a domestic humiliation, we turn to a national rejoicing. Cromwell had, September 3rd, obtained a most complete victory over the Scots, at Dunbar. "It was ordered that two copies of the Act of Parliament for a Day of Thanksgiving, the 29th of this month, [September,] be sent to the churches, and *sixpence to the drummer Mr. Mayor sent about to proclaim the same.*"

✓ The absorbing event of this year, [1651,] that annihilated the hopes of the Royalists,—secured the dominion, and increased the fame of Cromwell,—was the Battle of Worcester,—his "crowning mercy," as he was pleased to call it. It took place on the anniversary of the victory of Dunbar, the 3rd of September, Cromwell's fortunate day. At the close of the year, the vessel which conveyed the body of the Lord Deputy Ireton, who had died of the plague, at Limerick, came into Kingroad,—"Notice of which being forwarded to the Mayor of Bristol, he sent a boat, covered with black, in which the corpse was brought to the City. When the body was landed, a velvet pall was put over the coffin, and the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, in their formalities, and the Governor and his officers, with a multitude of citizens, attended the body.

"On this occasion, the great guns were fired from the Castle and Fort."¹ Nearly coincident with the above, a horseman, with his mistress seated behind him on a pillion, entered Bristol at Lawford's Gate. He was unknown, unnoticed. But between him, and the ashes, that with gloomy solemnity were paraded, there was a connecting link,—connecting, yet repulsive.—They were the ashes of a fallen foe,—the mortal remains of an enemy,—of one, who had sentenced to a traitor's doom, the august sire of the apparent menial, that now journeyed through a City, whose allegiance to him and his cause had been severed,—where there was no security,—where there awaited a thousand arms to deliver him to captivity,—perhaps to death.—The place is evidently familiar to the rider. He made no inquiries, but conducted his horse unheeded through the streets. He arrives in view of the lofty bulwarks of the Castle, its towers and gigantic Keep. Their sight may have called forth latent memories; for here the horse was stayed,—turned aside, as though the travellers would take a passing survey of the stately pile. But this was all—they halted not to rest at inn nor hostelry—nor dismounted to refresh the steed. But quietly and leisurely continued their course, through a narrow gloomy street, over the Bridge. And thus in safety passed from out the ancient town, unsuspected, unchallenged, and unknown. How strange are life's vicissitudes, its uncertainties, its contrasts! A King, disguised, passing obscurely through a half hostile City.—The mortal remains of the son-in-law of the usurper of his kingdom, received with military honours, and royal etiquette.—In one quarter, pomp and state following the ashes, as would befit a Monarch's obsequies;—in another, a deserted, crownless, Sovereign, in lowly garb, eludes the pursuit of his enemies, and passes in safety to a less doubtful shelter, from the City of which he was the lawful Lord. In after years, all its quaint and gorgeous pomp will be displayed, to welcome the fugitive,—and he will be escorted triumphantly through its lately hostile bosom.²

¹ Corry's History of Bristol, I., 467.

² Lord Clarendon, who has given a circumstantial account of the escape of Charles after the battle of Worcester, says, "There was no resting in any place till they came to Mr. Norton's [at Abbot's Leigh]; nor any thing extraordinary happened in the way, save that they met many people every day in the way, who were well known to the King; and the day that they went to Mr. Norton's, they were necessitated to ride quite through the City of Bristol, a place and people the King had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his eyes abroad, to view the great alterations that had been made there; and when he rode near the place where the great Fort

One or two notices of local transactions for this year, to which the reader need not pay more heed than they merit; and we pass over a year dubious, vague, and dim. Edmund Prideaux, Esq., who was Attorney General for the Commonwealth, resigned the Recordership, and Mr. Serjeant Whitelocke, one of the Lords Commissioners for the great seal was chosen, September 11th.¹ November 11th, James Powell was chosen Chamberlain, by the recommendation of Oliver Cromwell, *vice* Chetwind.

It was at this time, that the festivities of Christmas were driven out of the land by proclamation of Parliament. Its good cheer,—our old acquaintances, mince pie and plum pudding, were persecuted and stigmatized as “carnal abominations,”—its amusements, “pollutions of religion,”—its customs, “idolatrous rites,”—its church ceremonies, “Popish absurdities.” A newspaper paragraph informs us, that 24th December, 1652, “The House spent some time this day about the business of the Navy, for settling the affairs at sea, and before they rose were presented with a terrible remonstrance against Christmas day, grounded upon divine scriptures,² in which Christmas is called Anti-Christ’s masse, and those masse-mongers and Papists, who observe it, &c. In consequence of which, Parliament spent some time in consultation about the abolition of Christmas day, passed orders to that effect, and resolved to sit on the following day which was commonly called Christmas day.”³

had stood, he could not forbear putting his horse out of the way, and rode, with his mistress behind him, around it.”—III., 419. Clarendon is here anticipating changes that did not happen until four years after this escape. By the route Charles probably took, there could have been no obvious difference since his last presence here. He approached the City, riding on a “double horse,” before Mrs. Lane, it is conjectured by the old Gloucester road, through Winterbourne and Stapleton; and from thence to Lawford’s Gate. Entering at Newgate, he passed along the Weir, by the lofty bulwarks of the Castle, and through the City, by the regular road, to the Bridge.

¹ “September 27th, 1653. The House agreed that a letter be written to the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke, to petition his Lordship to resign his place of Recorder, in regard of his Embass^y to the Queen of Sweden, that a Recorder may be chosen for despatch of the emergent necessities of the City.” October 10th, 1654. Mr. Robert Cann entertained Lord Whitelocke, at his mansion at the bottom of Small Street. There is a charge upon the City fund of £20 : 14 : 8, for the cost of his entertainment.

² 2 Cor. v. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 14—17; and, in honour of the Lord’s day, grounded upon these scriptures, John xxii. 1; Rev. i. 10; Psalm cxviii. 24; Lev. xxiii. 7—11; Mark xvi. 8; Psalm lxxxiv. 10.—“*Flying Eagle*.”

³ The long Parliament gave orders, in 1654, that the twenty-fifth of December should be strictly

Great was the respect and fear of the nations of Europe for the power of the Commonwealth. Never had the name of England been more formidable. Cromwell had obtained and asserted its naval supremacy, by the victories of Blake, the Puritan Admiral, over the Dutch fleet, commanded by the renowned Van Tromp. Robert Ricart says, referring to Blake's great victory, February 1653:¹—

“It is to be remembered, that the Mayor and some of the Aldermen, assisted with other honest citizens, upon the report of this good newes, made a collection through the Citie for the wounded men, and gathered £200, in money, besides much good old lynnage: all of which was sent and distributed at Weymouth and other ports to the wounded seamen, which charitable act being taken notice of by the Parliament, was so well received by them, that they sent the Citie the thanks of the House in a letter from the Speaker.”²

Ricart omits to notify another charitable act of our citizens, that took place in the preceding year. We give the extract in its own language, as a specimen of the manner of journeying in that age. It evidences, too, the safety of the roads under the strict surveillance of the Commonwealth, which but a few years before, had been so infested with bands of disorderly men, that communication between towns was so far unsafe as to put a stop to traffic. Now, travellers without a guard could carry money in safety through a wild part of the country:—

“Horsehire to Col. Popham, with Alderman Jackson, 2s.; paid for a port-mantle and pillion to carry money to Marlborough, 8s.; paid for horsehire for myself (the Chamberlain), the Sword-bearer, and a Serjeant, and for expenses in carrying the £227 to Marlborough, the City's “benevolence,” three days out, £2: 12: 6.” What the “benevolence” was for, we may conjecture in the absence of positive information, to be one of the secrets that the House, on pain of forfeiture, was forbidden to divulge.³

observed as a fast, and that all men should pass it, in humbly bemoaning the great national sin which they and their fathers had so often committed on that day, by romping under the misletoe, eating boar's head, and drinking ale flavoured with roasted apples.—MACAULAY'S *History*, I., 162-3.

¹ An entry in 1652, has reference to the raising of men for this contest for naval supremacy. Jan. 11th. “The charge for impressing one hundred seamen, to be sent to Portsmouth, by order of the Council of State, to be reimbursed by the Mayor.”

² Seyer II., 470.

³ March 4th, 1652. “It was resolved that Members divulging the secrets of the House, to be fined £10.”

Although humanity unfolded the banner of Charity, and pleaded its cause in a City where its appeals had never been heard in vain,—although signs of returning prosperity were daily manifested,—yet the inhabitants had not so far recovered from their late onerous burthens, as immediately to raise the small sum of £200, for the wounded seamen. April 14th. “Settled by the Chamber £12 should be paid Mr. Sheriff Blackwell and Col. Tyson, to make up the £200, given the wounded seamen at Weymouth, who were wounded in the fight with the Dutch.”

Fifty of the Dutch prisoners were brought to this City. “The Castle with its dungeons had been destroyed, as we shall presently see, and the crypt of Redcliff Church was converted into a prison. The 30th December, there was “paid by order of the Mayor and Aldermen for thirty large bed matts, and twenty more for the Dutch prisoners under Redcliff Church, at 1s. 4d. per matt, £3 : 6 : 8.” The prisoners were removed hence, at the close of 1655, bound together with cords, and conveyed in trows to Chepstow Castle. The Sexton was paid 5s. “for cleaning the vault after them.”

Cromwell having dissolved, with a just but rude hand, the Long Parliament, summoned one hundred and thirty nine “known persons, fearing God and of approved integrity,” in whom, under himself, he would vest the supreme power. One hundred and twenty of the individuals he had selected, met at Whitehall July 4th. It was “the most intensely Puritanical of our political assemblies.” A more extraordinary collection of enthusiasts, visionaries, fanatics, and bigots, can scarcely be conceived. A few, were of good family and of military distinction,—a few, were persons of fortune and knowledge. Some, were recommended by their lofty religious enthusiasm,—some, by their spiritual *gifts*, or the unctuous nature of their discourse. Others, were in the middling, and humbler ranks of life,—low mechanics, fifth-monarchy men, Anabaptists, Antinomians, “the very dregs of the fanatics.” These extreme specimens of their various sects, elevated to an assembly of such high dignity, were familiarly known as the “Praise-God-Barebones” Parliament, a name commonly affixed to it from a noted sectarian member, one Barbone,¹ a leather seller, in London,

¹ “Nearly all the ridiculous names given to the Independents at this time, as “Redeemed Compton” — “Fight-the-good-fight-of-Faith White” — “If-Christ-had-not-died-thou-hadst-been-damned Barebones,” are pure inventions made fifty years after, by a clergyman of the Established

much admired for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. Another common appellation of this assemblage was, "The Little Parliament." To this sanctimonious gathering, Dennis Hollister, a grocer, residing in High Street, "an Anabaptist elder and preacher,"¹ was summoned to represent the intelligence of our City. Dennis had already been captivated by the eccentricities of the Quakers, and had gone over to that body. He was therefore qualified to do credit to Cromwell's discrimination. One of the first resolutions adopted by this Parliament was, "that no person should be admitted into the public service till the House should be satisfied of his *real* godliness."² These *godly* agents were for abolishing the clergy, the tithes, the Universities, the Court of Chancery, and the common law,—in the room of which they intended to substitute the Mosaical institution as the sole system of English jurisprudence. They entertained other projects alike retrograding, but had not leisure to adopt any, except that which established the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil Magistrate alone.³ Cromwell became ashamed and dissatisfied with his preposterous legislators, and in little more than five months after their first meeting, they were prevailed upon to dissolve themselves.⁴ And thus ended the legislative career of Dennis Hollister, and with it all trace of our favoured citizen;

Church. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards so celebrated as Earl of Shaftesbury, was of this Parliament.—*Pictorial History of England*, III., 412.^a

¹ William Grigg [of whom more hereafter] says that Dennis Hollister had asserted at their meeting, that "the Scripture was the greatest blind and plague to men's souls this day in England."—SEYER, II., 500.

² "What were then considered as the signs of real godliness, the sad coloured dress, the sour look, the straight hair, the nasal whine, the speech interspersed with quaint texts, the abhorrence of comedies, cards, and hawking, were easily counterfeited by men to whom all religions were the same."—MACAULAY'S *History*, I., 165.

³ An act was passed August 16th, for solemnizing marriages by Justices of the Peace; September 4th, the following year, "Mr. James Read, Clerk, was to find sureties for his good behaviour for having married John Bradley and Sarah Bannister, according to the old form as he hath confessed."

The solemnization of marriage was any thing but solemn. It was a civil contract; the ceremony was performed in the office of the Magistrate's Clerk or before the Bench. It had been discarded from the church, and the bans were proclaimed in the high places of resort. An example, November 23rd, 1655:—"Samuel Beacham made oath, that a contract and intention of marriage between John Hardiner, of Christ Church parish, in Bristol, Taylor, and Frances Councill, of St. Peter's, hath been published three market days, in three several weeks within this City."

⁴ Macaulay—*Pictorial History of England*—Hume—Whitlocke—Bernard.

^a Mr. Mayor, Oliver's brother-in-law, was also a member of this assembly.

who, although our records are silent respecting him, must have possessed no common character, to have been distinguished by Cromwell's patronage. Cromwell's next Parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster, September 3rd, 1654. The representatives chosen for this City, were Myles Jackson and Richard Aldworth.¹ Among the instructions sent them from the Council, are some which place the disposition, intelligence, and religious zeal of its members in a favourable view. They were to endeavour "to promote the spreading of the gospel in all the dark corners of the land,—to encourage learning by settling the maintenance of the ministers, by tithes and otherwise,—and to settle order in the church, and to ease the people of this land of their *burthens* and *taxes*." "Building of hospitals," writes Cromwell, "provides for men's bodies; to build material temples is judged a work of piety; but they that procure spiritual food, they that build up spiritual temples, they are the men truly charitable, truly pious." The same religious fervour that influenced their great ruler, gave a tone to the Councils of the Chamber; from the same fervour emanates their directions to their representatives in Parliament; more especially in their desire that the testaments of the pious and charitable should be faithfully administered.

4th September, 1655. "Whereas several gift sermons, by Mr. Alderman Kitchen, Dr. White, Mr. Alderman Whitson, and several others, have been given to this City, it is ordered that these gift sermons be preached on the days appointed by the donors, and the Aldermen and Common Councilmen to attend with the Mayor in their gowns, at such times as they are summoned, otherwise every one of them forfeit 6s. 8d. for not appearing, having no reasonable excuse for their absence. And for the better perpetuating the memories of such henceforth, it is further ordained that the Mayor, send to the Churchwardens and Clerks of the several parishes, for a perfect list of all gift sermons, and the days whereon they are to be preached, and by whose gift. And that the Mayor give direction to the Churchwardens in every parish to put up a table of gift sermons in the churches, and the Clerks of each parish to give notice on the Lord's day before any sermon is to be

¹ April 3rd, 1655. "Alderman Joseph Jackson, Alderman Hellier, Mr. Young, Mr. Robert Vickris, or any three of them, to consider of the charges and expenses of those gentlemen which rode up to London to mainetaine and justifie the election of the Burgesses at the last Parliament, and that such noates of disbursements and charges which they shall approve of, the Chamberlain is to repay the same."

preached, and at what Church, and, in whose gift, by which means all the inhabitants will have notice of such opportunities of hearing the word of God."¹

There were many excellent and high minded men amongst the Puritans, of whose private life could be recorded some of the noblest virtues which adorn humanity. These were of the real, the earnest, the resolute band who had struggled and maintained their creed through fiery persecution. But when privileges and power belonged to them, the corrupt mass of society dissembled,—they assumed their tone, and manner, and became Puritans in externals only,² without that inward spirit that quickeneth and exalteth the mind, to the attainment of all that is great, and to be revered in moral, social, and religious life! From the distorted piety of the dissemblers,—from the iniquities of the hypocrite and depraved, came that suspicion, repugnance, and vituperation, which have been heaped on the actions of the really pious, the really just, and the really good!³ "It was the villany of these very dissemblers that brought

¹ The intellectual growth of the City was also a subject of consideration. Instance an attempt made for the establishment of a library at this period. 1st April, 1657. "Whereas there is a very small Church and parish, situated in the centre of the Citty, called St. Ewens, or St. Adoens, consisting but of twenty and two families, and in distance from two other Churches but the breadth of a streete, there not being any maintenance for a preaching minister belonging thereunto, and may with conveniency be united to another parish; and whereas there is a great want of a library^a within this Citty for publique use and propagation of learning, it is ordered that Mr. Aldworth, now Burgesse in Parliam^t be desired to use his best endeavour in Parliam^t that the said Church with the appurtenances, may be given to the Mayor and Commonalty of this Citty, to be imploied to that use or other publique uses." This never took effect. St. Ewens was consolidated with Christ Church, in 1787.

² "When a sect becomes powerful, when its favour is the road to riches and dignities, worldly and ambitious men crowd into it, talk its language, conform strictly to its ritual, mimic its peculiarities, and frequently go beyond its honest members in all the outward indications of zeal."—MACAULAY'S *History*, I., 165.

³ Numerous entries of their favourable disposition as a body to works of utility might be adduced. Not to multiply instances, and weary the reader, we will extract but one more. 14th September, 1654. "Was read the petition of the feoffees of Mrs. Alice Cole, wife of Alderman Cole, deceased, and sister to Mr. John Carr, deceased, desiring to have granted them soe many foote of ground, in fee farme as may serve for their building thereupon an English free school, and a house for the master thereof, upon part of the City's waste, upon St. James' Back, this House being willing to further so pious a work doth order that the Surveyors do lay out ground in the waste, according to the petitioner's desire."

^a Our first notice of a library is an agreement of the Corporation with Robert Redwood, 1603. In 1613 Robert Redwood had given by will, his lodge which adjoined the Town wall, near the Marsh, for conversion into a library. The library was "erected and built" 1615. In 1634, Richard Vickris gave a parcel of ground for the purpose of enlarging it.

disgrace on the Puritan name." Amongst the excellent, we may mention Joseph Jackson, whose sincerity is made manifest in that solemn testament, where the voice of deceit is vain. We have an extract of his Will before us, which, as a specimen of the genuine Puritan, may here find place. His two children, Joseph and Sarah, he desires should "be educated in the fear of God, and kept from the fashions of the world, especially from gaudy apparel, *and naked necks*; and is anxious that they should live in mutual love without jarring, but with all lowliness and meekness, submitting themselves to the ruling hand of God, in what condition they might be; and not to entertain thoughts that might occasion division among them, or cool their affections to each other, but professing Christianity, to endeavour to adorn their profession."

Cromwell's second Parliament was not composed of the most tractable materials. Things were said in its debates, offensive to him, and his Council. In a word, after a session of five months it was dissolved. The Protector's third and last Parliament met on the 17th Sept., 1656. Robert Aldworth, was again chosen for Bristol. His colleague, was John Doddridge, Recorder, an estimable man, but no fanatic. Therefore Major-General Desborow, who desired the seat for himself, petitioned Parliament against Doddridge, who was displaced by Cromwell, and the Major-General sat with Aldworth. Two notations of the services of the latter in this Parliament occur.¹ The Chamber is much occupied with the spiritual condition of the City. There was formerly an act of Parliament for the maintenance of "preaching ministers in Bristol, that had fallen into disuse and become impracticable." 7th Jan., 1656, Aldworth was directed, "with the advice and assistance of Alderman Joseph Jackson," then in London, to obtain a renewal of the act. This he did. In consequence, the 22nd Sept., 1658, it was ordered that "during the pleasure of the House, the Chamberlain should pay £100 a year out of the City revenues, towards the better maintainance and encouragement of the ministers

¹ At a meeting of the Council, Sept. 2nd, 1656, we are informed, "That the House having heard that several proposals had been made to the Lord Protector for making the river navigable between Bristol and London, and the inhabitants of Bath intended petitioning Parliament to make the same navigable from that City to Bristol." It was resolved to refer the same to a Committee, to report if it were desirable or not. Sept. 29th, The Committee reported it would prejudice the City; a letter to be written to Mr. Aldworth, M.P. for the City, to attend in Parliament, and oppose the "making the river navigable between London, Bath, and Bristol."

"within this City. And that what should be so disbursed, be again repaid out of such monies as should be raised by virtue of the late act of Parliament." The £100 per annum was distributed in sums of £25 to each of the following clergymen, favourites of the Corporation:—Mr. John Paul, minister of St. James; Mr. Henry Jones, of St. Stephen; Mr. Ralph Farmer, of St. Nicholas; and Mr. Edward Hancock, of St. Philip. Farmer, we know, was a violent and bigoted Presbyterian. Hancock, formerly acting in the capacity of butler, could not have received the most favourable education for the ministry, but must have depended on inspiration. With the others we are unacquainted, but suppose they were selected for similar qualifications, as special objects of the care and regard of the Corporation.

It is a time of heresy and schism.—Some indications of a new sect rise before us. Tracing it through its dimness by some obscure courses, we have a glimmering of strange scenes of which this City was the theatre. This religious order was commonly called Quakers.¹ They meet with much opposition, and are severely treated by all classes. Not surprising, when we read their peculiar manner of introducing their doctrines, and their extravagant behaviour. Especially, when the intolerant bigotry of the age is considered. So general indeed was the persecution under which this people suffered, that scarcely one of them, whose services to the Society are recorded, escaped personal insult, cruel imprisonment, or more barbarous punishment. They visited this City in 1654, and made many proselytes. Their extravagance kept the people in a state of fermentation for some months. The Magistrates, bewildered by their contempt of all reasonable authority in Church and State,² provoked by their inflexible obstinacy, resigned them to the tender mercies of a coarse and brutal mob; who, excited by persons, whose position should have instructed them better, hunted with sticks and stones the blunt but simple visionaries from house to house, and assailed them, with every species of contumely and reproach. So far were the Magistrates from interfering, that the *sport* was rather countenanced by their presence,—amused spectators of the chase!

Seyer, speaks of a book entitled the "Cry of Blood, and Herod, Pontius Pilate, &c., being a Declaration of the Lord arising in those people of the City

¹ George Fox began his wanderings in 1644, years before the word represented a sect in England.

² June 6th, 1655. "Wm. Foord to find sureties for his unmannerly carriage in the Tolzey, by keeping on his hat, though commanded to take it off."

of Bristol who are scornfully called Quakers, &c., during the Mayoralty of John Gonning, subscribed by Geo. Bishop, Thomas Gouldney, Henry Roe, Edward Pyott, and *Dennis Hollister*.” It was published in London, in 1656, and is evidently the production of one of the brethren. From this we learn that being “moved by the Spirit” they delivered the word of the Lord here, the 12th July, 1654, and the following day departed for Plymouth. One of them, John Audland, came here again in September, with John Camm, and spake publicly “as the Spirit gave them utterance.” Prynne says, on the 10th and 13th September, they had meetings at the Fort, and Red Lodge, at which were present hundreds of people. October 30th, some of them were examined in the Council Chamber, and held disputations with the priests. Aldermen Richard Aldworth, Joseph Jackson, and George Hellier, were especially enraged with them. They were ordered to quit the City, which they refused to do, and preached as before, though subject to the violence and indignity of the inhabitants—“Insomuch,” says the writer of the aforesaid pamphlet, “that there appeared not the face of civility in the Town, and a stranger would have doubted whether any such thing as government were in it, or religion.”

The Quakers were allowed a little respite. The arm of civic power, though it did not defend, was not raised against them. January, 1655, information was given to the Chamber, that certain persons of the Franciscan order had arrived from Rome, who, “under the notion of Quakers” were suspected to be Jesuits. Alderman Richard Vickris, Deputy Mayor, in Mr. Gonning’s absence, granted a search warrant for the apprehension¹ of “strangers come to this City and can give no good account of being here.” It was accordingly put into execution,—and the Constables entered the house in Corn Street, where the Quakers usually assembled, and turned them into the street. Here they were violently assaulted and knocked about by the mob. Alderman Joseph

¹ “City of Bristol. To all Constables within this City and to every of them :—For as much as information hath been given us that John Camm, and John Audland, two strangers, that were commanded to depart this City, have in contempt of authority come to this City again, to the disturbance of the public peace, these are, therefore to will and require you to apprehend them, and bring them before us to be examined and dealt with according to the law ; hereof fail you not. Given this 22nd day of January, 1655. Richard Vickris, Deputy Mayor, &c. ; John Locke, Gabriel Sherman, William Cann, Joseph Jackson, Henry Gibbs.”

Jackson, and other members of the Council, and John Knolles, Priest, are described as beholding the outrages from the Tolzey, and openly "*enjoying the fun.*"¹

The Protector, under the delusion that the Quakers were disguised Jesuits, addressed a letter cautioning the Corporation, and desiring them to use vigilance for the apprehension of all such persons. This drew from the Magistrates the following directions to the Constables of the respective parishes:—

"Forasmuch as information hath been given us upon oath, that certain persons of the Franciscan order in Rome, have of late come over into England, and under the notion of Quakers have drawn together several multitudes of people in London, and whereas certain strangers going under the names of John Camm, John Audland, George Fox, James Naylor, Francis Howgell, Edward Burroughes, and others unknown, have lately resorted to this City, and in like manner, under the same notion of Quakers drawn multitudes of people after them, and occasioned very great disturbances amongst us, and forasmuch by the said information it appeareth to us to be very probable, and much to be suspected, that the said persons so lately come hither are some of those that came from Rome, as aforesaid. These are therefore, in the name of His Highness the Lord Protector, to will and require you to make diligent search through your wards for the aforesaid strangers, or any of them, and all other suspected persons, and to apprehend and bring them before us, or some of us, to be dealt with and examined according to law. Hereof fail you not. Given this 24th January, 1654-5, John Gunning Mayor; William Cann, Henry Gibbs, John Locke, Richard Vickris."

Extraordinary was the manner in which the primitive members or founders of this sect endeavoured to promulgate their doctrines. They intrenched on all ideas of etiquette,—they discarded all honoured customs and observances,—they renounced all ancient and hallowed usages; and shocked the feelings and prejudices of the learned as much by their rudeness, as did the Puritan vulgar by their coarseness. So strange and original were their performances, that we cannot wonder at the ridicule they received; but the severe treatment bestowed upon the actors, no voice can attempt to palliate or justify. They lived midst a nation of enthusiasts. Many of them had been soldiers and preachers in the armies of the Commonwealth, and at the worst were but deluded simpletons.

¹ The curious observer of minute history will find some interesting details on this subject, in the pages of Seyer, from which the substance of our narration has been drawn.

There were others, however, whose names are remembered with gladness for their goodness and tenderness,—for their gospel meekness and their spiritual peace. Against even these, horrid cruelties were perpetrated, “in the name of Him who was all beneficence, and love, and mercy,—by professed believers, with the book that is all light and truth in their possession.” The Puritans were apt scholars in the art of persecution; they had suffered much themselves for opinion’s sake, and they were desirous others should suffer likewise. Not admitting of any display of enthusiasm but their own, they considered the exhibitions of the Quakers, their novel peculiarities and independent bearing, as little short of insanity; a conclusion the very odd demeanour of these new performers on the polemic stage rendered somewhat feasible. But however absurd and defiant they were of established customs, there can be no apology for the inhumanity and sectarian hatred of their persecutors, whether Royalist or Puritan. No provocation can excuse their barbarity,—no apology can extenuate their guilt, nor wipe away the opprobrium. The same intolerant spirit was maintained when the persecuted victims had cast aside all obtrusive singularity,—and had sobered to a calm and rigid rule of self discipline,—suffering afflictions, indignities, and imprisonments, with a heroic fortitude and a sublime resignation, that the malice and vengeance of their enemies, could neither weaken nor subdue!

Dismissing altogether the report of their being Romish priests, or Franciscan friars as unworthy of consideration, although to this belief Alderman Jackson seriously inclined,¹—we cannot otherwise regard them, than in a kind of religious delirium,—a result produced by the wild and heating rhapsodies of the uneducated Puritans, who had now for the most part possession of the pulpits. “When the human mind dwells long and attentively on any subject, the passions are apt to grow warm, interested, and enthusiastic, and often force into their service the understanding which they ought to obey.” The “Cry of Blood,” a partial statement, contains numerous instances of the absence, we should say, of all true religious sentiment; evinced by this people in their disturbance of congregations; while at their devotions in the “steeple houses,” as the new sect denominated the churches. From a right mind, though but little affected

¹ When information was given before the Magistrates that Mass was actually celebrated by the supposed Quakers, in Back Street, they refused to grant a warrant for their apprehension, “although Alderman Joseph Jackson confessed he believed it to be true.”—SEYER, II., 478.

with the beauty of religious impressions, the solemnity of worship in a Temple sacred by its consecration to the honour and glory of Almighty God, whether it be Church, Conventicle, or Synagogue, will ever command an instinctive reverence ;—and, although nothing can be advanced in favour of the uneducated men, for whom the regular ministry had been ejected ; yet, the sanctity of their office should have protected them from insult, and hallowed veneration for the courts of God, should have driven from their precincts all scenes of tumults and contentions. But it was not so. We read that Ralph Farmer of St. Nicholas, an austere sectary, who had made himself obnoxious by his violent persecution of the new fraternity, was repeatedly interrupted by them when preaching or praying ; and even at the most solemn observance of the sacrament. Some would keep their hats on during divine service,—others, would admonish him,—women would bring him messages from the Lord “openly spoken,” and riots and confusion would ensue. The Magistrates even when present not interfering to keep the peace.¹

Though St. Nicholas was the favoured theatre of these performers, similar disturbances happened in other churches ; for which the offenders, after having been beaten by the mob, were imprisoned by the Magistrates. There were other eccentricities, in which this body exhibited to what extremes religious singularity could proceed, when unchecked by the hand of reason. One mourned

¹ The 10th December, when he was about to administer the sacrament in St. Nicholas' Church, one Elizabeth Marshall being moved by the Lord to deliver a message to him, cried out “this is the word of the Lord to thee, Farmer : wo, wo, wo, from the Lord to them who take the word of the Lord in their mouths and the Lord never sent them.” The congregation endeavoured to silence her, but she continued “this is the mighty day of the Lord, the Lord is coming to pull his people out of the mouths of all dumb shepherds.” She was hurried out of the church into the streets, where a crowd followed her with dirt and stones. John Gonning, Mayor, who was present, was openly called to by Ralph Farmer, that course might be taken with her. The Mayor's son was the first to seize her. Again, the same day an outrage occurred at St. Philip's Church :—“Captain Grimes, one of Cromwell's preaching officers, afterwards minister of St Philip, was holding forth from the pulpit, when he was interrupted by one Henry Gonning, and one John Worring, whereupon the congregation abused and beat them, assisted by the Churchwarden and Clerk ; the Constables present not keeping the peace. John Smith was to find securities for his good behaviour, for wearing his hat on the Lord's day, in St. Nicholas Church ; Mr. Farmer being in prayers. Catherine Hude, was to find securities for assaulting Ralph Farmer, telling him in a letter “the plague of God would pursue him, and that he was a murderer, and an oppressor of prisoners, and that he thirsted after blood.”—*City Records*.

for the sins of the people, as he said, "by the command of the Lord, in sackcloth and ashes; and the ashes flew from his head when his hat was removed." Another is set down in our records as follows:—"May 5th, 1655, Sarah Goldsmith, for being in a disguised manner, having only upon her body a long hairy coat, bare legged, with her hair about her ears, and accompanied by Margaret Woodward, and Ann Gauntcliffe, went up and down the streets on a market day, to the injury of those who sold. To be sent to Bridewell, there to remain until delivered by due course of time." "Had Sarah Goldsmith," seriously observes the writer of the "Cry of Blood," "appeared in the *fantastic* dress of this vain and wanton age, or in a spirit of lightness and haughtiness, she had received enough of friendship from this generation; but being through the cross to her own will, made obedient for their sakes, to pass through the City in hair cloth next her skin, and ashes, as a testimony against their pride, which never was at that height as at this day, she hath received that hard measure aforementioned."

It is a wet afternoon in the month of October, 1655. Rain is falling heavily. A dreary wind, with a low, sullen sigh, sweeps over the moistened earth. With the dreary wind there cometh to the ear, nearer and more near, a "buzzing, mel-odious noise." A sad, unworldly sound, strange, unnatural, and undefined. It is audible now,—and we can distinguish the words, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth!" and we can perceive in the midst of the swampy road, in the pouring rain, splashing and toiling through the knee-deep mud, as day light fails upon that wet and gloomy afternoon, a procession of eight persons, entering the City by Bedminster Causeway. It is a novel and a startling sight, even in that day of religious delirium. One man there is on horseback, riding singly, "a raw-boned figure, with lank hair reaching below his cheeks; beard in form common to the pictures of our Saviour; hat drawn close over his brows; nose rising slightly in the middle; of obtuse look, and large dangerous jaws, strictly closed. He sings not; sits there covered, and is sung to by the others, bare. A young man also, bare headed, leads the horse of the single rider,—and by the bridle, splashes, and walks two women, on either side the horse. The other men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the puddled miry road, with the water streaming from their clothes, answer to all questions but in song, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth!'" This strange development of the "spiritualism of England," this sad spectacle

of monstrous fanaticism, advances through Redcliff Gate, winding through the long, narrow, muddy street,—with the heavenly words from the ancient hymn that angels sing, adventing its approach. The procession augments. The benighted followers of the man who sits so placid there, spread garments, aprons, scarfs, and handkerchiefs before him, in the dirty way, for the animal on which he rode to tread. Still singing, they come to the High Cross,—thence to the White Hart,—thence the idol is conveyed by the authorities to prison!¹

The principal performer in this fantastic scene, was one of the most extraordinary of fanatics, James Naylor,—extraordinary for his insanity and for his punishment. Though largely entered upon by Seyer, this passing notice of one so blended with the impress of his times could not be omitted; however painful the subject, and depressing the contemplation of so much human absurdity, folly, and deplorable ignorance. Naylor's insanity was the superstition of the age, nurtured by persecution;—his punishment, an ignominious blot, an ineffaceable stain upon the administration of its laws. His followers, mad as himself, had reached the utmost height of absurdity and impiety. They called him “the Everlasting Son of Righteousness, and Prince of Peace, &c.” But we will not profane our pages by writing and printing more of the blasphemy. He was examined before the Magistrates—magnified into importance by his removal to London—subsequently examined by a Committee of the House of Commons—pronounced, *after thirteen days' debate*, “A GRAND IMPOSTOR,” and, conformable to the prevailing feeling of *mildness and humanity*, imposed the following sentence, which was literally executed!

“Resolved, that J. N. be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, in the Palace Yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours, on Thursday next; and shall be whipt by the hangman through the streets, from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London; and there likewise be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next, in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B. And that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into and through the said City on horseback, bare-ridged, with his face backward, and there also publicly whipt, the next market day after he comes thither. And that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*. Seyer. Hume.

hard till he shall be released by Parliament; and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper; and shall have no relief, but what he earns by his daily labours."

The following inhuman sentence was inflicted in Bristol, according to order:—

"Cause James Nailor to ride in at Lawford's Gate, upon a horse, bare ridged, with his face backward; from thence along Wine Street, to the Tolzey; thence down High Street, over the Bridge, and out of Rackly Gate; there let him alight, and bring him into Saint Thomas Street, and cause him to be stript and made fast to the cart horse; and there in the Market first whipt; from thence to the foot of the Bridge, there whipt; thence to the end of the Bridge, there whipt; thence to the middle of High Street, there whipt; thence to the Tolzey, there whipt; thence to the middle of Broad Street, there whipt; and then turn into Taylor's Hall, thence release him from the cart horse, and let him put on his cloaths, and carry him from thence to Newgate, by Tower Lane, the back way."¹

Instead of the authorities endeavouring, by clemency and mildness, to assuage the frenzy, which the unbounded license given to raving maniacs had created amongst this sect, and which persecution had increased; they, on the contrary, let loose upon them the vengeance of intolerant power, and inflicted every severity and restraint.

The order of the Magistrates, issued in 1654, was followed by the apprehension of several Quakers, who refused to quit the City, alleging it was contrary to law. These were accordingly sent up to London,—there to be further examined; some, bound together on horseback;—exposed to every vile and ignominious treatment that could be devised by the bigotry of an ignorant mob, misguided by the approval of their superiors. Sometimes, they were huddled together in carts like sheep, and thus conveyed through towns and villages, amidst the hootings and execrations of the people; who, provoked by the calm bearing of their victims,—often proceeded from verbal abuse to more substantial proofs of their resentment. In reference to the mode of conducting these

¹ To the credit of the Commonwealth Chamber, it petitioned against the barbarity.—November, 4th, 1656. "A remonstrance now read in the name of the Mayor, Ald^{rs}, and Common Council of this City, in reference to James Nailor, and the Quakers, is referred to the consideration of Ald^{rs} Joseph Jackson, Ald^r Henry Gibbs, the two Sheriffs, [Rob^t Vickris and Jn^s Harper,] Mr. Young, Mr. George White, Mr. Timothy Parker, and Mr. Powell, and that then the same be subscribed by Mr. Mayor, and sent up to Mr. Aldworth, now Burgess in Parliament, to present to the Parliament." Expenses in London, to make good the remonstrance, £5.

journeys, an extract or two will suffice for the general treatment of this part of our subject:—

“ 1656, Nov. 10th. Paid a messenger that was sent from the Court of Parliament to fetch up the Quakers, 20s.”

“ Paid the two Sheriffs’ officers for horse hire to ride along with the Quakers, 6s.”

“ Paid Mr. W^m Grigg, by order of the Mayor and Ald^{rs} for his expense to London against the Quakers, and for a former journey about Burgesses, £10.”

Mr. William Grigg, tanner, living in St. James’s parish, near the Quakers’ meeting-house in Broadmead, was a member of the Common Council, more noticeable as the author of a book entitled “The Quakers’ Jesus.” Mr. Grigg had an opponent;¹ not extraordinary in that age of sectarian controversy. He says, Mr. Grigg would not set forth on this journey, until he had five pounds advanced towards his expenses; and expresses a very contemptuous opinion of him. His own words are—“without reflecting on the Magistrates of Bristol, their wisdom, let me say it; it was not their master-piece to send such a busie pragmatistical person as thou art to London, there to make a speech to a Committee of Parliament, which had in it neither head nor taile, no good sense, nor reason, but for the greatest part composed of fawning, falsehood, and pitiful, lame complements, crying *Sir, Gentlemen, and your Honours*, but speaking nothing of weight or importance, relating to the matter then in debate. Reader, thou must know that this envious person is *a great speech maker in the Common Council of Bristol*: and if he had so high an esteem of this which he made in the Painted Chamber, as to judge it polite and learned enough to merit the public view, thou mayest easily judge, what sad oratory do serve the turn within the walls of that Council.”²

The members of this Society supported themselves under their severe persecutions, with great resignation. While exposed to hatred and contempt from without, brotherly kindness and unfeigned charity increased, and more strongly united them. The prisons were soon filled. The unjust sufferings in which this harassed people were involved by the sentence of the Magistrates, were augmented by the severity of the jailers, who did not extend to them, even

¹ Author of “Rabshekeh’s outrage reproved, or a whip for William Grigg of Bristol, tanner, to scourge him for his many notorious lies, &c.”

² Seyer II., 489.

the cold pity and forbearance, which the condemned felon received at their hands. Were we otherwise than incidentally introducing this subject, we could instance numberless cases of cruelty, which are a reproach to the legislature, and an ineffaceable stain upon the prejudices of the age.

For a few years England enjoyed the stimulus of an imaginary freedom. How far the actual liberty of the subject was infringed upon,—and how far the people suffered from the restrictions imposed by their ascetic Governors,—will be seen in part, from their straitened rule during the cheerless reign of “repellent professors, with dark garments, and dark looks.”

Excited and influenced by the fanatical enthusiasm, and wild ravings of uneducated men, who had usurped the pulpits of the regular clergy; a vehement and exaggerated spirit of devotion had been raised amongst the people, which they mistook for the tranquillizing manifestations of Christianity. The restrictions upon them by the Ordinances, in force for the observance of the Sabbath, were carried out with a gloomy asperity. During the hours of divine service no sound, of wheel, or rider, or footfall was heard,—a holy stillness pervaded the City. The mirth of childhood was hushed—the gay converse and innocent laugh were checked,—the look of happy and grateful thankfulness for the day of rest, was unseen. With grave, forbidding and reproachful aspect, the frigid Puritans stalked in melancholy austerity, to and from their conventicles. They were unmindful that not as a penance, but as a mercy, was given the hallowed rest,—that the freed spirit might find repose; and in the fulness of its joy, rejoice and sing a new song of praise and thanksgiving to the Lord, who had blessed the day and hallowed it! To be out walking, was a desecration of the Sabbath. Numerous instances occur in our annals of persons fined for this “profane exercise.” The churches were crowded with numerous and attentive hearers; while the officers of the peace patrolled the streets, and closed all the public-houses. There was no walking in the fields, or travelling on the roads, except in cases of absolute necessity. In the evening, religious exercises were maintained, and introduced in private families,—which the apprentices and servants of the household attended. The scriptures were read,—prayers offered,—sermons repeated,—and psalms sung. So general was the observance, that the City appeared one great conventicle; no unholy disturbance,—no discordant noise was heard to mar the worship,—and no disorderly persons interrupted the cloistered tranquillity.

As evasions of the ordinances were sometimes occurring, the Parliament about this time ordained, that:—

“The Sabbath should be deemed to extend from twelve of the clock on Saturday night, to twelve of the clock on the Lord’s day night, and within that compass of time, they prohibited all kinds of business and diversion, except works of necessity and mercy. No election of Magistrates is to be on the Lord’s day;¹ no holding of Camps, but if according to their charters they fall upon the Lord’s day, they are to be deferred to Monday. It is further enacted that all persons, not having a reasonable excuse to be allowed by Justice of the Peace, shall resort to some church or chapel, where the worship of God is performed, or to some meeting place of Christians not differing in matters of faith from the public profession of the nation, on penalty of 2s. 6d. for every offence. It is further ordered, that no Minister shall be molested or disturbed in the discharge of his office on the Lord’s day, or any other day when he is performing his duty, or in going and coming from the place of public worship, nor shall any wilful disturbance be given to the congregation, on penalty of £5, or being sent to the workhouse for six months, provided the information be within one month after the offence is committed.” This ordinance was read in every church and chapel the first Lord’s day in every month.

It must be observed, that the latter clause of the ordinance was introduced, to prevent a continuance of the recent interruptions by the Quakers, to the solemnities of Divine worship. The tenour of the whole was approved by the Magistrates, who expressed their opinion in the following instructions addressed to the Clergy of this City:—

“Being very sensible of that duty which is upon the Christian Magistrate, commanded in the word of God, in reference to the sanctifying of the Lord’s day and the laws of the land, seconding the same by strict injunctions for the observation thereof, and having the advantage of the present opportunity, (by reason of those places of Government to which Providence hath called us) to further the holy and solemn keeping of it. It is our earnest desire, and we do recommend to all and every Minister within this City, that the next Lord’s day, either by themselves or the

¹ Restrictions relating to such secular affairs as Municipal elections sound strange,—but the Eternal commands had hitherto been but lightly regarded, even Cromwell himself had opened a Parliament [September 3rd, 1654] on the Lord’s day. Sunday diversions, though still indulged, were not practised to the extent they had been in the days of Elizabeth,—then, eight theatres were opened in London on the Sabbath day, “when the bell tolled to lecture, the trumpet sounded for the stage. It sometimes happened during the service, that the village church was surrounded by Morris-dancers, jumping in nets.”

Clerks of the parishes, the act of Parliament, for the better observance of it be publicly read in their respective congregations, and that upon the same Sabbath, both in the morning and afternoon, and other Lord's day following, as they shall judge meet, they would choose some suitable text, from whence they may make it the subject matter of their sermons, as well to inform the people of the sacred institution of that day, as also to exhort them to the sanctification of it, which being done, and so by these means the inhabitants of the City come to be minded as well out of God's word, as from the laws of man, how that the same day ought to be wholly employed in the service and worship of God publicly, and religious exercises in private families. If after this warning and notice, they or any of them, be found profaning of the Sabbath, we shall, through the presence and assistance of the Lord of the Sabbath, endeavour conscientiously to perform our respective duties in making a more strict enquiry after such offenders than formerly hath been, and without partiality inflict the punishment of the laws upon them."

There were however, no bye laws that embraced the full scope and meaning of the profanations indicated by the ordinances of the Parliament. The Magistrates after numerous meetings, produced a code of laws that will aghast people in more enlightened times. Of these we incorporate a few of the intermediate passages, from the instructions issued to the Aldermen's Deputies:—

"That each Deputy in his ward do of his uttermost care, and endeavour for the sanctifying the Lord's day *by walking about his ward*, upon that day, observing disorders either in the streets, houses, or other places, by children, or others, by directing the Constables to make their walks and searches both at sermon and other convenient times." They are particularly vigilant against children, and the Constables are strictly required "to observe boys, children, and others, and to take notice of the names of the parents or masters of such boys and children who may be playing, sitting, vainly or profanely walking or idling on the Tolzey, under Christ Church, or about the High Cross, or in the streets at Farthing Pitt, in the Marsh, or Castle fields, or elsewhere within the City, which are usually the receptacles for such disorderly persons." An account was also to be taken of all vessels going up and down the river, and the persons who employed them. And no persons were allowed to pass over the ferry at Limekiln slip. The Deputies were further ordered "to present such which sit or drink in Taverns, Inns, or Ale-houses, or which sell any sort of ware or commodities; to inform themselves of all Travellers, Barbers, which use their trade, and of all Tailors and Shoemakers, which carry any wares or goods to any inhabitant's house upon any part of that day, and of all Vintners, Innkeepers, or Ale-housekeepers, that open their door save for the passing in and out of their

families, and such which lodge therein upon any part of that day." Another order is issued that "the officials exercise due vigilance, and mark all those who do not regularly attend public worship, that they may be reprimanded accordingly." This is followed by a startling prohibition, "That all Conduits be shutt and kept fast, and the keepers of the same presume not to suffer any water to be drawne from ye pipes on y^e day," and the Constables are to present to the authorities the names of any persons so offending or seen carrying a "payle, stand, or other vessell through the streete. [That such offenders be presented] on the following Monday morning to the effect they may be punished according to the law."¹

To keep the public houses entirely closed—and prevent the drinking of intoxicating liquors,—deserves the highest praise; but when we find the Conduits are also forbidden to yield their accustomed supply of water, we are prepared to expect any species of absurdity that misguided zeal could suggest.² The cold and cheerless religious affections of the pragmatistical Corporation, were too often arrayed against the simple requirements, and harmless recreations of the people. Their bigotry presents a formidable aspect. Had it been in the power of the Magistracy, by unreasonable and hitherto unheard of restrictions, to drill the minds of the people into conformity with their Pharisaical views of

¹ Butchers and others frequenting the Market were ordered to leave every Saturday by two o'clock in the afternoon, from Michaelmas to Lady day, and by three o'clock from Lady day to Michaelmas. Bakers to draw their ovens for bread for the inhabitants, so that the same may be fetched or sent home by eight o'clock on the evening of Saturday,—and every Baker offending to forfeit 10s. and every inhabitant or servant carrying home any loaf or loaves on the Lord's day to forfeit 3s. 4d." The 6th October, 1657, the Churchwardens and Constables were directed to bring before the Magistrates all persons found violating the above orders, and for their neglect to perform the same were to be themselves fined in the sum of £5.

² Straitened as were these regulations, we have a parallel some forty years later, which we append.—"Queen Mary requested her Council, at an early period of her regnal labours, to assist her in framing regulations for the better observance of the Sabbath. All hackney carriages and horses were forbidden to work on that day, or their drivers to ply for customers. The humanity of this regulation was, however, neutralized by the absurdity of other acts. She had Constables stationed at the corners of streets, who were charged to capture all puddings and pies, on their progress to bakers' ovens on Sundays; and such ridiculous scenes in the streets took place, in consequence of the owners fighting fiercely for their dinners, that her laws were suspended amid universal laughter. Perhaps some of her Council, [thought] her own Sunday evening gamblings, both in England and Holland, considered she might have had mercy on the less culpable Sunday puddings and pies of the hungry poor, belonging to persons, too often destitute of fire and conveniences for preparing their humble meal."—Miss STRICKLAND's *Life of Queen Mary II.*

Sabbath observance; assuredly a lofty spiritual sanctification of the day would have ensued,—a dim foretaste of our hoped-for rest, in a spiritual and heavenly home!

These infringements on the liberty of the subject were not in all cases passively submitted to,—and the measures ordained were accordingly put into execution against the offenders. Our annals relate many cases of oppression.

March 27th, two apprentices were taken up, about three o'clock in the afternoon, as they were going to Redland; where, they said, they were sent on an errand by their mistress. This constituted a charge of Sabbath breaking, and a fine of 10s. each was imposed; upon refusing to pay, they were committed to prison till they should find securities to answer for their appearance at the Sessions.

Three persons appear upon a Presentment against them, for walking upon the Lord's day; but upon their examination, they pleaded to the Court, "that they went to Clifton to church that day, and that was the occasion of their travelling." The Court discharged them.

"Thos. Dowle and John Ridge, appeared to an Indictment against them, for profanely walking upon the Lord's day, "and for that it is pretended by them that they went upon a case of necessity to a friend of theirs, that then lay very sicke, like to dye, and that they have witnes and prooffe thereof, that now is not in readiness. This Court doth appoint them to appeare on the 18th of Feb., to make good the proof." Two others pleaded not guilty to the like charge, were bound to His Highness the Lord Protector, in £20 each, "upon condition, that either of them prosecute their *Traverse* at the next general Sessions."¹

How would these frigid Puritans be astonished at the present systematic course of Sunday trading! Without going to the extreme lengths, with these harsh precisians,—there is much in our day offensive and disheartening to the Christian in the abuses of the Sabbath, which cries aloud for removal.—It

¹ 1657. Thos. Forde, Grocer, and Richard Gramwell, appear to an indictment against them for walking on a Sunday, and confessed the same, fined 10s. each. June 14th, 1658, two men, William Wilkes, and John Barnes, apprehended for walking in the Marsh, about six o'clock, on the Sabbath day, refused to pay the fine, [10s.] and were in like manner committed. Again, a journeyman Tailor was apprehended by the Constables of St. James's Ward, for walking on a Sunday, "in time of sermon;" the usual fine was inflicted, and resisted, and the result imprisonment. Of occurrences so trite it is unnecessary to catalogue instances.

is proverbial, that the first step in many a course of sin, which has terminated in the violation of all laws, civil and divine,—is a disregard and a profanation of this holy day to secular uses. One cannot be too zealous in upholding its sacredness—too earnest in estimating its privileges—too constant in enjoining God's ancient injunction, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy."

We nowhere learn that strict laws, and coercive measures improved the moral and religious condition of the citizens—that desirable consummation was not, we fear, obtained. There were heavy penalties very properly inflicted for wanton swearing and evil speaking. "February 4th, 1656, John Vaughan, of Alscott, in the County of Somerset, Clerk, made oath, that on Wednesday last, at night, he did hear Mr. Barcroft, of the Parish of St. Nicholas, in Bristol, prophanely swear four oaths in the said Parish." November 11th, T. Istley was to be placed in the stocks for three hours, "for refusing to pay 3s. 4d. for two oaths, according to act of Parliament." "March. William Hobson, Merchant, for having said the act of drunkenness may be committed without sin, [was] to find securities for his good behaviour for twelve months, or be committed to prison for six months, in pursuance of an act of Parliament." Our annals state he *was committed to prison for six months*, besides the having to find security for the twelve months.¹ One of the national sports, more especially of the apprentices, was about this time ordered to be discontinued. A cruel and inhuman pastime, whose condemnation is to the praise of the legislature. Resolved by the Chamber, 26th February, that "All persons assembling in the streets, under pretence of throwing at Cocks, and tossing of Dogs, do from henceforth forbear, as disturbers of the public peace; and the Sheriff-at-Mace to bring such offenders before the Magistrates." But there

¹ 1657. "William Hobson is ordered to finde new sureties for his appearance at the next sessions, and in the meane tyme to be of the good behaviour,^a himselfe bound in £40, Thos. Colston and Giles Woodward, in £20 a' peece." William Hobson, who married Margaret, daughter of William Colston, was introduced to the reader at the christening party in our first chapter. Margaret, his first wife, died in 1647. "Ann Hobson, widow, [1657,] appeareth on her recognizance for y^e good behaviour; and several new articles and indictments are exhibited against her, and is ordered to find sureties for her appearance at the next sessions, and in the meane tyme to be of y^e good behaviour, herself bound in £40, Thos. Colston and Giles Woodward, in £20 a' peece."

^a By an error in Barrett, he is made to appear amongst the dead in St. James' Church three years before the date of this transaction.

were other amusements, though innocent in themselves, that also ceased,—congealed beneath the gloomy ban of the Puritans. Bowling, a favourite recreation of our ancestors, a game of which King Charles was particularly fond—a game played in the Marsh by the principal residents of our City, who had a bowling green there—fell under displeasure, and the bowls were still. They were set in motion again at the Restoration, and the bowling green continued in the Marsh till the ground was appropriated for building.¹ Also “the Constables in the several Wards [were ordered] to take down and remove all May Poles, which produce tumultuous meetings, especially on the Lord’s day, to the high profanation thereof, the use of which being originally heathenish [and] deemed under the Gospel as scandalous. The Constables to make a return of all persons who may oppose them, that they may be dealt with according to law.”² The severe execution of the ordinances, absolutely and absurdly restricted the natural and necessary relaxations of the people,—producing, when the administration of the Puritans was over, a reaction of feeling, wherein the wildest and most unbounded licentiousness and immorality had reign; encouraged, not checked, by the evil example of a dissolute Monarch and his profligate Court.

We have seen the spiritual welfare of our citizens strictly regarded, with good and hopeful purpose. This has carried us in advance of our narrative. We return to 1654, when their social welfare may be glanced at through the gloomy vista of the past. Oliver at this period had his hands full. His authority, if not his life, was threatened by the discontented Republicans, and subdued Royalists, or “delinquents,” as they were styled by the enemy. A proclamation, dated 3rd of May, 1654, had been issued by the exiled King, in which he promised “an annuity of £500, to any person soever, and that person’s heirs, as well as Knighthood, to such person and his heirs, for ever, and other advantages, who would take away the life of the Usurper.”³ Cromwell had just dismissed the Long Parliament, and had had scarcely time to look about him, before he received information of a design for a general insurrection of the Royalists. March 11th, Sunday,—“Peaceful Salisbury is awakened from its slumbers by a real advent of Cavaliers.” This *emeute* was speedily settled, by Cromwell cutting to pieces one half the conspirators, and

¹ “27th October, 1699. Mr. Mayor acquainted the House that Dr. Reede had made a proposal to build an house on the Marsh, and he hears several other citizens are willing to build there.”

² Corporation Records.

³ Jesse’s Court of the Stuarts.

imprisoning the other half. The prisons in those parts were full of Royalists.¹ Every hour brought its excitement, its tidings.—Every line teems with uncertainty, agitations, dissensions, alarms and precautions. “Paid a messenger for bringing news of the routing of the Rebels at Salisbury, 1s. Mr. Dorney what he paid a scout to Sarum, and for carrying a letter to the Lord Protector 20s.” Three days after the insurrection at Salisbury, a Committee of safety is appointed for the preservation of the peace of the City and “prevention of all public disturbances *in this time of public danger.*” April 3rd.—the trainbands were called out—and the following citizens generally notorious for their anti-monarchical principles were selected and appointed officers:—Mr. Robert Aldworth, Town Clerk; James Powell, Chamberlain; Nehemiah Collins, William Grigg, John Pope, Robert Vickris, John Blackwell, and John Bowen. Ensigns, drums, and halberds, were to be provided by the Chamberlain. The 25th, a Mr. Titan, a messenger is paid 20s., “who brought a letter from the Lord Protector to secure the City against the enemy.” Another 20s. is paid to another messenger with a summons for the militia. Orders to prevent disturbances in the streets were at the same time issued by the Mayor. The Clerk of St. Nicholas was paid 5s. for warning the parish to appear in arms. A proclamation was received in the name of the Lord Protector, “requiring all apprentices to forbear shutting down of any shop which standeth open.” Such trifling facts are interesting and have their value. They afford irrefragable proof of the disquietude, and unrest of the people when possessed of the

¹ As a Royalist [Alderman Locke was open to suspicion] and his name appears associated with this conspiracy. Nov. 26th. Edward Flower was brought before the Magistrates “for abusing Ald^m Locke by saying he lodged the Duke of York in his house at the time of the last rising at Salisbury. To find securities for his good behaviour or be committed.” Nor were the puritanical Corporation exempted from abuse or threatenings. In July of the same year “Benj^m Moseley [was] to find securities for saying Ald^m Vickris had spoken nonsense, and if he did not hold his talking, there would be a course taken with him and some of the rest of the Justices in a short time.” One George Salter, has also been giving expression to his sentiments, and is brought before the Magistrates for saying “Ald^m Jackson was a cross high spirited man, and that he would hold the Ald^m nose to the grindstone, that the Ald^m was a man of influence and no friend to the King.” However true may have been the assertion of Salter, it did not prevent his punishment. “One Charles Evans was taken about 20 miles from this City, and brought hither under suspicion of being the King of Scots. He was kept prisoner at ‘The Feathers,’ in Wine Street.”^a

^a In 1629 and in 1656 deeds mention this house as bearing the “Prince’s Arms.” The republican modification of “the Feathers” was soon hereafter changed for the “City of Bristol Arms,” the dining-room having the Ship and Castle carved over the fire-place.”—Evans.

misnamed freedom, for which so many lives had been sacrificed. The apprehension was extreme. Cromwell secured obedience by means of the Garrison alone; whose chief officers *by commission had command of the City, Fort, and Castle*. There was a riot on Bristol Bridge.—Some Quakers were there. The officers were alarmed fearing a design against the Commonwealth. They had just grounds of suspicion and jealousy. Weary of military bondage, the people yearned for the old *Régime*. Next day another riot.—Great excitement.—About 1500, crying out for Charles Stuart, one and all. The Mayor and Aldermen with the Sword,—and the Sheriffs protected by a guard of musketeers, require the people to depart. But to no purpose. The riot is at its height. Proclamation is made at the High Cross in the name of the Lord Protector.—Some of the rioters will not hear of a Lord Protector, they desire King Charles. Many amongst them had been Cavaliers. They stand their ground, and do not “budge one foot.” The soldiers are dared to advance, hats are waved at them in defiance.—Not a Constable to keep the peace. Riots again in the evening. Some boasting of raising thousands. Mutterings of enlisting of men. The whole City in “great affrightment.”—Ancestral predilections are returning. The Mayor and Aldermen, and Robert Aldworth¹ the “Godly Town-Clerk” are accused by a contemporary “of being friends to Royalty.” “Charles Stuart will enjoy his own again.”² The excitement of the citizens was increased by a report, that a general rising of the Royalists was intended, the 12th of February in the coming year.

But it was not alone the Royalists that revolted against military despotism; and called into vigilant action the wonderful machinery of Oliver’s government. A daring attempt was made this same year by some of the Republican party, instigated by John Wildman, who had been expelled the House of Commons by the Protector. “A stirring man; very flamy, and very fuliginous,—chief of the *frantic* Anabaptist party—he was seized at Exton, near Marlborough, in Wilts, in a furnished lodging:—in a room up stairs, his door stood open,—stepping softly up, the troopers found him leaning on his elbow dictating to his clerk,³ *a declaration of the free and well-affected people of*

¹ Chosen Town-Clerk in 1653—loyally disposed—not to be confounded with Alderman Richard Aldworth, a man of very opposite principles.

² Pamphlet quoted by Seyer.

³ Carlyle’s Cromwell.—Life of Cromwell, Anonymous.

England now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esquire." The detection of these and other conspiracies, served as a plausible pretence for keeping up the army; and for exacting from the Royalists the expense of its maintenance. With the consent of the Council, Oliver issued an edict, "That all who had borne arms for the King, and declared themselves of his party, should be decimated, or pay a tenth part of their estates, to support the charge of such extraordinary forces, as their seditious practices obliged him to keep up." This edict was principally enforced against the harassed Royalists, who without regard to former oppressions, were obliged again to redeem themselves. Even the disaffected and those open to suspicion suffered. In order to carry out this imposition, Oliver perfected his system of military despotism, by the institution of ten MAJOR-GENERALS.¹ These men had exorbitant power. Assisted by Commissioners, they subjected whom they pleased to decimation. They inspected inferior Magistrates—imprisoned suspected persons, and exercised arbitrary authority over the person and property of the subject. Desborough is Major-General over six counties—Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall. He is therefore all powerful at Bristol. "He coerces Royalists; questions, commits to custody suspected persons; keeps down disturbance by such methods as, on the spot, he finds wisest." The Major-General gives the Corporation notice that he intends to honour the City with a visit. December 18th,—a Committee is appointed "to consider of some proposal to be made to him, and to make some provision for his entertainment." He comes December 28th. Some wine and sugar given him. Some communications are made—and he is gone. The Mayor receives a letter from him.—Another, imperative—peremptory:—

¹ By this scheme all England is divided into Ten Districts; a Major-General for each. Let him be a man most carefully chosen, a man of real wisdom, valour, and veracity, a man fearing God and hating covetousness; for his powers are great. He looks after the good of the Commonwealth, spiritual and temporal, as he finds wisest; ejects, or aids in ejecting, scandalous ministers; summons disaffected, suspected persons before him;—and there is no appeal, except to the Protector in Council. His force is the militia of his counties, horse and foot, levied and kept in readiness for the occasion, especially troops of horse, involving, of course, new expense,—which we decide that the plotting Royalists who occasion it shall pay. On all Royalist disaffected persons, the Major-General therefore, as his first duty, is to lay an *income tax of ten per cent.*; let them pay it quietly, or it may be worse for them. They pay it very quietly.—CARLYLE'S *Cromwell*, II., 356.

"Mr. Mayor,—At my last being with you at Bristol, I acquainted you with an information I received against Mr. Sherman, Mr. Locke, and Mr. Knight, members of your Corporation, that they are not in any measure qualified or spirited for government, and being sensible that the bringing of them upon a public stage, could not tend to the reputation nor the honour of your City, I did therefore adjudge it fit to speak with you, that you might advise them to make it their request to withdraw themselves; which, as I understand, is not yet done. I must therefore renew my request to you, to send for them, and to signify as much unto them, that if they will not tacitly resign, but stand upon their justification, I must take that course as will not stand with their credit; for, according to his Highness' declaration there are no persons that are scandalous in their lives, or enemies to the government of the Commonwealth, that will be suffered in places of Magistracy or trust. I shall expect your answer to this speedily; and I do hope your zeal will carry you out to so public a work; which, that you may do, is the desire of

"Devizes, 13th Feb., 1655-6.

"Your affectionate friend,

"For Mr. Mayor of Bristol."

"JNO. DESBROWE.

Upon receipt of the above, a meeting of the Mayor and Aldermen was convened for the 18th February, at which, were present Walter Deyos, Mayor; Alderman John Gunning, Richard Vickris, Wm. Cann, Myles Jackson, and Henry Gibbs. When, "in pursuance of the aforesaid letter, Alderman Geo. Knight, Alderman John Locke, Alderman Gabriel Sherman, did by writing under their hands and seals, actually resign their several and respective places of Aldermen, and members of the Common Council in the words following, viz.

'Gentlemen,—For as much through age and weakness of body, and other infirmities, we are now unable to give that attention to perform the duty of our several respective places as Aldermen and members of the Common Council, for the good of the Corporation as we ought to perform; we do now desire to make it our joint and several request that we may be discharged from our said places, and do hereby severally and actually resign the same. Witness our hands and seals this 18th Feb., 1655-6.

'To the Rt. Worshipful the Mayor,
Aldermen, and Common Council
of the City of Bristol.'

'GEORGE KNIGHT,
'JOHN LOCKE.
'GABRIEL SHERMAN.

'We, the aforesaid Mayor and Aldermen, taking the same into consideration, do accordingly accept of the said several resignations.'

The obsequiousness with which the imperative mandate of the Major-General is obeyed, is an apt illustration of the arbitrary character of the Government. The suspected members are supposed to entertain monarchical

principles; and to prevent expulsion, tender their resignations on the plea of "age, bodily weakness, and other infirmities;" though however, speciously they endeavoured to clothe the fact, the ostensible cause was notorious to all. The reason advanced for resigning on account of old age and bodily infirmities, could only be consistently brought forward in the case of Knight, who had attained the patriarchal age of eighty-six years. Locke was twenty years younger, and Sherman was only forty-six.

The Mayor informs the General that his orders have been obeyed:—

"May it please your Lordship,—According to your honour's first direction in reference to Alderman Knight, Alderman Locke, and Alderman Sherman, of this City, I hinted to them in private what your Lordship had given me in charge concerning them, which being communicated; they presently, in obedience thereunto, desisted and forbore the execution of their several places, not so much as appearing to act therein. This being complied with, and they expressing their readiness to resign, and receiving your Lordship's intimation from Bath, not to make too much haste, in the new election of others, caused me for the present not to be more pressing and urgent for their actual resignation. But now having received your Lordship's further commands from Devizes, about them, in performance thereof, I summoned those three gentlemen, who having heard your Lordship's letter read; they under their hands and seals have actually made their several resignations, which being done as in this, so in what else your honour shall be pleased to entrust me, towards the promoting of any public service, shall be faithfully performed by

"Bristol, 20th Feb., 1655-6.

"Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

To the Rt. Hon. General,

WALTER DEYOS, Mayor."

Jno. Desbrowe, Major-General, &c."

Of the Major-General's exercise of his enlarged power, this is all that can be elucidated here. From a master mind, an able advocate of Cromwell, a graphic and forcible picture has emanated. "Major-Generals fleecing their districts; soldiers revelling on the spoils of a ruined peasantry; upstarts enriched by the public plunder, taking possession of the hospitable firesides and hereditary trees of the old gentry; boys smashing the painted windows of cathedrals; fifth-monarchy men shouting for King Jesus; Quakers riding naked through the market-place; agitators lecturing from tubs on the fate of Agag, &c."¹

In dread and uncertainty have the citizens lived, from the commencement of

¹ Macaulay's Essays.

the Civil War. After the sweeping hurricane of human passions, which had stormed and devastated the City; to end in military tyranny, was an issue, whose bare contemplation would have cooled, however inflamed, the heated passions of the Republicans. But when the intrinsic value of the Government was presented to them in its unmasked despotism, they began to appreciate Monarchy, and desire its re-establishment; and to such an extent had they given expression to their feelings,—that the presence of soldiers, and the maintaining in readiness the trainbands, was deemed necessary for the subjection of the disaffected. The chief officers of the Garrison had command over the City, and over the Fort and Castle; and after the destruction of the latter, the soldiers were quartered on the inhabitants, and were sometimes ungovernable, as we shall presently see. We look in vain for that repose and domestic security that an able partizan has discovered. Neither life nor property was safe, and the City was continually distracted with the bitterness of factions. This, and more is dimly shadowed in our records.

No announcement of any ceremonies is to be found amongst our archives, on the Proclamation of Cromwell as Lord Protector. This occurred in London, December 16th, 1653. But our Corporation appear tardily to acknowledge him as their ruler. The House did not assemble to digest the propriety of presenting him with an address of recognition till the 2nd of May following. The address was decided upon, and prepared¹ by the 7th, when the Chamber directed “that Mr. Alderman Myles Jackson, the two Sheriffs, with the Town Clerk and Chamberlain, do present the address of recognition to the Lord Protector for the Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common Council of this City.”²

The economical regard for the public money exhibited, speaks plainly that

¹ “The undermentioned to prepare a recognition to be made to his Highness the Lord Protector :—Alderman Aldworth, Myles Jackson, Joseph Jackson, Richard Vickris, William Yeamans, Mr Blackwell, Mr. Sheriff Bubb, Col. Haggitt.”

² The expenses of the journey are set down in our audits thus :—“August 23rd, 1654, paid Alderman Myles Jackson so much he disbursed at London to deliver the recognition to the Lord Protector..... £4 1 6
“Paid my own expenses [the Chamberlain] 5 0 0
“Paid for a dinner and other charges for those that went up..... 1 8 0

£10 9 6”

the finances of the Corporation were at a very low ebb. The journey to London must have been humbly performed, without state or ceremony,—in a simple primitive style. We may suppose a similar plainness was observed on presenting the address. Such would accord with the views of men who were considered to have “renounced the pomps and vanities of the world,” and to lead holy and religious lives. In after years, when vices and luxuries stained the body politic,—when what remained of good, of pure, of holy,—was almost submerged in the general licentiousness,—it was not wont to confine its expenses within such moderate limits.

In these difficult and trying times, the office of first Magistrate was attended with anxiety and danger. Able men were not always ready and desirous to fill the local dignity. This may account why John Gunning the *ci-devant* Royalist, is chosen for the second time.¹ John Lawford, and Christopher Griffiths are his Sheriffs. Gunning’s previous loyalty is not forgotten, and is spoken of accordingly. In the August of the following year, “one Richard Jones, coppersmith was to be sent to Newgate, to be tried at the Sessions for saying the Mayor of Bristol [Gunning] was more like a horse, or an ass, than a Mayor, *and that he was a Cavalier* and not fit to be a Mayor, and upon the warrant being served, he drew his sword and endeavoured to wound the officers.”

A very thin attendance on the House at this period.² To such an extent

¹ During the Mayoralty of Mr. Taylor [1640] the salary of Mayor was augmented from £52 per annum to £104, and in the instance of a reappointment of the same officer it was increased to £208.

² “6th September, 1650. Mr. Thomas Woodward upon his petition is dismissed and exempted paying £50 to the Chamberlain. 10th September. Mr. Pinney also dismissed and exempted from being elected Sheriff on paying £50. Mr. Warren dismissed on payment of £100. January, 1652-3. The fines imposed upon Alderman Gunning and Mr. Griffith for their non-appearance att the election day of Mr. Maior and officers, shall be taken into consideration next House. 25th August, 1654. It is agreed at this House, that a letter be written by the Mayor and Aldermen, to Mr. Luke Hodges, a member of this House, to desire his company and residence, or to leave the Common Council, to elect another in his place.” The House called the 29th September, 1657, but no business was transacted, and the leaf of the book put into mourning, having a black border all round. 23rd September, 1658. The Common Council called to assemble at the Gaunts’ Hospital,—“nothing done for want of a full appearance of the House, *sixteen only out of the forty were present.*” The Chamber met here when business relating to the Hospital only, had to be considered.

had its numbers diminished, that a measure of a temporary character was rendered requisite by the extraordinary circumstances of the times, April 3rd, 1653:—

A former act rendering it necessary that twenty-six of the members of the Chamber must be present “for the making of any orders, laws, and ordinances,” and it being found that at several meetings “soe great a number of twenty-six persons doe with very greate difficulty come together, and in consequence of the frequent absence of many from various lawful causes,” being often productive of disappointment and delay, in despatching public affairs some of which were urgent; it was enacted that in future four and twenty should be considered a sufficient number “to all intents and purposes,” for making any act of Common Council.

Josias Clutterbuck at the annual election [1656] was chosen Sheriff. He was a staunch Royalist, and conscientiously and resolutely refused to serve. The sum of £300, was declared the forfeiture, “to be levied by the Chamberlain by distress, and sale of his goods, restoring to him the overplus.” October 14th, Mr. Clutterbuck came before the House in a “submissive manner engaging to satisfy the sum of £300, or such part of it as the House should then order.” The fine was consequently reduced to £150, of which he paid a portion and gave security for the remainder. Thus the matter remained till 1659, September 15th, when Mr. Clutterbuck “sent into the assembly the whole £150, in ready money, and by a very humble petition did rest himself on the judgment of the House, expressing that his forbearance to serve, or—

“Hitherto to pay the fine, was not out of any *refractiveness* to the commands of the House, or in the least to be an example of disrespect to the Government of the City;—but rather from sad losses he had received in his estate, and some troubles fallen upon him from some of his near relations. All which the House taking into consideration, did enact and ordain that the fine of £150, should be moderated to one moiety thereof, and he to pay no more but £75, which Mr. Clutterbuck, with many expressions of thankfulness, did very cheerfully and readily perform.”

In harmony with the prevalence of religious feeling,—the Chamber of Bristol resume their ancient form of prayer, preliminary to the transaction of public business. September 4th, was passed the following resolution:—

“Whereas it appears by the Records of this City, that heretofore at the assemblies of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, before they began to debate and

consult of any business;—supplications and prayers were made to Almighty God for a blessing upon their Council, which of late years having been discontinued, and being very desirous to revive a matter of so great concernment, knowing that without the Lord's presence and assistance, no Council or Consultations can prosper, or be to any good purpose."

"It is this day agreed and ordered, that Mr. Farmer, a godly, able Minister of the Gospel, be desired to pray at every assembly with the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, in their place of meeting; to implore God's presence with them, his directions in all their debates, and blessing upon all their Councils, that their resolutions and determinations may be for his glory, and the good and welfare of this City. *And the said Mr. Farmer to have £10 a year for his pains.*"¹

A Mr. Ralph Farmer we have seen unsuccessfully applying for the office of Chamberlain, with Royalty for his patron. Again there rises before us a Mr. Ralph Farmer, possessor of the living of St. Nicholas—mingled with a chaos of ideas in which Quakers untimely moved,—and disturbed congregations, are predominant. Mr. Ralph is favoured with the countenance of the Corporation. It bestows its gifts upon him, and appoints him Minister. It is fortunate for Mr. Ralph he has a brother, who will be Mayor next year. But where is the rejected Chamberlain? Does he hold possession of the pulpit of St. Nicholas? Is he the man who persecutes the Quakers? The similarity of names causes no little confusion, in an attempt at separate identification.

The example of London was taken as a precedent in other matters besides devotional exercises. It led sometimes to the introduction of expensive additions, to the furniture of our civic pomp. Even at this time, although bankrupt in estate, security, and peace,—the Corporation could dismiss from their minds all anxiety; and sedately issue instructions on a matter of display;—when fierce passions raged around,—when deadly contention was but checked,—and unemployed poor were clamorous in the streets for food.

¹ Some of the rules of the House read this year, and ordered "to be written on a table and hung up," have sufficient quaintness to deserve place in a note. Rule 2nd orders, "that the oath of a Common Council-man be read at every meeting of the House." Rule 4th,—“When any member hath a desire to speak, he shall *devoutly* stand up, keeping his place, with his hat off, and shall address his speech to Mr. Mayor, and not to any other person.” Rule 9th,—“That the usual time of meeting for the members of this House be at nine of the clock in the forenoon; and Mr. Mayor to set up an half-hour glass, and those that come in after the glass is out, to forfeit the sum of twelve pence.”

26th August, 1658. "It is this day ordered and ordained, that a handsome Barge *be rowed* with eight or ten oars, after the manner of those Barges used by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, or other Companies there; to be built at the City's charge;—and a convenient place be also built for keeping of the same. And the Chamberlain is to take care for providing the same accordingly."¹

In conformity with the felicitous diction in which so many of our records are penned, the Barge is first ordered to be rowed, and afterwards built.

Cromwell, whose policy was to concentrate his forces, did not in the issue of a revolt feel quite secure of Bristol's Castle;—therefore, with his peculiar idiosyncrasy,—what he could not *secure*, he willed to destroy. Instead of strengthening the Garrison, which must have been done at the risk of scattering his army, he took the most effectual means of preventing so important a fortress from becoming the possession of his enemy. With his wonted decision, he decrees its fall!

"OLIVER P.—

"These are to authorise you forthwith to dismantle and demolish the Castle within the City of Bristol; and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

"Given at Whitehall, 28th December, 1654.

"To the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of Bristol."

Upon the destruction of its walls, that had played so important a part in English history, an able and philosophical writer thus remarks.—"Every one knows the story of their demolition who knows the least of our civic memorials. Cromwell had a hand in that business, as indeed he had in most others which required an aptitude for summary vengeance. He was the executioner of the dynastic regime, the queller of its champions, the ravisher of its strongholds; and whatever he seized in his iron grasp was not only bruised, but if needful, confounded. The purpose which shattered Goderich and Ragland, was least of all mitigated in the case of Bristol. Like *stately Basing*, the trouble it had given made it in his eyes a rock of offence. Its surrender by Fiennes, and occupation by Rupert,—the immense advantage it had rendered to his foes in upholding the cause of the King in the west,—the effort required for its final investment,—the expenditure of prayers, powder, and tobacco smoke,—with

¹ "January 31, 1661. Michael Deyos, Water Bailiff, was paid £20, towards building of a Barge for the Mayor and Aldermen."

the last 'two hours at push of pike,' when he was 'standing on the palisadoes, *but could not enter*,'—all these circumstances combined together were not the most calculated to mollify his proceeding. What his policy suggested, his inclination approved. The pickaxe and crowbar were lustily plied to loosen stones and dislocate stanchions; and when they ceased, and the dust disappeared, the site was vacant—the Castle was gone!"¹

But between Cromwell's order and the disappearance of the Castle, there occurs a brief interval. How the cumbrous heap was razed. How the site vacated. How the daily labour progressed. How Bristol Castle was "carted away," is minutely detailed. Though dull and wearying, some gleanings are introduced,—not, we think, without their sentiment.

First, we have the permission of Richard Watson, whom we suppose the contractor or agent, appointed to superintend the removal of the Castle. It directs—

"The Mayor and Commonalty, or such as they shall appoint, shall have liberty tomorrow morning to begin the dismantling of the Castle, according to the conclusion had and made between myself and Mr. Aldworth.

"Witness my hand this 3rd of January, 1654-5.

RICHARD WATSON."

This is followed by a declaration from the Chamberlain:—

"By virtue of an act of Common Council, bearing date the 3rd of January instant, I do hereby engage myself, and successors, to discharge and save harmless the several inhabitants of the Castle, there now dwelling, from all arrears of Fee-farm rent due from the said Castle houses and grounds therein.

"Witness my hand the 4th of January, 1654-5.

JAMES POWELL, Chamberlain."²

The work of removal does not appear to have been seriously undertaken till March 10th, "When the Mayor and Aldermen, directed the Castle to be dismantled; and towards defraying the expense, every person who was assessed

¹ Illustrations of Bristol History, by Samuel Lucas, Esq.

² Until the year 1629, the Castle Precincts had been a kind of "Alsatia," affording a sanctuary which the civic power could not reach. By his Majesty's Charter of Incorporation, dated 13th of April, the Precincts were then added to the City; and on the same day, in compensation for the privileges of which the inhabitants residing within the Precincts were deprived, thirty-seven were admitted to the freedom of the City.

in the monthly contributions for personal estate, shall work in person once every week, or pay 1s. for the hire of a labourer.”¹

A description of the fall of this ancient Castle, lately published, under the title of “Pictures in Bristol History,”² may not inappropriately relieve the business details of the contractors.

The pale grey dawn of a winter’s morning begins to gleam upon the narrow streets. Fantastic gables, twisted chimneys, and every bold projection,—stand out in strong relief against the cold drear sky, with dark serrated clouds divided. Hark! the uneven tramp of many men breaks through the stillness,—as, borne on the early breeze, it startles the watchful ear; and, following the sound, a band of labourers appear with spade and pickaxe armed, who halt before the sullen walls of a mighty fortress,—half ruined, old, and grey. There are solid towers rising in stately grandeur, and gateways of lofty arch—there are royal halls and princely chambers—there are hallowed chapels and accursed dungeons,—and, frowning over all, the stout and massive Keep,—whose huge form, indistinctly looming, seems, in its solitary might, to bid defiance to the band of men, who, with bare and sinewy arm, do stand in the grey light beneath! But the mandate of its destroyer is writ—the order for its overthrow is gone forth. At the magic of a name, traced on a sheet of paper which a “baby hand might tear,” the monstrous pile that, for six centuries, had braved storm, and siege, and elemental strife, and the silent workings of insidious decay,—comes toppling to the earth,—and vanishes from off its face,—leaving to after ages but a memory of its greatness—but a relic of its state!

The work of destruction has commenced,—and pennon and standard will float on high no more! Tower and bastion—intrenched battlement and moated wall—rapidly shrink, disappear, and become a portion of the things that

¹ “The Constables to receive the rate of those who do not work in person; the amount to be paid the Sword Bearer. A ticket to be given every evening to receive the wages from the Sword Bearer.” The Mayor and Aldermen directed “that a street or streets be erected on the site of the Castle. No person to carry away any stone. Persons claiming to any of the tenements within and about the said Castle, are on Monday, the 2nd of April next, to bring their writings before the Surveyors of the lands, at Mr. Benfield’s house within the Castle, that allowance may be made of all lawful titles.” “October 19th, Mr. Richard Benfield was appointed Superintendent for the demolishing, at such salary as the Mayor and Aldermen may think proper.”

² Bristol Mirror.

were.—The rude barbaric hall, where Kings and Princes have in gay festivity caroused—the gilded chambers, where noble dames have lived in magnificent constraint,—St. Martin's costly chapel, with its jewelled shrine, and sumptuous altars,—whence their orisons in chaunted hymns arose,—where remained the cunning work of artizans of old, in elaborate corbels, in groined roofs, and in sculptured forms of curious imagery displayed. Alike the sacred and profane—the warlike and the peaceful—the hall of rejoicing and of crime—the sanctuary of confession and of prayer—the cell of the Priest and the den of the Gaoler, alike are rent beneath the arms of that laborious band, whose serf-bound ancestors, long generations back, piled up the solid fabric that was to insure their thralldom.

And now, all is levelled to the dust; and light—bright, joyous light—glares into the horrors of the dungeon, and scares away its darkness—into the dungeon's deep, beneath the river's bed, the piercing ray doth shine, and searches the gloomy corners of each prison house. All glorious was that light streaming into hidden cells, revealing mournful signs of despairing misery scratched on humid stones! All glorious was the sunlight penetrating into those living sepulchres, where so many wretched victims of tyranny and oppression had perished, and whose silent walls had often echoed to the gasping cry of tortured agony! All glorious was the day's bright light, pouring on those dumb witnesses of fearful horrors, whose dread secrets are known to Omnipotence alone! All glorious!—it proclaimed the extinction of the last relics of feudal power,—the advance of civilisation,—and the onward progress of an emancipated people!

On the site where warlike despots ruled, Peace has made its home,—and the hand of industry plies its daily toil. Where the trumpet's blast; the clash of arms, the battle's cry rent through the air, is heard the hoarse murmur of a commercial City. With the crowded images that people the past—with the varied scenes that mark the spirit and pressure of its times—with the dull silent decay that chronicled itself in dismantled roofs,—in moss, lichen, and ivy covered walls,—in their final fall and extinction—are bound up animating, elevating, Christianising thoughts,—from which, looking back over gloomy years, we learn to regard the present with a livelier joy, affection, gratitude,—and to value and cherish our matchless Constitution, and maintain it in its honour, dignity, and worth!

An order for the destruction of the Royal Fort, on St. Michael's Hill, followed the destruction of the Castle. Henceforth the soldiers would be quartered on the inhabitants; and we may anticipate complaints of this grievance. At the Council held at Whitehall, Tuesday 24th July, 1655, it was—

“Ordered that all the provisions of war at Bristol, be removed from thence to Chepstow; and that the Fort there, [Bristol] called the Royal Fort, be forthwith demolished; and that a letter be written to the Mayor and Aldermen of that Corporation to cause the same to be demolished accordingly.

“W. JESSOP, Clerk of the Council.”

This notice was accompanied by an order, in which it will be remarked no direction is given for the manner of the removal of the provisions of war.

“Gent.,—His Highness and the Council having determined that the Fort at Bristol, called the Royal Fort, shall be demolished, they do hereby commend it to your care, that the same be forthwith done accordingly.

“Signed in the name and by the order of his Highness and Council,

“Whitehall, 24th July, 1655.

“H. LAWRENCE, President.

“To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Bristol, these—”

The instructions for the removal of the provisions of war omitted in the foregoing order, were not delayed many days. 4th August, the Clerk of the Council writes to the Mayor,—

“Sir,—I send enclosed an order from his Highness and the Council, concerning the provisions of war at Bristol, a duplicate whereof I have sent to the Governor of Chepstow, [the Hon. Lieut.-Col. Nicholas] from whom I suppose you will hear about the manner of removal, the not giving particular directions *wherein*, hath occasioned the Council's letter (which comes herewith) to be staid some days longer than was intended. “I rest your very affectionate friend and servant,

“Whitehall, 4th Aug., 1655.”

“W. JESSOP.

Not hearing from Col. Nicholas, and naturally desirous that the provisions of war might be safely kept for the use of the Commonwealth, the Corporation wrote to him, to know his commands. In reply he informs them that it was ordered that the Captain of the City Militia should convey the provisions to his [the Governor's] Garrison. To this the Corporation objected. They had received no such order, [they write] the order being for dismantling the Fort only, and request him to send for the provisions of war. The result not known. But

in lieu thereof, there is ample detail as to the manner the Chamber was employed in executing its more direct instructions.¹

This was the preliminary step to the final overthrow of the Royal Fort. We may suppose the bare walls alone remain; when on the following year, February 28th, the order was given "that without further delay, the Great Fort be proceeded to be *fully* demolished, and that one ward in turn, be summoned to appear with pickaxes, shovels, baskets, and other materials for slighting the walls, and banks, and filling up all the grafts and trenches."²

Thus stone by stone were the solid walls levelled to the earth,—and the last remaining fortification of the old City disappeared.³ Looking beyond the immediate occasion of their removal;—Time has not yet solved the question, whether cases might not still occur in which their utility would be acknowledged, —whether the leaving unprotected our large towns and cities, be not a grievous error.

Frequent mention is made of a Great House in the Fort.⁴ At the time of the destruction of the latter, the house was inhabited by Capt. Thomas

¹ "Sept. 6th. An order was signed by several of the Aldermen to the Constables of the several parishes to go from house to house, and receive from every house-keeper, the pay of one labourer for one day, to be employed in the said work of dismantling the Fort, and also to make a return of such who refuse, that proceedings may be taken against them.—Sept. 20th. Mr. Benfield was directed to sell the stones of the Fort, toward defraying the charges of demolishing." A month passed; probably employed in removing the ammunition, stores, &c.; and "October 10th, a Mr. Hopkins was appointed by the Mayor and Aldermen to superintend the dismantling of the Fort at such salary as they may think proper."

² Each Alderman or his deputy was directed to be present to encourage the work. The ward of St. Nicholas was to be first summoned. "The Constables of the Ward to warn every family for the purpose. Two masons to be employed to oversee the work, and all the Marshalls to be in attendance every day, until the work be done. The first part to be worked upon to be that which faces the City, and the Great Gate to be taken down."

³ "January 1655-6. Upon the petition of the parish of St. Nicholas, it is ordered that there shall be allowed unto them the round Tower of the towne wall, and the stones thereof, which shall be added to the plot of ground lately allotted to them for the erecting an almshouse, for the same term as the same is granted; provided that if any private persons claim any interest in the said Tower, then such persons to be agreed withall for their *propriety*" [property].

⁴ "There is a tradition that Prince Rupert inhabited one of the present five or six houses that surround the Fort yard.—SEYER." A windmill stood in the centre of the Great Fort, which, while the works were constructing, by order of the Lord Commissioner Fiennes, was taken down.

Beale,¹ who held command of the Garrison. In a lease dated 2nd October, 1658, it is called the "Court of Guard House," and was let conditionally, with a garden and one acre of ground, for £8, per annum, to one Daniel Breton. The conditions were introduced by an act of the Common Council, and appointed that the house should not be let as a tavern or ale-house; and this clause was inserted in the lease: "that in case it should please God, that at any time or times the City of Bristol should be visited with the Plague; that then, under a certain penalty, upon three days warning; the said Mr. Breton, his executors, administrators, or tenants, should depart out of the said house or messuage, and permit the same to be employed as a pest-house for *entertainment* of sick people."²

Our readers will pardon a slight digression, if we stay our narrative, to notice a little incident connected with the Great House on St. Augustine's Back, now so identified with Colston's memory. In the adjudication arising thereupon, from the lawful decision of the Magistrates; great offence was given to an imperious and excitable personage, whom we shall see again:—

The 25th August, 1654, upon a complaint from the parishioners of St. John's parish concerning great scarcity of water in the pipe at St. John's Gate, to the extraordinary prejudice of the inhabitants, "in respect of their family occasions," and also the danger which may ensue in case of fire; a view was ordered to be made, to discover the obstruction, which prevented a full flow of water from the fountain head, to the aforesaid pipe.—On examination it was discovered that "part of the pipe of lead" which served to convey "water from the conduit in the Park near College Green to the pipe at St. John's Gate, a feather or derivation of water was drawn into the Great House on St. Augustine's Back," [then in possession of John Knight the younger;] and the main pipe of lead was raised from the level, it ought to run in "five foot or thereabouts in one end of the wall at the higher end of Frog Lane, which wall belongs to the Great House,"—consequently, when the fountain did not yield a plentiful supply, the "derivative pipe" in the wall deprived the City of all, or most part of the water from the fountain head, and especially that the water of the "derivative pipe" is seldom stopped, but kept running "for the advantage of a sugar work lately set up in the aforesaid house;" and the feather of water, *if any*

¹ Probably the same whom Warburton calls *Deane*, see page 107 of this work.

² November 13th. "The three ranges of houses in the Great Fort to be let, the tenants to have a week's notice in case at any time of sickness, so that the same may be made pest-houses." It was afterwards ordered, "that the act formerly made that the houses in the Fort should be made pest-houses, be repealed, for it's conceived they are too near the highway, and the Surveyors are to let the same, and to treat with persons for a place for a pest-house elsewhere."

were granted, was so much only as would serve for the use of a private family, and not for the "convenience or benefit of works for refining of sugars." And as all fountains, pipes, and conduits, are Corporation property; and it was part of their duty to see they were kept clear and in due order for the public use,—it commands that "the main pipe shall be cut off from the pipe raised in the wall of the Great House" and be again laid level, and persons are authorised to continue from time to time to enter and examine any grounds, closes, or places, which could be used to convey water from the fountain head.

Probably Knight took umbrage at the decision of the Corporation, or more probable his political sentiments influenced his conduct.—But this is unimportant. Whatever may have been the cause, we find that a few days after, he refused the "execution of his duty" as a member of the Common Council, and was fined the sum of £100. This he refused to pay, and the Chamberlain is ordered to take the accustomed course. The 13th October an instrument passed under the City Seal for collecting the imposed fine. Knight was not the only one who had been elected; who refused to serve, and was thereupon fined.—Such was the policy of the Chamber, that they elected many whom they knew would not serve, that they might have the pleasure of expending their enmity against them, either by fine or imprisonment; thereby gratifying the bitterness of party feeling, and in many instances repairing the resources of the Treasury. If this be the Sir John Knight, who comes before us hereafter as a most intolerant persecutor—it will be borne in mind the influence of example, in the school in which he had been reared.

There was at the same time another sugar manufactory in St. Peter's churchyard. The house had been the residence of Robert Aldworth, a munificent merchant who died there in 1634. It was visited this year [1654] by Evelyn, who describes his entertainment. "Here [he says] I first saw the manner of refining sugar, and casting it into loaves where we had a collation of eggs fried in the sugar furnace, together with excellent Spanish wine."

Seyer says, the City was at this time, a very hot bed of religious dissension. Besides the Quakers, whose doctrines particularly prevailed, there were the Presbyterians, the Anabaptists, and the Independents; all in violent hostility to each other.¹ The Church of England that had been abolished by the ordinance of Parliament in 1645, was so entirely subdued, as apparently to be

¹ Mr. William Grigg, the tanner, exclaims with great violence against liberty of conscience, and what he calls a "wicked toleration," which Cromwell had recommended and granted, whereby Bristol was become the "*receptacle of blasphemers*."—Seyer, II., 500.

forgotten. The Independents had gained the ascendancy, and most of the churches were occupied by their ministers. But in the midst of bitterness and animosity, there was much outward sanctity;—much preaching and praying, —general fasts ordered by the government, and local fasts and humiliations, instituted by the Chamber. The observance of the Sabbath was strictly maintained—the accustomed sports and amusements of the people were denied—their holiday games forbidden—the immoral and corrupt punished—and the ordinances carried into execution with a severity, but little in accordance with the mild teaching of the Christian law. If restraint and persecution for religion's sake, could have imbued the minds of the people with a love and reverence for divine things,—this desideratum would surely now have been achieved; and the elevating and purifying influences of the pious administration of the Commonwealth, would have manifested itself.

Here we have a trait of the manners of the times. Instructions for a general fast are communicated in a letter sent by the Government to the Mayor [Richard Balman]—

“Sir,—His Highness the Lord Protector of this Commonwealth *have* agreed upon a declaration for a general fast to be holden in all places within England, Scotland, and Ireland, upon Thursday, the 30th October next—whereof the ministers and preachers of the respective parishes and congregations are by the tenor thereof to take notice. We have therefore, sent you several copies of the said declaration which you are strictly required carefully to send abroad and disperse to the several parishes and congregations within your City. In proving your utmost endeavour and diligence, that the same be done with effect, and returning a speedy account to the Council of your receipt hereof, and proceeding thereupon.¹

“Signed in the name and by the order of the Council,
“Whitehall, Sept., 1656.” for the Mayor of the City of Bristol—These.”

The Mayor replies—

“RIGHT HONOURABLE,—

“Your letter, together with the copies of the declaration, for the fast to be kept on the 30th day of October inst. I received, and immediately sent abroad and dispersed the said copies, to the several parishes and congregations within this City, and shall endeavour in what I can to maintain a due observation of the day, from only at present,

“Your humble Servant,

“Bristol, 18th October, 1656.

“RICHARD BALMAN, Mayor.

“To the Right Hon. the Lord President Lawrence, at Whitehall, London. These—”

¹ This one may stand as an example of many, the grammar might have been improved, and the conclusion have been rendered less obscure.

An instance of a local fast appointed by the Corporation, occurs June 19th, 1657.—“It is voted by the whole House, that Wednesday, 1st of July, be set apart as a day of public humiliation within this City; and that the members of the several congregations be desired to give notice hereof the next Lord’s day before,—and that Alderman Vickris, Myles Jackson, Alderman Gibbs, Joseph Jackson, Mr. Sheriffs,¹ and Mr. Jackson, or any four of them, form a Committee, and be desired to draw up a remonstrance of the reasons of the said Fast, and to speak with the Ministers touching the same.” The reasons have not descended to our time.

It will give some idea how the Puritan divines were engaged on these fast days, if we quote Howe’s own account, as related by Dr. Calamy.

“He told me,” says the Doctor, “it was upon these occasions, his common way to begin about nine in the morning with a prayer for about a quarter of an hour, in which he begged a blessing on the work of the day; and afterwards read or expounded a chapter or a Psalm, in which he spent about three quarters of an hour; then prayed for an hour, preached for another hour, and prayed for half an hour. After this, he retired and took some little refreshment, for about a quarter of an hour or more, (the people singing all the time,) and then came into the pulpit, prayed for another hour, and gave them another sermon of an hour’s length. And so concluded the service of the day, at about four o’clock in the evening, with about half an hour or more in prayer.” Thus seven hours were occupied in public praying on these days, in addition to the ordinary pulpit and pastoral work of the Sabbath, and other occasions.

Wofully had the people drawn comparisons between the expenditure of monarchy, and the oppressive taxation of the Commonwealth. The poor suffered in a manner never before experienced. Never during the period of our research, do our records shadow forth so many images of privation and distress. The necessities of the poor frequently occupy the attention of the Chamber.

The 25th of April, 1654, the “Mayor and Aldermen, with the consent and approbation of the Common Council, resolved, by the assistance of Almighty God, to prosecute the speedy relief and employment of the poor, and prevention of vagrants and other disorderly persons from begging within this City.” The Corporation, “out of their earnest desire to give their furtherance to so pious a work,” advanced a considerable

¹ “May 23rd, 1656. Mr. Sheriff Vickris was endeavoured to be stabbed by one Scarlett, while preventing the latter from beating his mother.”

sum of money for providing a stock, and likewise called in the assistance of several parishes, "for the better carrying on and promoting so good a service. And to the end that it may be publicly known where the workhouse shall be kept," notice is given that the "Smith's Hall is the place appointed, under the care and oversight of Robert Massinger, Milliner. All such men, women, and children who are fit to be employed and trained up in work," are to be searched for, "that they may add to their maintenance, and be kept from idleness; and that such orderly courses be taken, both for the willing and unwilling poor, as may best conduce for the better government of the workhouse. Work to be delivered to such parish poor as cannot without inconvenience absent themselves from their families, on their giving security for the return of the same." "All importers of wood for fuel were ordered to wait upon the Mayor, and acquaint him with the price, before landing." This was for the purpose of regulating the price within the means of the poor. Also resolved, "that no imported butter should be exported, until offered in the market at three pence per pound; and for the relief of the poor, that eight pence per pound be paid out of every kilderkin exported."

Neither had the condition of the labouring classes improved during the Protectorate. It became worse after the death of the Usurper, and had reached its climax before the Restoration. The subject will carry us a few years in advance of our narrative. But to substantiate our observation, we cannot find a more appropriate place to introduce another extract, touching the distress of the community.

"4th January, 1658-9. The House this day taking into consideration *the manifold and extraordinary necessities of the poor at this time*, agreed that a collection should be made throughout the City, from door to door, towards the relief and comfort of those that are in much want, and out of a deep sense of the miseries that many now lye under." The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, liberally headed the collection list, and the absentees were requested to forward such sums as they may feel disposed to contribute for this laudable purpose. Monday, 17th instant, "these particular persons for the several wards be desired to goe from doore to doore, and to gather and receive such sums of money as the Lord shall stirr up their hearts to give, towardses so charitable a worke in *such a tyme of extremity*." And the Ministers were requested on the next Lord's day, by an order from the Mayor, to signify to their several congregations of the time and manner of this collection, and that they "stir up y^e people to a free and large contribution." Then follow the names.

Cromwell, though he had reluctantly refused the proffered crown, was nevertheless not free from the cares that lie beneath the royal mantle.

These he could not elude. They followed his ascent to power,—abode with him in his exaltation,—and overcast with inquietude his daring spirit. In 1657, the famous pamphlet entitled, “Killing no Murder,” recommending all persons to assassinate Cromwell, excited him with painful apprehensions. He lived in ceaseless dread of the secret assassin; and continual plots, and attempted insurrections, kept his powerful mind ever watchful and vigilant. This year Oliver discovered and frustrated another plot, laid for a general insurrection; which the Marquis of Ormond came over from Ireland to forward, and narrowly escaped being taken. The anxiety of the Protector’s mind regarding the safety of his Government, is indubitably proved from his letters addressed to the Corporation:—

“Gentlemen,—

“We have certain intelligence that the old Cavalier party, and those who favour their interest on these nations, do design a sudden insurrection in this nation, and are to be encouraged therein by the Spaniards, who, together with Charles Stuart, intend an Invasion, and we are informed that your City is particularly designed upon, and that some of their agents are sent down privately to prepare both persons and things against the time they shall be ready.¹

“Wherefore we have thought it necessary to give you timely notice thereof, to the end you may be upon your guard, and be in a posture to defend yourselves either against open force or secret undermining, and we shall be ready, as you shall let us understand your condition, to give you assistance as it shall be necessary for your preservation of the peace of the City.

“We rest

“Your very loving Friend,

“Whitehall, March 16th, 1657-8.²

“OLIVER P.

“For the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of Bristol.”

Upon the perusal of this stirring epistle, the Corporation “resolved that the superior officers of the Trained bands and Militia, do immediately meet and consider what is best to be done, and also what quantity of powder and other ammunition should be provided, and such officers and captains as are members of this House, to prepare a letter to the Lord Protector, which is to be signed by the Mayor in the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of this City.” It was further resolved

¹ Clayton, Pyle, and others were to act in the seizing of Bristol and Gloucester, which with other places, were to be the beginning of a general insurrection.

² In the 17th century the year began on the 25th of March; for instance,—1657-8, the *last* figure is always the modern one, 1657-8 means 1658, for our calendar.

“that the City be put into a state of defence, and that the following members of the House be appointed a Committee for that purpose.”¹

Another letter expressive of the continued apprehensions of Cromwell, is occupying the serious consideration of the Council.—

“OLIVER P.—

“Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Remembering well the late expressions of love that I have had from you, I cannot omit any opportunity to express my care of you. I do hear on all hands that the Cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are I hope taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our intelligence on all hands being that they have a design on your City, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority (as we do hereby) to put yourself into the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your Militia and putting them in readiness for the purpose aforesaid; letting you also know that for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your town. We desire you to let us hear from time to time touching the malignant party, and so we bid you farewell.”

“Whitehall, 2nd December, 1657.”

The Common Council, in pursuance of this command, the 8th of December following, again directed the City to be placed in the best posture of defence, by raising the Militia, “and that the officers of which, formerly approved by this House, do forthwith undertake the charge of their respective companies, according to their several divisions, formerly appointed them, and that a committee answer the Protector’s letter.”

June 6th, 1657, Oliver Cromwell was inaugurated at Westminster Abbey, as Lord Protector, with great pomp. No rejoicings appear to have taken place in this City,—or, if any, too trivial for notice. It is stated that he was proclaimed here the 11th of July in the following year,—but notwithstanding a careful search, no order for the purpose is discoverable. That a proclamation of some kind did take place, we infer from the lone fact,—that there is a

¹ The Mayor, [Arthur Farmer] * Alderman Vickris, Alderman Myles Jackson, Alderman Joseph Jackson, Capt. William Grigg, Jere Holwey, Alderman W. Cann, Sheriff John Willoughby, Alderman Henry Gibbs, Alderman Edward Tyson, Capt. Blackwell, Capt. John Pope, Capt. Robert Vickris, Major Harper, Major Collins, Sheriff Appleton, Mr. John Young, Mr. George White, Mr. Robert Yate, Mr. George Hart, Mr. Thomas Bubb, Mr. John Bowen, Mr. Arthur Parker.

* August 12th, 1658, the Bristol-men born, held a feast at the Great House at Bridge end, over against the Bear Tavern. Mr. Arthur Farmer, the Mayor, being born in Bristol, was Treasurer. They paid for the dinner five shillings a piece.—EVANS.

payment of £2 : 10 made "to the Trumpeters and Waits for attending at the Proclamation;" but as to the form and observance,—the object and intent of the same, we know nothing. A meeting of the Corporation was also convoked on that day; and what is unusual, appear to have met for no purpose they thought worthy of record. There are the names of the members who were present, but no word of any business transacted. Probably a holiday.

Lord Richard Cromwell, for the purpose of rendering himself popular, was sent by his father, in 1658, to make a progress through the kingdom. His approach to this City produced some commotion amongst the Corporation. A meeting was summoned, June 8th, for the purpose of consulting how its members could best testify their fealty, and obsequiousness.

"The House left it to the Mayor and Aldermen to present the Lord Richard Cromwell, and General Desborow, who are now expected in Bath, *as an expression of their love and respect, unto them*, with such wine, sugar, and other things as they shall think fit, and give them an invitation to this City, and make such provision and entertainment for them and their retinue, as shall be agreeable to their honours, and laudable custom of this City in former times, upon like occasions."

"It is also referred to them to provide a handsome house for the entertainment of them at this present time, and for the future reception of persons of honour, Judges of the assize, &c., as shall resort unto the City."¹

A circumstantial account of the pompous reception of the Lord Richard, was published at the time in the "Mercurius Politicus," in which the venal eulogium, and gross adulation of the press, afford another mournful instance, how the frank and outspoken spirit of the nation had been corrupted and subdued.

"On Thursday last, [3rd July] the most illustrious Lord, the Lord Richard Cromwell, (having received two or three invitations, in the name of this City) set forward from Bath hither, attended by a numerous train of gentry, and was met three miles from the town by the Sheriffs, accompanied with at least two hundred horse; whence, after their salutation and compliment in the name of the City, they conducted his Lordship, with his Lady, and the Hon. William Cromwell, Mr. Dunche, &c., into Bristol, waited on by near four hundred horse, at whose entry the artillery was fired

¹ No particular house was provided for the purpose specified. The Judges and persons of honour, generally lodged with the most distinguished citizens. Those who kept the best table, and had the most spacious, or best appointed mansions. During the lives of Aldworth and Alderman Joseph Jackson, they shared the honour, and profit, of feasting illustrious visitants to the City.

“from the Marsh, and the ships that lay in the road; and his Lordship, riding forward, was encountered by the Mayor and Aldermen, and was by them waited on to a house provided for his Lordship, at Col. Aldworth’s, in Broad Street; and there received with hearty demonstrations of their affection to their highnesses, (whom they said they had formerly the honour to see there) and particularly to his Lordship. The next day his Lordship rode out to be witness to the beauty of the place,—and was at his return entertained with a noble dinner, at which it is observable, that (although there were plenty of wine, &c.) yet there was so much respect paid to their prudent orders and civil decorum, that that great entertainment was void of that rudeness, and excess, and noyse, into which the liberty of feasts, in these our days, doe often betray their guests.”

“The same evening his Lordship passing thro’ another part of the City, round the Town Marsh, was complimented with the discharge of the great guns upon the place; and in his way forth treated particularly by the Mayor with a banquet, &c., and returned safe to Bath. Throughout this whole entertainment, there appeared as clear a fare of duty and good affection, as ever was seen at any time upon the like occasion; yet it is no more than what is paid to that noble Lord in every place,—by such as have had the honour to observe his great humanity, joyned with so great hopes, and the noblest inclinations of a virtuous mind.”

The Lord Richard’s attempt to obtain popularity, put the City to a considerable expense; the more especially felt at this time, when its exchequer was not only exhausted, but the Chamber had recently been obliged to dispose of some of its estates to meet its responsibilities. January 5th. “The Manor Farm and Prebend of Tolerton, in the county of Gloucester;—the manors of Westhatch and North Weston, in the county of Somerset;—to be sold in fee to *meet the many thousand pounds the Chamber are in debt.*”

There are a few details of the expense consequent upon the Lord Richard’s visit. They tell us the cost of these civic entertainments. It will be observed that the charge for the wine consumed at Mr. Aldworth’s, with that presented, amounts to a considerable item,—approaching to one half of the whole expenditure.¹

¹ “1658, June 17th. The Chamberlain’s expenses to Bath, with his man to deliver the present to the Lord Richard Cromwell, 8s. 3d.” He also waited upon him at Bath, with a letter from the Mayor and Aldermen, to know what day he would visit the City,—expense, 12s. 8d. Richard Cromwell fixed the day, and forwarded a present to the Mayor of two bucks. “Paid a waggoner for carrying a tun of wine to Bath, to the Lord Richard Cromwell, £1. Paid the Town Clerk [Robert Aldworth] for entertaining the Lord Richard Cromwell in full of his note, £70 : 9.

It must be admitted that during Cromwell's sway, England never had been held in higher respect among nations ; or had exerted her influence for better purposes. To use the words of Milton, she appeared "as a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself as a strong man after sleep, or as an eagle nursing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at full mid-day beam." Of this consummate statesman, our annals speak no more, until we have judicial tidings of that event common to all. No letter from the Council of State, or from the Long Parliament, announced to the Corporation the death of Charles. It would have been somewhat odd, to have read in courtly style "that it had pleased the Almighty Providence to deliver his sacred Majesty into the hands of his rebellious subjects." It was an awkward tale to come from usurped authority. It was difficult to acquit the conscience. The guilt would penetrate through the gloss of words,—and the unmitigated, painful, startling fact of the august martyrdom, would be revealed upon the official page. And so it was left undone,—and rumour bruited it abroad. It was otherwise when the master mind departed.—He had died midst the voices of the hurricane, the warfare of the elements;¹ but he had died upon his bed, and by no rugged way. No mortal's daring hand had hastened the dart of death ! This event has had its history eloquently and forcibly related. The official fact calculated to elicit deep reflection, with some of the adjoining circumstances, are preserved amongst our civic lore. We will print both here.

There was a solemn convention of the Council, September 6th. Serious and momentous the occasion. The Mayor, [Arthur Farmer] seven Aldermen ; John Willoughby and Henry Appleton, Sheriffs ; and fifteen Common Councilmen composed the Chamber, before whom the following important letter from the Privy Council was read:—

Michael Deyos, Water Bailiff, for powder used at the entertainment, £14 : 15. Paid the Ringers of St. Thomas and St. Nicholas, 11s. Robert Challoner for 103lbs. of fine loaf sugar sent to him [Lord Richard] at Bath, and also for a cask, £8 : 15 : 6. John Blackwell, for wine sent to him [Lord Richard] at Bath, and spent at Mr. Aldworth's, and given the Recorder at Bath, £72 : 19 : 2." July 24th. It was ordered that the Chamberlain "present the Recorder [John Doddridge^a] now at Bath, with three dozen bottles of wine and two sugar loaves."

¹ On his "beloved and victorious" 3rd of September, Cromwell closed his eyes upon the world. "The greatest *storm of wind*, that ever had been known, which overthrew trees, houses, and made great wrecks at sea, raging for some hours before and after his decease."—CLARENDON.

^a "1655, May 4th. John Doddridge was chosen Recorder *vice* Whitelocke, and on the 29th he was presented with the freedom of the City."

“After our very hearty commendations,—whereas it hath pleased the most wise God in his providence, yesterday about 4 of the clock in the afternoon, to take out of this world the most serene and renowned Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth, to the unspeakable grief of our hearts, and the invaluable loss of these nations. But in this sore affliction it doth much relieve our spirits, that his said late Highness in his life time according to the humble petition and advice, did appoint and declare the most noble and illustrious Lord, the Lord Richard, eldest son of his late Highness to succeed him in the government of these nations. A person who hath given such eminent testimony of his faithfulness, and great affection to the cause of God and the public interest of these nations; as giveth us abundant cause of rejoicing that the Lord hath provided such a successor to undertake the government, in whose prudence and moderation we may acquiesce, and under whom we have not only hopes, but much confidence that the Lord will make these nations happy.”

“We therefore of the Privy Council, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, the Officers of the Army, with numbers of principal gentlemen, have with one full voice and consent of tongue and heart, this day published and proclaimed the said noble and illustrious Lord Richard to be rightfully Protector of the Common Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereto belonging. To whom we acknowledge all fidelity and constant obedience according to the law, and the humble petition and advice, with all hearty and humble affections. And therefore have thought fit to signify the same unto you, willing and requiring you to assemble the Magistrates of your City immediately on receipt hereof, and to cause his said Highness to be proclaimed according to the form here inclosed, *Mutatis Mutandis*, with such solemnity as becomes a business of such a nature, and to take all due care for the preservation of the peace, and securing the same against all insurrections and disturbances that may be made by evil-minded men upon this change.

“Signed in the name and by order of the Council,

“Whitehall, 4th Sept., 1658.

“H. LAWRENCE, President.

“To the Mayor of the City of Bristol, these—”

“Upon the reading all of which it is ordered, ordained, and enacted, that according to the purport of the same, his highness shall be this day proclaimed by one of the Sheriffs in the High Cross, and the manner of the solemnity to be this.”

“That the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council shall forthwith meet at the Guildhall, in their scarlet gowns.”

“That warning be presently given to all the several companies of the liveries within the City, for to attend at the Guildhall also.”

“That all the superior Officers of the trained bands, and their Sergeants and Drummers

"be there, and here likewise, with the City musicians and all other civil officers belonging to the corps also."

"That directions be given for Bonfires, Trumpets, ringing of Bells, firing of great Guns in the Marsh, at the City's charge, as also for discharging all the great guns in the several ships at the Key, Hungroad, and Kingroad."

The Lord Richard was proclaimed as directed. The citizens made pomp after their accustomed manner. There was a great concourse of people. They swarm in the streets shouting with loud zeal. There was a continued ringing of bells,—firing of cannon,—beating of drums,—and blowing of trumpets. The City was sonorous with the confusion of bells—guns, drums, trumpets, and human voices. Surrounding the High Cross are the municipal authorities, in full official costume. The trumpets are sounding—the drums beating—the Waits playing. The Sheriffs in scarlet have "gone up into" the Cross. There is silence.—The first Sheriff is reading the Proclamation:—

"Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, in his wise and ever-ruling providence, to take into his mercy the most serene and renowned Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Common Wealth. And whereas his said late Highness, did in his life time, according to the humble petition and advice, appoint and declare the most noble and illustrious Lord, the Lord Richard, eldest son of his said late Highness, to succeed him in the government of these nations. We therefore, the Mayor and the other Magistrates of this City of Bristol, in the name, and with the consent and concurrence of the Commonalty of the said City, do with one full voice, and consent of tongue and heart, publish and proclaim the said most noble and illustrious Lord Richard to be the Rightful Lord Protector of this Common Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories, thereunto belonging. To whom we acknowledge all fidelity and constant obedience, according to the law, and the same humble petition and advice: with all heart and humble affections, beseeching the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bless him with long life, and these nations with peace and happiness under his government."

It is over.—The silver trumpets sound clear and shrill,—the bands strike up,—the drums beat,—the cannons fire,—the bells ring,—and the shouts and acclamations of the populace rend the air! It is over.—The livery companies in their gowns with their banners, the City regiments with their drums, the sergeants with their halberts, the militia officers, the civil officers, the musicians, the Common Council in scarlet, the whole company conduct the Mayor to his own house; where, after many formalities, they separate.—In the

evening bonfires and noise.¹ Such is the visuality that rises before us, as we read on the old page, of the doings in the old City at that distant day.²

And all this ceremony and display, the exciting music—the blazing bonfires—the cannons' loud report—were in honour of one, who a few months after, humbly and quietly retired from public view—leaving the supreme authority in the hands of a few ambitious adventurers—humble imitators of the great spirit, who had so lately guided its affairs with almost superhuman skill!

It was no pleasant prospect of easy government that presented itself to the Lord Richard on his accession to the Protectorate. The pay to the troops was in arrear.—The militia betrayed symptoms of discontent, and the coffers of the state were empty. Richard Cromwell, only twenty-eight years of age, shrunk from the responsibility of that exaltation, the untiring energies of his father, had erected on the ruins of monarchy. The power which the father had grasped so tenaciously, the son passively allowed to slip from his hands; and the lofty eminence that had been raised for him, unresistingly to crumble to the dust. He peacefully passed from his conspicuous sphere, to the retirement and amenities of private life,—wiser and happier thus, than in authority, with the cares, anxieties, and disquietudes that filled up the measure of his father's days.—The brief Protectorate of Richard Cromwell occupies but a line in the volume of English History.—So brief, that while our tardy undecided Corporation is meeting, consulting, and digesting an “address of recognition,” his government was expiring. Regardless of the rumour of coming events, the Chamber is still considering, consulting, and digesting. It was not till the 25th October, it was resolved that “an address by way of recognition be presented his Highness from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of this City.” The address is prepared,—ordered to be presented

¹ We have the cost,—“Paid the Drummers and Sergeants for their attendance, and also the Trumpeters, at the proclaiming of the Lord Richard Cromwell, Protector.....	£2	10	0
Paid the Seamen for firing the guns	12	6	
—Michael Deyos, for 3 Barrels of powder, and other charges, in shooting of the			
Great Guns in several ships at the Key	16	6	2
—for a Butt of Sack given away by order of the Mayor and Aldermen			
—the Trumpeters and Waits at the proclamation	2	10	0”

² “The solemnity was performed the best that ever was in this place upon such an occasion. Indeed all was carried on and done in the best manner, and with the highest affection that could possibly be.”—*Newspaper Paragraph*.

the 20th November.—The last notice of our City's allegiance to Richard Cromwell.

In the beginning of this year, 1659, we find noted the death of Doddridge, the Recorder. He is remembered by two elegant, much admired articles of plate in the possession of the Corporation.¹ Shortly after [29th March] the House met and put in nomination several gentlemen to fill the vacant office. A Mr. John Stephens is unanimously elected, and in "pursuance thereof" the Mayor and Aldermen write to their new choice the following flattering effusion; which we give in its own language. Its concluding feature is subject for commentary.—How far it may be trusted as a sample of the religious veracity of the age, or be merely regarded as a specimen of the style of epistolary correspondence, to which Cromwell's letters had given a prevalent tone and spirit, is not for us to decide:—

"Mr. Doddridge our late Recorder being deceased, and having had in consideration the supply of his place,—amongst many others in nomination before us, none of their names or qualifications was of such account, or had so great an estimation with us as your own, who are our worthy neighbour. God's providence therefore having directed the judgments of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of this City, in their election of yourself to be Recorder of this Corporation which was on Tuesday the 29th instant, we hereby signify the same unto you, and do let you know that with much affection we have made this free choice, hoping you will clearly see the footsteps of a divine appointment in this your call, and thereby take encouragement to a ready acceptance thereof, which will very much engage,

"Your very loving friends and Servants."

Equally characteristic is the reply.—Though somewhat lengthy,—for the matter it contains we are tempted to introduce it—

"Middle Temple, April 5th, 1659.

"Gentlemen,—I received your kind letter by the hands of Mr. Alderman Jackson, whereby you give me to understand that you have chosen me to be your Recorder,

¹ 31st of May.—"This day the gift of Mr. Doddridge, the late Recorder, being 2 gilt Flagons weighing 152 oz. 8 dwts.—were presented to the Corporation for the use and honour of the City—and the Chamberlain was ordered to pay Ald. Joseph Jackson £5, being so much expended by him above the £40 bequeathed by his [Doddridge's] will, for purchasing the said Flagons." The £40 was paid by his widow Judith, whom he made his executrix, the 7th May, 1659. Doddridge was held in high esteem by the Corporation, and marked respect was invariably paid him on his attending to perform his duties.

“in the room of that worthy gentleman deceased, Mr. Doddridge. I know you might have *pitched* on many more able to serve you in that place *then* myself, who am as yet but a stranger to you and to the place; but it being done without any knowledge or privity of myself, or any desire of any other in my behalf that you know of; I look upon it, as you intimate in your letter, as the footsteps of a divine appointment, and therefore desire to let you know that as I do with much thankfulness acknowledge and accept your good respects and affections to me, so I will through God’s assistance endeavour to do you the most faithful service I can in that place, and as soon as I can be dispensed with from my public employment in Parliament, shall take a convenient time to wait upon you, and in the mean time desiring your prayers, assure you that I am,

Your faithful Friend and humble Servant,

JOHN STEPHENS.”

The disorder of this time may be imagined.—Distraction and uncertainty everywhere.—England on the verge of anarchy. “No quiet was enjoyed by any: all were at work, and the King’s party very active, and every man guided by his fancy or interest. Many wished themselves out of their daily hazards, but knew not how to get free of them.”¹ Bristol was not exempt from anxiety and alarm! At the close of the year the inhabitants were made unpleasantly sensible of the presence of the military quartered in the City. The soldiers had shown for some time past a strong tendency to turbulence and rapine. Their open violence was dreaded. A result easily foreseen from an imbecile divided government, no longer directed by one energetic will. December 20th, the Mayor and Aldermen were directed by a resolution of the Council, “to treat with Lieut. Col. Mainwaring to prevent his soldiers *taking free quarters* unless one week’s pay was made them in advance.” An agreement was entered into that on payment of a certain sum of money by the Corporation, the soldiers should be prevented from helping themselves to the property of the citizens. December 25th “Paid certain officers and soldiers of Mainwaring’s regiment, by order of the Mayor and Aldermen *to prevent plundering £50.*”²

The state was now in such confusion that it was evident nothing but the restoration of monarchy could produce peace and order. That the alarm and anxiety of so exciting and bewildering a time, extended to our City, the above

¹ Whitelocke.

² “January 16th. Edward Tyson, the Mayor, agreed to advance the poor housekeepers who entertained them [the soldiers] £105, to be repaid him out of the contribution money.

and subsequent extracts abundantly show. January 6th, Ammunition was ordered "to be provided, and satisfaction to drummers and sergeants, *a guard to be kept night and day—the expense to be raised upon the inhabitants.*" Nor did they omit in their hour of calamity and dread, to look for hope and strength to that Omnipotent power, from whence alone support can be derived. The Chamber "ordered that some time be set apart by this assembly to seek the Lord solemnly and publicly, by fasting and prayer in respect of the nation; and a Committee be appointed to draw up a declaration holding forth the grounds thereof,—and to appoint days, and times, and churches, where it is to be observed."

Amid the great world transactions, the manner in which our Chamber was occupied may be read in its own history with but little commentary. Its pages disclose to us its meetings and resolutions; and though somewhat indistinguishable in the old books, we must borrow a glimpse from this obscure source, to guide us through the few remaining months of the Interregnum. Another House the 9th of January—a letter from the Council of State, not preserved. Another,—from James Powell, Chamberlain in London, "upon affairs of the City," also vanished. "Referred to a Committee, with full power to answer, and the Mayor to subscribe to the answer, in the name of this assembly." The answer is before us. Introduced upon the civic page, 19th inst., thus:—

"It is agreed that the letter in these words following hereafter expressed, shall be directed and sent to the Council of State, and Mr. Mayor is desired to sign and subscribe the same, in the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of this City."

"Right Honourable,—

"So soon as it pleased the Lord, by overruling the late threatening dangers and interruptions of civil powers, to revive our hopes of being as now again under the influence and authority of Parliament, we presently despatched away Mr. Powell, our Agent for the representation of our grievances unto your Honors; which he having done and rendered an account thereof, Mr. Mayor communicated the same unto us; whereby we understand the great respect that our humble address by him hath obtained, in your ready hearing our complaints, by removal of the Soldiers, and by the liberty your Honours have admitted us to present to your approbation the names of such as we should think fit to be entrusted with the Militia for us raised in this place; accordingly to your Honour's order, the Soldiers marching away to London. Mr. Mayor, with the assistance of this assembly, have taken care for the preservation of the peace and safety of this place, by appointing of a con-

“siderable guard to be in arms. We are very sensible how much it concerns us that the present government may receive satisfaction in the peaceableness and conformity of this City; and it shall be therefore our special endeavour so to manage the trust reposed in us, as may most evidence our affections, and for securing and defending of this place against any the enemies of this Commonwealth, that shall attempt to disturb the peace thereof. The inclosed list of names are such, as we have agreed upon to be Commanders for the Militia and standing Officers for the Regiment, being persons of sober principles, and of a firm affection to the interests of the Commonwealth, and such who have by their moderation much engaged the affection of the Inhabitants of this place unto them; which are such qualifications as we conceive most agreeable to your Honour’s expectations, and therefore doubt not of your Honour’s approbation concerning them, that Commissions may be granted to them by your Honours. We have, may it please your Honours, one request more at present to make, which is, that those debts the Soldiers have here contracted by their free quartering, may be forthwith satisfied; for want thereof the poor Inhabitants of this City, in these necessitous times, do most sadly groan. By the enclosed account you will find the sum due unto them; which being all at present we have to trouble you with, we take leave to subscribe ourselves, Right Honourable,

Your Honour’s most humble and most faithful Servants, Signed in the name
and by the order of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City
of Bristol,
EDWARD TYSON, Mayor.”

The persons appointed by the Corporation to command the regiment of foot raised in the City on the removal of the soldiers, were, for the most part, such as the Commonwealth Parliament, to whom the list was submitted, would cordially approve.¹

¹ “Colonel, Robert Aldworth.—Capt. Grigg’s Comp^y Nicholas Tilly, 1st Lieut., Edward Sweeper, Ensign.—Capt. Pope’s Comp^y Henry Rich, 1st Lieut., Edward Young, Ensign.—Capt. Robert Vickris’s Comp^y Robert Radley, 1st Lieut., Edward Young, Ensign.—Capt. Blackwell’s Comp^y Alexander Jackson, 1st Lieut., Thos. Wall, Ensign.—Capt. Bowen’s^b Comp^y Henry Dighton, 1st Lieut., John Taffin, Ensign.—Major John Harper to be Capt. of the Troop of Horse; Richard Winstone to be his Lieut., and James North to be Cornet.—The Capt. Lieut. to Col. Aldworth was Abel Kelly; Col. Aldworth to name the rest of the Officers for his own Company.—Lieut.-Col. Powell to name the Officers of his Company.—Major Collins’ Comp^y Richard Baugh, 1st Lieut., Richard Pope, Jun., Ensign. The Mayor to subscribe the several Commissions, and to recommend them in the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of this City. For the ease of the Inhabitants, no guard to be kept but at night; and the Taylor’s Hall is appointed for such, if convenient.” The before mentioned persons had previously commanded the Trainbands, which were now formed into a Regiment of Militia.

^a Son of Alderman Richard Vickris.

^b “Feb. 6th. Mr. Wm. Crabb appointed Captain of the Militia, and to mount the Mainguard this night with his Company, *vice* Capt. Bowen, who refuses.”

Meanwhile,—how General Monk, who had long been in correspondence with the exiled Prince, marched into London with a considerable army, Feb. 3rd. How he did not allow his political opinions to mar his fortunes. How Charles had bid high for his patronage. How Monk had taken his bidding,—and happily for himself and the country, had decided upon restoring monarchy.—All this,—and the subsequent events, till the wild carnival in May, the reader can peruse or fancy. Our limits confine us to this old City, whose turbulent scenes have emblemized much of the controversies, ejections, treacheries, conflagrations, blood, and plague, and misery, that had scathed this unhappy land. While Monk is entering into London,—there is transiently imaged before us a rude revolt, that is startling ancient loyalty from its slumber,—and frightening with tremulous expectation the palpitating citizens. Restless, weary, hopeless, dissatisfied, with the harsh frigid solemnity, and severe ungracious deportment of the over righteous Pharisees,—the young blood of Bristol secretly encouraged by the old, made a great political demonstration. The apprentices,—an important body, assembled in the Marsh. Business was suspended—shops closed—labour ceased. The streets were thronged with excited people rudely armed, uttering ruder words, not very harmonious to a Roundhead ear. Richard Elsworth, who subsequently receives a testimonial “of his affections to his Majesty’s interest,” encouraged and quickened the apprentices, and all others, to petition the House of Commons for the restoration of the Royal family. “And to the end God Almighty might hasten his Royall Majestie’s return to his Crowne and Kingdomes, he drew up a narrative, to persuade his Majestie’s loyall subjects to be fervent and frequent in effectual prayers at the throne of God’s grace on his behalfe, and sent the same to London for publicke view.” It is no wonder therefore that the apprentices, thus stimulated, rose in arms,—and “cried up for a free Parliament, and some for Charles Stuart.” They secured the main-guard before any company could be raised to suppress them. They proclaimed that they should be assisted with numbers of men from the adjacent counties. “They did beat up drums round about the City, *made great brags* what they would do, and set a guard upon the Mayor in his own house.” They also in an orderly manner, set guards in several places,—and in a disorderly manner, forced open the houses of those most attached to the Commonwealth; “the masters of families *hatching and fomenting the tumult, and setting them on.*” A reaction had taken

place. The authorities were now for the most part favourably disposed towards Royalty. Energetic measures were wanting,—and the apprentices kept the City in a state of alarm for a week. But the Corporation did something.—

“ Wednesday, the eighth day Feb., 1660.

“ The Maior, Aldermen, and Common Councill of this Citty, taking notice of the tumultuous meetings and assemblies of diverse young men, and apprentices, and others within this Citty, have thought fitt that proclamation be made in the Crosse, as followeth:—

“ The Right Worshipful the Maior, Aldermen, and Common Councill of this Citty of Bristol assembled, in the discharge of their trust, haveing in consideration the peace and welfare of this Citty, and being deeply affected with their late tumultuous meetings, and unlawfull assemblies; of diverse young men, apprentices and others within the same; and being desirous by all faire waies to prevaile with them to returne to their obedience, that severall past miscarriages may be buried in oblivion; this Citty restored to its former peace and quietude, and the sad and dangerous effects that doe inevitably attend those unwarrantable practices may be prevented; as they doe with utter abhorrence disowne and declare against all such mutinous actions,—soe they doe hereby streightly charge and command all apprentices and others whatsoever soe assembled and mett together, forthwith peaceably to returne to their masters, and their owne homes; and what armes they have taken from any person or persons, that they render the same to the right owners. And that as they expect indemnity for what is past, w^{ch} we shall in our place labour for. And preventing of farther mischief and dainger to the Citty and themselves, they doe immediately submitt to theis our commands, as they will answere the contrary at their utmost perill.

And the Sheriffes are desired to make publication hereof accordingly.”¹

The proclamation failed to pacify. Several of the gentry had arrived from the country, and the apprentices were confident of success. Confusion, anarchy, and bloodshed would probably have ensued, had the Magistrates attempted by the aid of the militia to disperse the insurgents. It was not attempted. Upon the approach of a troop of horse, commanded by Major Izod, the apprentices began to divide,—the ringleaders deserted the multitude, who returned to their homes. In the evening four troops of horse had free entrance. Capt. Vicarage, with a company of the trainbands, entertained the Major at the gate, and Capt.

¹ “ March 14th, paid Richard Barges and the Drums, for making Proclamation for the Apprentices to lay down their Arms, 10s.”

Kelly, with another company, kept the ground. The Mayor issued a proclamation, that all who were in the insurrection should bring in their arms. The leaders had fled. February 18th. Col. Twisleton's regiment of two troops of horse entered the comparatively tranquillised City. The soldiers had subdued the insurrection, and that anxiety was over. There arose another,—fear of the soldiers themselves. To ensure relief, the Corporation purchased their absence. "March 22nd, paid, by order of the Mayor and Ald", to the two troops of horse that were in town, *to send them going, £20.*"

There was also a disturbance on Shrove Tuesday. The apprentices were exasperated, at having their inhuman annual custom of throwing at cocks, and tossing of dogs forbidden. This had been done the preceding evening, by order of the Mayor,—the city bellman reading the proclamation,—“for which he had his bell cut from his back.” On the next day therefore, the apprentices, to show their contempt for the Mayor's orders, “tossed dogs and cats, and squailed geese and hens. A goose was squailed in St. Nicholas Street, before the Mayor's door, which brought forth Mr. Timothy Parker, one of the Sheriffs,” “a grave and sanctimonious personage, with a lean, sharp, and bald visage, who with odd gestures and perfect nasal twang,” harangued the assembly. This, though it might have provoked his auditors to mirth,—failed in dispersing them. On the contrary, they rewarded his interference with a broken head, and then resumed their sport.¹

There was a general election. Admiral Penn was a candidate to represent Bristol. Not a favourite of the Corporation, this doughty Admiral—John Stephens, the Recorder, was. Therefore John Stephens is elected, and with him John Knight, Sen., whom Seyer describes as of the “High Church” party. Though we must not consider the subsequent actions of Alderman Knight, as significant of the disposition of his party, or meeting its countenance; nevertheless, his election gives indication of a change. A new era and new prospects were about to dawn upon the City,—and the time for which it had so long prayed was at hand. The events of the last few years in weight and importance, had taught the discontented a wholesome lesson;—and some of the most noisy demagogues were ready to hail with transport, the return to a monarchical government. It is not important to trace its establishment. We

¹ Seyer.

will therefore devote a few strokes of the pen to subjects nearer home. Here all was agitation, confusion, exaggeration, and suspicion. The deliberations of the Council at this crisis are not accurately set forth. A glimpse of their proceedings, all adjoining circumstances omitted, remain matter of conjecture only. This in a note.¹ That many members were now wavering, and eventually returned to their allegiance, is satisfactorily proved. The greatest efforts had been made by the Corporation, with the strenuous aid of the citizens, to organize the militia. The next step was to address the supreme authority. Here, they waited the guidance of London, and other places. They were fearful of committing themselves. This they avoided by coming to the following resolutions,² which are inserted in the Council Book, March 15th, 1660.

¹ "February 6th. Upon reading of a certain paper presented to this House by Mr. John Knight, Sen. and Mr. John Knight, Jun., and Major Yeamans, intitled, 'The Declaration of the City and County of the City of Bristol.' "It is ordered and agreed that the Members of this House do meet this afternoon, at 4 of the Clock, in the Council Chamber, as a Committee to consider thereof, and accordingly to make report at the next House; and the said two Mr. Knights and Major Yeamans are desired to be here likewise." 27 Members present.

"March 6. A Letter from Sir Chas. Coote,^a and other Officers in Ireland, with this direction, 'To our Honourable Friends, the Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of Bristol.' A Letter of thanks to be written to them by Ald^r Myles Jackson, Ald^r Jos. Jackson, Ald^r Gibbs, Sheriff Parker, Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Holwey. And Ald^r Myles Jackson is to take care that the Commee. do meet to Morrow Morning, at 8 o'Clock, in the Council House. The Letter to be syned by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs."

² "The House this day taking into consideration what is necessary and convenient to be done by the Government of the City at this juncture of time, under the present authority of Parliament, do enact, ordain, and resolve as followeth:—"

1st "That the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of this City do recognise the present authority of Parliament, and by way of petition or address express their good affections to the same."

2nd "That a petition be presented in the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of this City, (*if the City of London and other places do the like*), for the continuation of this present Parliament, and filling up the vacant places of deceased Members by new election."

3rd "That there being 600 and odd pounds owing to the City and inhabitants thereof, especially poor Alehouse-keepers, Inn-keepers, &c., for the late quartering of soldiers here, under the command of Col. Manwaring, that some speedy and effectual course be taken forthwith for the recovery of the same,^b and full satisfaction thereof."

^a Lord President of Connaught. Besieged Carrickfergus, in conjunction with Colonel Venables, under Cromwell, during his campaign in Ireland.

^b 23rd June, 1660, an order of the Common Council to reimburse the poor housekeepers for quartering soldiers under Lieut.-Col. Mainwaring."

Lord General Monk¹ is in correspondence with the Corporation,—his letters have disappeared, but the matter of negotiation can be surmised. March 27th. “This day several letters were read, one from the Lord General Monk, another from Vice-Admiral Penn.” When, “it was resolved that the same be referred to a Committee to consider of both; and of what answers requisite to be returned thereunto, and to report their opinions to the House.” The Committee was so long deliberating, that it was saved the trouble of deciding. It was compelled to resign itself to royalty—while waiting the guidance of other places, money was voted by the new Parliament, for the purpose of bringing over the Royal family; and the answers of the Committee were rendered unnecessary. What its resolutions were, and what its actions were to have been in pursuance thereof, we do not know. We have little more to say, the history of the Chamber does not form itself into a picture.—While attending events, the civic functionaries were amusing themselves with a trifling affair, but made a serious matter by the Corporation. In the official book there still stands in legible but fading ink, a resolution thus:—

“That taking into consideration the freedom of General William Penn, the House have thereupon ordered, ordained, and enacted, that it be referred to Mr. Robert Vickris, Mr. William Grigg, and Mr. Chamberlain to search the records of this City for the freedom of his [Penn’s] late father deceased, and if it appears that the said father was admitted as a free burgess of this City; that then they make report thereof unto the Mayor and Aldermen, who are hereby authorised and empowered, notwithstanding any acts or ordinances of the Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common Council to the contrary, to direct and appoint the Chamberlain according to custom, to admit the said General Penn, as the son of a freeman, into the liberties of the City.”

4th “It is enacted and resolved that application be made and endeavours used for the vindication of the Government of this City, and the Members thereof heretofore agreed on by this House to be Commanders of the Militia, from any aspersions cast either upon the one or other, and that there may be an addition of those gentlemen’s names to be Commanders of the Militia within this City heretofore approved of by this House, and are not passed and inserted in the new Act of Parliament for the Militia, and that all the Commanders of the Militia may be added and empowered to be Commissioners of Assessment within this City.”

5th “And lastly, that it be referred to the Mayor, and Aldermen, to take care that these acts and resolves of the House be forthwith put in effectual execution.”

¹ An estate granted to George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, for restoring the monarchy, was, by intermarriage, eventually vested in Oliver Cromwell, Esq., of Cheshunt, who died in 1821—being then the last male descendant of the Protector.

A prejudice, which at this distant period we are unable to trace to its origin, existed among the authorities against the General. They did not present him with the freedom of the City;—as previously and subsequently, they had been wont to do to distinguished men whose services merited a nation's honour.¹ But if it were discovered to be his due, they would graciously grant what he by birthright could demand. The research if made, was unsuccessful—and the great Admiral did not obtain from his native City the privilege he had sought.

This was the last meeting of the Commonwealth-appointed Corporation;² who appear more interested in ascertaining the right of Sir William Penn to the freedom of the City,—than, in the all-important change taking place in the Government of a great nation.

How far restraint upon the people had improved their moral condition,—how much of the religious feeling that pervaded the land, was assumed,—how little was beyond the surface,—how little the doctrines of our Saviour,—the peaceful, pure, and holy, had entered into the heart of the nation; a few days made manifest,—and the hopeful vision of a whole people walking in God's path and ways, speedily dissolved before a prevailing scepticism, and a strong dissent from all religion. When in the prophetic words of the First Charles the “hand of that cloud which was soon after to overspread the whole kingdom

¹ Such in modern times as Rodney, Nelson, Collingwood and others, whose autograph letters are to be seen round the walls of the Council Chamber.

² Their names are thus set down upon the civic journal at the last general election of municipal officers.—“The calling of the Common Councill on the fiveteenth day of September,^a 1659.—Walter Sandy, Maior;—Aldermen John Gonning, Richard Vickris, Myles Jackson, Joseph Jackson, Henry Gibbs, Richard Balman, Arthur Farmer, Edward Tyson, George White, and Robert Yate;—Edward Morgan, Nehemiah Collins, Sheriffs;—William Yeamans, James Crofts, George Lane, Robert Cann, Thomas Amory, Jonathan Blackwell, John Pope, John Lawford, Christopher Griffith, Thomas Harris, John Bowen, Robert Vickris, John Harper, John Willoughby, Henry Appleton, William Grigg, Jeremy Holwey, Anthony Gay, Francis Gleed, George Atwood, Timothy Parker, Henry Rich, Andrew Hooke, Thomas Stephens, Walter Stephens, Gabriel Deane, Richard Baugh, Edward Bovey, William Crabb, Robert Aldworth, ch. and sworne. Alderman Tyson chosen Maior for the yeere ensuinge. Mr. Jeremy Holwey and Mr. William Grigg were upon their humble desire, excused accepting the office of Sheriff. Mr. William Crabb and Mr. Francis Gleed, were put in election, Mr Gleed chosen to be eldest Sheriff. Mr. Mayor elect, according to an ancient privilege, desired Mr. Timothy Parker myght be chosen second Sheriff.”

^a The Corporation year commences the 15th September, old style.

and cast all in disorder and darknesse"¹— was but dimly discernible, an active and energetic enemy of that unhappy monarch, was a great man in our City, training forces to be used against his King and Government. He is in exile now, with other dreamers of the Commonwealth. He shall tell us how its glorious promises have been fulfilled.—His own pen condemns his former associates. "*They oppressed the liberties of the people* in general ; broke in sunder all bands and ties of religion, conscience, faith, duty, loyalty, and good manners ; cast off all fear of God and man ; and now lord it over the persons and estates of all sorts and ranks of men, from the King upon his throne, to the beggar in his cottage ; making their wills their law ; their power their rule ; their hair-brained, giddy, and fanatical visions, and the setting up of a Babel of confusion, the end of all their actions."²

¹ Icon Basilicon, Charles I.

² Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles.

CHAPTER VI.

Enthusiasm of the people on the Restoration—Proclamation of Charles II.—The Corporation vote his Majesty a present of Money—Day of Thanksgiving—The Corporation and Society of Merchants go in State to the Cathedral—Changes in the Council Chamber—Letter from Charles to the Corporation, requiring the dismissal of refractory members—Popular Amusements—Motion Show—Rope Dancing—Lighting the City in 1660—Quo Warranto—Petitions prepared for Presentation to the King—Knighthood bestowed on several Members of the Corporation—State of the River—Nathaniel Cale remodels the Town Council—Charles's Letter—Heavy inflictions on disaffected Members—Visit of Charles and his Queen—John Pope fined £1,000, for refusing the office of Mayor—Disputes as to Precedency—Sir John Knight's Persecution of the Quakers—Legalised barbarous Punishments—The Ducking Stool—Leaves from the Justices' Book—Letter from the Lord of the Council—Charles's Letter directing the Mayor to be elected from the Court of Aldermen—Hearth Tax—Entertainment of the Duke of Ormond—The Great Plague—Dutch War, Restrictions on Foreigners—Visit of the Duchess of Monmouth—Present to Lord Arlington—Funeral of Sir Wm. Penn—Dissensions and Animosities of the Citizens—Presentments of the Grand Jury—Sir Robert Yeamans committed to the Tower of London—Present to James Millard for his Plan of the City—Application of the Test Act—Entertainment of the Marquis of Worcester—Disputes between the Dean and Chapter and the Corporation—Visit of Queen Catharine—The Popish Plot—Bedloe sent by the Mayor to London—Letter of the Mayor to the Secretary of State—Bedloe's return to Bristol, is visited by Lord North—Death of Bedloe.

EXPERIENCE had taught the nation a severe lesson, and it had gathered wisdom from the teaching. The ancient loyal feeling that had been pent up in the hearts of the people, burst forth in the most extravagant manner. The wildest enthusiasm prevailed.—The reaction was great, the revulsion startling. Suspense, and anxious hope, had given place to the utmost effusions of joy and exultation. The entire unanimity of the nation was marvellous. Before it, opposition fled.—Before it, republicanism died.—Before it, the last branch of Cromwell's Government disappeared.—Folly, extravagance, and absurdity were rampant everywhere. "The whole country," says an old writer, "flocked in, and cutting down palms, and strewing the ways with all sort of fragrant flowers; and decking the lanes and passages with the greatest variety of country pomps, garlands beset with rings, ribands and the like; the air echoing all along, and redoubling the perpetually iterated Hozannas, he [Charles] came to London!" There, the streets were railed in,—The windows and balconies were hung with tapestry,—flowers were scattered in his path. All

¹ Walker's History of Independency.

was a wild confusion,—a delirious jubilee,—a whirling saturnalia. Bonfires blazed—church bells rung,—and the acclamations of the frensied rabble rent the air! “Rumps were paraded in derision, and afterwards, providentially roasted and eat.” The health of the King was drank in the streets by the people on their knees.—The windows of Praise-God-Barebones were smashed. The military “saviours,” Monk’s soldiers, were happy in daily intoxication.—The reign of the saints was over.—Had the reign of the righteous commenced? There is a dark shadow to the picture. Reason, moderation, prudence, and piety fled before the national frenzy. An almost universal dissoluteness of manners prevailed; leading rapidly from fanaticism to the opposite extreme of licentiousness and immorality. And for a long season the heart of honest England was unseen, and the virtues and decencies of life disregarded.¹⁻²

In our City, Charles’s return was hailed with delight by all classes—so that one might well wonder what had become of the Commonwealth men.—The citizens made pomp after their fashion.—There was a “Gratulation of hearts and an illumination of tallow candles.”—Many who had proclaimed Cromwell, and devoutly received his son with regal state, and great rejoicings,—now, blended their voices in the general uproar.—Many tired of uncertainty and anarchy, sighed for security and peace,—and cared not under what title, whether Emperor, Prince, or King, so it brought repose to the distracted realm. Many therefore had gone with the stream, and with plaudits rent the air, for the recovery of the Government they had laboured to overthrow.

Somewhere about the 8th of May, either before or after, our annals are not agreed as to any specified day, “Charles the Second was solemnly proclaimed in Bristol, by Francis Glead, one of the Sheriffs, the Mayor and Aldermen being then present in their scarlet robes.” The day was celebrated with the customary indications of public rejoicings. Cannon were discharged in the Marsh,—wine sent to the several conduits. The Corporation had issued their instructions for the guidance of the people; had furnished the powder and the wine; and the venal multitude rejoiced, as they would have rejoiced had it

¹ Pict. Hist.—Hume—Barnard.

² “The Restoration, brought with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: and all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overrun the three Kingdoms.”—BISHOP BURNETT.

been for the inauguration of another usurper. Then the Corporation, whose conversion was sudden and laudable; met, to consider the expediency of tendering Charles some more substantial proof of their allegiance, and "resolved that £500, in gold, should be presented to his Majesty as a token of *their loyalty and affection*." Twenty members voted for the £500. John Pope, Christopher Griffiths, and Robert Cann, voted for £1000. Their vote was negatived; otherwise, their exuberant loyalty would have placed the Chamber in a considerable difficulty. At the best it was straitened enough, and had to look about, to obtain even the lesser sum. It was compelled to negotiate, at an enormous interest, for the accommodation. The record of the proceedings of the Council on the ensuing day, show that "the Corporation not having the means to pay the amount, Alderman Joseph Jackson, and Alderman Arthur Farmer, agreed to lend the sum of £550,"—the £50 was the cost of exchanging the same into gold,—"to be lent for six months, at six per cent., and a bond to be given for the amount."¹ "The money, with a congratulatory address² from the Corporation, testifying their loyalty, [was] to be presented by the Members in Parliament for the City,³ with Aldermen Aldworth and Vickris; Robert Vickris, and Nehemiah Collins, then in London; including Mr. Sheriff Gleed and Mr. Pope, whom the House agreed to send up for the purpose."⁴ It could not have been with the best grace, nor without a blush at the part they had played, that Alderman Aldworth, and Alderman Vickris, his pious coadjutor; whose energies had been devoted to hurl the father from the throne, attended with a congratulatory address the audience of the son. However that may have been, the "loyalty and affection" of his good Corporation of Bristol, was graciously welcomed and accepted by the Sovereign, in its tangible form of bags of gold, containing five hundred and thirty-one pieces, which were

¹ November 27th, Jackson and Farmer were paid the £500, with £66 : 10 in addition, for the value of the accommodation.—An illustration of the scarcity of gold in this City.

² The Congratulatory Address to "be drawn up by Mr. Alderman Myles Jackson, Mr. Alderman Joseph Jackson, Mr. Sheriff Parker, Mr. Yeamans, Mr. Cann, Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Pope, Mr. Harper, Mr. Willoughby, Mr. Appleton, and Mr. Morgan.

³ J. Stephens, Esq., Recorder, and J. Knight, Sen., Merchant.

⁴ Furthermore, the House assembled again on the 8th, in order to consider of some fee-farm rents the Corporation had purchased of the Commonwealth; when, making a virtue of necessity, "It was resolved that certain fee-farm rents belonging to the Crown, amounting to £67 : 6 : 11 per annum, be surrendered to the King, at the time the present was made him."

presented, June 23rd, to the "King's Majesty, by Mr. Recorder, Mr. Sheriff Gleed, and others."

While the deputation is before his Majesty, in London,—a meeting of the Common Council was taking place in Bristol,—when the following Thursday was appointed to be observed as a "Day of Thanksgiving for his Majesty's happy Restoration." The Recorder had enclosed to the Mayor one proclamation only, but he intimated "that he supposed several such proclamations would be sent him." We extract and condense:—

"There being none yet come, it is resolved that the Chamberlain doe buy as many as he can, sufficient for every Minister to read in their several congregations." And in case a sufficient number could not be purchased, copies were to be fairly written out, and disposed of to the several Ministers. And further, that the College "be the Church whereunto the Mayor and Corporation, &c. &c., will goe, in their formalities, to heare a sermon on the said thanksgiving day." The Chamberlain and Water Bailiff are hereby ordered to take care that "great gunns be prepared and charged to be shot off on y^e said day." And the Mayor, by his officers, [are] desired to give notice to the Masters and Wardens of the various Companies, that themselves and their societies "doe attend, in their formalities, by 9 of y^e clock in y^e morning, y^e said day of Thanksgiving, to wait on the Mayor, &c. &c., to sermon, and that none of them faile, as they will answer the forfeitures expressed in their ordinances."

Arrayed in their ever-recorded scarlet, with what pomp they could assume,—the Corporation, attended by their Officers and Gownsmen,¹ set forth on the appointed morning from the Tolzey—silver trumpets sounding. The City regalia, as much as could be hastily collected, was restored to its honoured place again.² And it was with something of its old state, the procession

¹ "1655. Six Marshalls were appointed as Constables to attend the Mayor, in long gowns, with the City arms on their staves. The Sheriffs' Yeomen to wear their coats, basket-hilted swords, and daggers, without their cloak, on paine to be dismissed."

13th March, 1656-7. Ordered, that immediately the standing of the Stocking-sellers be removed from under Christ Church; and that for the time to come noe one presume to sell stockings, or other things there, on payment to forfeit five shillings for every time offending. And that the place be preserved for the officers to stand, that soe they may be in readiness to attend the pleasure of the Mayor and Aldermen upon meeting days."

² Symbols of royal authority were now restored in the churches, and public buildings, from which, some twelve years before, they had been wrenched. "The King's statue was carved by one John Thorne, a cunning sculptor of his day, for which the Chamber rewarded him with £13. It was placed, amongst a goodly company of preceding Monarchs, in the High Cross. The statue was also painted, which, with the arms, cost an additional sum of £5:10."

entered the shattered walls of the mutilated Cathedral,—whose symmetry the rude hand of spoliation, anticipating the work of Time, had defaced, and wrought havoc to its stateliness.

Thoughts of the convulsive past would recal to that assembly, the dark day when monarchy last entered there. Not alone the perishing of youthful hopes. Not alone affliction's hard harsh hand. Not alone misery, disappointment, and distrust, had eaten into their very souls,—but the common sorrow sat heavy on their hearts. A regicidal Oligarchy—a Master Tyrant gloomed the harrowing past. Pestilence and war had left them bereaved and lorn; and the funereal train of slow years, each darkened by the loss of parent, brother, friend—had closed and seared upon their memory. There pass before us dull, care-worn, saddened men,—on whose furrowed brow are traced time-marks of troubled thought, suffering prolonged,—and mind o'erladen. Many had witnessed the sanctified abode in which they worshipped, desecrated, and defiled. They had seen their brethren perish on the scaffold. They had seen them fall in fatal conflict. They had seen youth and age and beauty, suddenly carried to the tomb,—and all the mournful memories of their untimely end had bowed their spirit down. But now the knell of oligarchy has been sounded,—and in deep, holy, joyful song, they hymned forth the language of the grateful heart,—and with renewed hopes of peaceful times, led by the venerable minister who had been the pastor of their youth, thus in fervent thanksgiving to God on High they celebrated the auspicious day:—

“We yield unto thee unfeigned thanks and praise, as for thy many other great and public mercies, so especially for that signal and wonderful Deliverance, by thy wise and good Providence completed and vouchsafed to our most gracious sovereign King Charles II., and all the Royal family, and in them to this whole Church and State, and all orders and degrees of men in both from the unnatural Rebellion, Usurpation, and Tyranny of ungodly and cruel men—and from the said confusions and ruin thereupon ensuing.—From all these Oh Gracious and Merciful Lord God, not our merit, but thy mercy; not our foresight, but thy providence; not our own arm, but thy right hand and thine arm did rescue and deliver us.—And therefore; not unto us Oh Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be ascribed all Honour, and Glory, and Praise, with most humble and hearty thanks in all Churches of the Saints.” &c.¹

We shall not be trenching on the bounds of probability, in supposing that William Colston would be present, accompanied by Edward and his other

¹ Book of Common Prayer.

sons.—Edward, the subject of this memoir, was now twenty-four years of age.—If in Bristol, he would have witnessed the solemn thanksgiving.—And we know not how a scene whose pervading sentiment was so particularly and peculiarly impressive, may have influenced his youthful mind; and supplied serious but pleasing retrospection, in days of settled peace and soft security; of which this seemed the happy presage. Great and merciful had been the preservation of his father,—and none in that earnest assemblage, had more cause for the outpouring of the spirit, in fervent gratitude, towards that power which had sheltered his venerable sire from the storm, and shielded him from the malice and persecution of his enemies.—And in that Cathedral, before a century had spread the thickening darkness of its years, annually would assemble a congregation to celebrate the nativity of one, who, if then present, was unknown beyond his domestic circle.—In that Cathedral would gather youth, full of hope for this life,—age, full of trust for the next;—both dependent upon him for their spiritual and temporal necessities. And he, from whom was to proceed this great and gracious boon,—had yet to toil and strive in the world's crowded mart, and to lay the foundation of that prosperity, from which he could dispense his bounty, and accomplish his benign mission.

The reader may anticipate the changes that occurred in the Corporate body. Many of the Royalists, whose names we have lost sight of, who had survived the reign of anarchy, come forward to resume their ancient places. The spirit of these men had been embittered by persecution, and they were not wanting in retaliation. Penalties and imprisonments, were inflicted by the reformed Chamber on all who refused to serve. To some good easy men, it mattered not,—they took the oath of allegiance to Charles as they had to the Protector. But there were others with less accommodating consciences, and these suffered accordingly, as will be seen in the sequel.

June 19th a Mandamus was read in the House for restoring to their dignity as Aldermen, John Locke and Gabriel Sherman, who, with George Knight, deceased, had been removed by General Desborow. The Chamber in the face of the evidence that these three Aldermen were *compelled to resign voluntarily*, endeavours to justify itself, and orders an answer to be returned that the said Aldermen “*never were removed, but resigned.*”¹

¹ The same day another Mandamus was read for restoring Henry Creswicke, Nathaniel Cale, Richard Gregson, John Knight, Senr. who were unanimously elected.

Alderman Locke's return to office did not immediately follow the reading of the Mandamus of June 19th. His political opinions are dubious, rather equivocal. Apparently the Chamber were of a similar opinion, as it did not obey the writ; and when another was produced by the Mayor, September 10th for the restoring of the Alderman under a penalty of £40, his re-assumption of the City dignity, was even then postponed until the arrival of the Recorder. It is evident the suspected Alderman was no favourite. Though professedly a Royalist, yet from the circumstance of his allowing the transportation of cannon during his Mayoralty in 1641, knowing its intent to be employed against the King, and from his refusal to admit his Majesty's troops; he lost the confidence of his party, which he never after regained. The little esteem entertained for him, is evinced in the reluctance of the Chamber to again admit him a member of their body. He eventually took his seat 6th November.

Edward Tyson, the Mayor, was allowed to enjoy the municipal chair until his year of office expired. He appears to have been a mild, inoffensive man, with no very decided political tendency,—hence his retention of office. At the annual meeting,¹ September 15th, the choice of Mayor fell on Henry Creswicke, a man of unquestioned loyalty. He had been Sheriff in 1643, when the

¹ The last day the call of the House is expressed in English, is 25th July, 1660.—No business done, being St. James' Fair day. No assembling again until 15th September, when the classic heading is restored; the Corporation oaths remain the same, with the exception of the substitution of King, for Commonwealth. The Mayor's oath is somewhat lengthy, but we think has sufficient interest to obtain its insertion in a note:—

"This heare you Mr.—, my predecessor, and all my brethren of the Counsell, and all others, as well Burgesses of the King's Majesty's Citty of Bristoll as others, the inhabitants of the same now here present. That I shall be faithfull unto my most deare and Soveraigne Lord Charles, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and to his heires and successors, and truly with all my might and power shall save, keepe, and defend this his Highness' Citty of Bristoll to him, his heires, and successors.

"Moreover that I shall endeavour myselfe to keep the peace of our said Soveraigne Lord the King, within this his said Citty of Bristoll, with all diligence and power, and shall reprove, chastise, and correct, the unruly and disordered persons of the same, as law and reason shall require, to the uttermost of my power and knowledge. The franchises and free liberties within this Citty, which are good and lawfull, I shall maintaine and defend as much as in me may lye, and all ill customes and wrongs, I shall and will put away and suppress to my power and knowledge. And I shall further keepe, maintaine, and defend the widows and orphans of this Citty in their rights to the uttermost of my power. And well and truly shall serve the King's Majesty in the office of Escheatorship, in this his Highnes' Citty and County of Bristoll. And take mine Enquests by virtue

royal party held possession of the City. His Sheriffs were Richard Grigson Vintner, and Thomas Langton. Thomas Stephens refused to serve.—Fined £200, and committed to Newgate. At the same meeting a letter from the King was read, in which he says:—

“ We have received good information of the sufferings and loyal affection of Alexander Gray, of our City of Bristol, Merchant; and being given to understand that the office of Chamberlain is executed by one James Powell, who is said to have been put into the said place by Oliver Cromwell, and as Alexander Gray is represented to be fit and able, we recommend him unto you, to be by you chosen Chamberlain. Whitehall, 31st August, 1660.”

The Corporation, in reply, to the King, “ that on the death of Chetwind, there were several Burgesses in competition for the place, and that they elected James Powell, an ancient Burgess to the office, and that the representation made to his Majesty by Alexander Gray, a native of Scotland, *that the said James Powell was put in by Oliver Cromwell was not true*, and that they should be allowed to continue in office the said James Powell, he having executed the office with care and fidelity.”

This unvarnished statement of the Corporation, is made in opposition to the notorious fact, that Powell was appointed by Cromwell, and was a staunch supporter of Cromwell's government on every occasion. It did not however deceive the King, whom it failed to satisfy; and his Majesty, though he could

of mine office of Escheatorship, in open and not in private places, according to the form of the statute on that behalfe made. And I shall doe the King's profits in all things that appertaineth to me to be done. And further I shall keepe and maintaine the King's Rights that belongeth to his Crown, and shall not willingly assent to destroye or conceale any of his Majesty's Rights, and Franchises. And where I shall know any of his Majesty's Rights, Franchises, or Suites concealed, withdrawn, or diminished, I shall doe my best endeavour with all diligence to reform it; and if I may not doe it of my selfe, then I shall shew it to the King's Highnes, or to some of his Majesty's most honourable Privey Counsell, who I trust shall truly inform his Highnes thereof. And I shall truly and indifferently, with right and good conscience, intreate the people of the Citty, by virtue of mine office of Maiorallity, and doe to every man right, as well to the rich as to the poore, in that which shall be by mee to bee done, to the uttermost of my power and knowledge, and neither for gifte nor for love, affection, or hatred, shall doe to any man wrong. I shall take nothing whereby his Majesty may loose any proffitt, or that his Highnes' right may be disturbed or concealed. And all good, laudable, reasonable, and lawfull ordinances which have bin made by my predecessors the Maior, Aldermen, and Common Cownsell of this Citty being unrevoked, and unrepealed, I shall holde, keepe, and maintaine; and all other things belonging, as well to the office of Maior, as to the office of Escheator of this Citty I shall duly and diligently doe, and performe, as neere as God shall give mee Grace, Soe helpe mee God.”

not obtain the post for Alexander Gray, was determined that it should *not* be occupied by James Powell, a reputed enemy to Royal authority. Accordingly, we find April 22nd, 1662, "The Common Council, in pursuance of the order of his Majesty's Commissioners under the Great Seal, displaced James Powell from the office of Chamberlain, and John Thurston, was chosen, recommended by the Commissioners authorized under the Great Seal.¹

There is something amiable in the tone of Charles's letter, wherein his faithful servants are restored to their honoured places in the Chamber. Had the same spirit always animated this Monarch's conduct, how differently would his memory be regarded. It is the next meeting after the annual one for the election of officers. The Town Clerk reads:—

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well.

"It having pleased God of his mercy to Us and this nation, to restore Us to our just Rights again, we have done on our part in remitting and pardoning what hath been amiss, and our earnest endeavour is, to remove all marks of difference and distinction between our good Subjects for the future, that they all performing their duty towards Us, may likewise be happy and reconciled in their affections to each other.

"Whereas many of our good subjects of that our City, having during the late troubles been removed from their places of Magistracy and trust in that Corporation, for their known zeal and affection to our service, to the advancement whereof we doubt not you do all at this time, and will henceforward concur.

"Our will and pleasure is, that the surviving Aldermen, and those members of the Common Council who were so put out may be forthwith restored to their respective places, and that they with such well affected persons as are yet remaining in place, and which were chosen before the said illegal proceedings, may be empowered to fill up their numbers of 48 by a free and legal election; and that those persons who have been unduly brought in may be displaced, to the end our good people of that Corporation may enjoy the benefit and freedom of their Charter and ancient customs. And we do assure you, that we shall lay hold on all occasions to express our favour

¹ Another instance of the working of the Commissioners, for pacifying the Corporation by the removal of all Cromwell's supporters, is before us. September 8th, 1662, at a meeting of the Common Council, "The Mayor reported to the House that John Hagget, late Steward of the Tolzey Court, had been removed by his Majesty's Commissioners under the Great Seal, and that John Robins, Esq., of the County of Gloucester, was appointed. The Chamberlain ordered to admit the latter a freeman." This was accordingly done on the same day.

"to that our City, *as a place whereof we have a particular knowledge, having so long resided there*, and which we remember with kindness, and so we bid you farewell.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 24th September, in the 12th year of our Reign.

"By His Majesty's command,

"EDW^d. NICHOLAS.

"To our Trusty and well-beloved, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of Bristol for the time being."

A tributary wreath has been placed by royal hands, to adorn the memory of Richard Ellsworth, a respected merchant of this City; as "a very signall testimony of his affection to his Majestie's interest, government, and service on severall occasions to him presentinge."¹ The names subscribed to this testimonial are:—

"Henry Creswicke, Mayor; Richard Gregson, Sheriff; Rob. Poyntz; Nather, late Lieut.-Coll.; Wm. Colston, Dep.-Lieut.; Ric. March, John Locke, Aldermen; Alex. James; Walter Sandy, Alderman."

The father of the subject of our memoir here reappears. Also Alexander James, Mayor in 1644. For some years we have had no sign of their existence. Suffering from fines, imprisonments, sequestrations, and the insults and indignities heaped upon them by the partisans of the Commonwealth, they had refrained from taking any active part in the affairs of the City; till such time as they could follow unfettered, the dictates of their conscience, judgment, and experience. Walter Sandy and John Locke, whose names we unexpectedly find enrolled amongst this little band of honourable and devoted loyalists, were composed of more ductile materials. The former, had filled the office of Sheriff, under the government of the Parliament, in 1646; and in 1658, during the Commonwealth, he had accepted the supreme dignity of the City. Two years later, the pressure of the times worked a wonderful revolution in his political opinions; and he attaches his signature to a certificate, laudatory of those very principles, which the high offices he had previously held, must have directly led him to oppose. We have no intimate acquaintance with this time-serving Alderman; the little we have, does not exalt his character for consistency. He, without doubt, possessed a shrewd discernment of the rise and fall of governments, and did not desert the cause he had supported, till the moment it was universally believed to be desperate.

During the Interregnum, shrinking beneath the grim and solemn gloom of

¹ See Seyer II., 507.

Puritan dominion, the popular sports and pastimes had contracted within a very narrow circle,—saturnine professors had enacted laws, which their humble imitators executed. The fortunate sectarians were enabled to give free scope to their prejudices; whether founded in Christian charity, or in a less noble feeling. They adjudicated against bear baiting, and cock-fighting,—not so much on account of its cruelty to the animals, but because it yielded entertainment to the beholders.¹ There were other amusements comparatively inoffensive,—some indeed innocent and harmless, which they regarded with no friendly eye. Horse-racing, rope-dancing, bowls, maypoles, and even puppet, and “motion shows” fell under the ban of their displeasure. We have but one instance of a show of any kind during their dreary reign.

1655. A model of Audley End House, in Essex, was exhibited in this City, by Patrick Anderson, under a licence of the Right Honourable Lieut.-General Lambert. Audley End House, was at the time of the Revolution, the largest Royal Palace in the kingdom. The expense of building it amounted to £90,000. The mere model in wood here exhibited, is said to have cost £500.² We have other attractions at the Restoration.—The people sought amusements any how, any where, and in any thing. In folly or vice the gilded time of the parasites glided by,—and the enervating pursuit of pleasure pervaded all the land. From a puppet-show to the grimaces of a clown,—from the oddities of Punch to the pathetic adventures of Patient Grizzle,—from rope dancing and juggling, to the dignity of plays and dramas; all was acceptable.³ Our records give an instance or two of the form of licence granted to travelling shows—which will suffice as exemplifications:—

¹ “The Puritan hated bear baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. Indeed he generally contrived to enjoy the double pleasure of tormenting both spectators and bear.”—MACAULAY'S *History*, I., 61.

² “Audley House, in the county of Essex, about a mile south of Saffron Walden, or as it is more frequently called, Audley End, was built by Thomas Lord Audley, of Walden, who was created Earl of Suffolk by James the first, to whom he was Treasurer. The Earl designed it as a palace for his Majesty, and when it was finished presented it to him; when the King saw its vast extent and magnificence, he said ‘that it would suit very well a Lord Treasurer, but was too much for a King.’ It remained in the possession of the Earls of Suffolk during that and the succeeding reign. It consisted of two courts, one of which and part of the other, including a gallery 226 feet long, 32 wide, and 24 high, were taken down, by Henry Earl of Suffolk, about the end of the 17th century.”—*A New Display of the Beauties of England*, 1776.

³ Pictorial History of England.

"To all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the peace, Bailiffs, Constables, Head-boroughs, and all other his Majesty's officers, true Liege-men, loving subjects, and to every of them greeting. Know ye that whereas William Coldfex hath desired licence of me to make show of a motion-show, called St. George. These are by virtue of a grant made unto me under the great seal of England to authorise and licence you, the said William Coldfex, to make show of the said motion-show, called St. George, with four servants, which are of the company, and to call the said show with Music, Drum, or Trumpet, which he or they shall think fitting, *** provided they do not act anything offensive against the laws of God or of the land, and make show at lawful times, with exception of the Lord's day, or on any other day in the time of Divine service, or on any other day prohibited by Proclamation or other lawful authority, and the licence to continue for one whole year from the day of the date hereof, and to serve throughout the realm of England. Given at his Majesty's office of the Revills, under my hand and the seal of the said office, 15th June, in the twelfth year of the reign of our most Gracious Sovereign Lord Charles by the Grace of God, &c., &c. Anno Domini, 1660."

Not to tire the reader we omit the preamble.

"To all Maiors, &c., &c.—Know yee that whereas, M^r Rich^d. Lancashier hath desired authoritie from his Maj^{ties} office of the Revills to make show of dancing on y^e Ropes with Agillity of body. These are therefore by vertue of a grant made unto me under the great seale of England, to authorize and licence the s^d M^r. Lancashier, to make show of dancing on a low Rope, Vaulting on a high Rope, with Agillity of body on y^e ground wth Musick, and eight servants, requiring you the s^d Maior, &c., &c., to permitt the persons hereby licenced to passe quietly wthout any of yo^r letts or molestations, and to be ayding and assisting unto them, and every of them, if any wrong or injury be offered them, you affording them some convenient place to make show in, and to continue in any place sixty dayes, and what company so ever, Stage Players, Musicians, Mountebankes, or such as goe wth Blanke bookes, Motions, and Strang sights,—shall repaire to any of y^{re} Citties, Universities, Towns, Corporate Hamlets, or Villages, haveing an authority directed immediately from me, or confirmed by me, under my hande the present seale of the s^d office whereon is Ingraven the Sheafe of Arrowes.*** This licence Given att his Maj^{ties} office of the Revills under my hande and y^e seale of the s^d office this first day of May, 1667.

HENRY HERBERT."

The real and earnest of the Puritans, unmoved at the ridicule they now received—steadfast to their creed, though it was no longer the path to honour and distinction—still regarded with a grim displeasure, all amusements, unless

of a grave character ; such as the exhibition of a model,—or a doctrinal discussion on “ election and probation.” Plays, players, and mountebanks they especially abominated,—and even carried their prejudice so far, as to engage in the wilful destruction of temporary stages or theatres.—They assembled in secret and darkness to do their work. An example, condensed and direct, we print here. 1669, February 24th :—

Upon information on oath of one Tamberlaine Harvey, of London, Chirurgion,—against several apprentices and servants who had tumultuously assembled and committed some outrages the night before. On the examination of Henry Dyer, with many others, of whom we know nothing,—deposed that “ last night there came to him [Tamberlaine Harvey] at his lodgings on the Back, a person unknown, who told him that there were several persons in the Back Lanes consulting together, but what they particularly talked about he could not tell,” but he understood this much, “ that they intend to take down the stage whereupon Dr. Ponteus and his servants did use to be, and would throw it over the Back, threatening that all those who should oppose them they would serve likewise.” About ten o’clock at night as Harvey was standing at his door he observed seven persons come out of the Marsh with clubs in their hands, and approach towards the stage ; after reconnoitering, they send two out as scouts, and conceiving all was safe for attack, they commenced ripping up the stage, carrying off certain portions of it ; during the progress of destruction, Harvey desired them to desist,—when they all made towards him,—but he escaped within his lodgings, and as they could not reach him with their clubs, they threatened to pelt him with stones. Others now joined them,—the tumult increased,—and by the time the watch arrived, the said Harvey was in considerable danger of his life. The mob was then dispersed, several of the offenders escaped, others were apprehended. Harvey pleaded with them, [the mob] that he had a right to the stage, as he had the approbation of the Mayor, as well as a license from his Majesty, to which some of them replied that they did “ *not care either for the King or the Mayor.*” Those taken were committed to Newgate ; and warrants were issued for the other offenders.

A curious feature of the domestic condition of our ancestors, glimmers through the haze of nearly two centuries.—Like the Metropolis, the nocturnal darkness of the streets was a serious inconvenience to the honest citizen. We can imagine him groping through the dark profound, falling into yawning gutters,—or stumbling over heaps of animal, and vegetable filth,—accumulated in the unpaved districts. Thankful for the friendly aid emitted from the

lights that "few and far between," hang at the residences of the opulent, and guide him to a knowledge of his locality. The streets were otherwise perfect pits of darkness; except when relieved by casual gleams from the houses,—or by the passing lantern of the humble burgher,—or occasionally reddened by the flaming torches, that attended the progress of citizens of distinction. As yet, no compulsory measures had been adopted to remedy the inconvenience; but prior to the Restoration, the subject had obtained some consideration. Wherefore, and to what end our extract will explain:—

Michaelmas, 1655. "It having been formerly presented to this Court by former Grand Juries, y^e severall mischiefs and inconveniences that have happened by y^e darkness of severall parties of this Cittie in y^e winter evenings, for want of lanterns and candles being hung forth att y^e Inhabitants doors; this Court taking the same into consideration have thought fitt to recommend the same to the Maior, Aldermen, and Common Councill, not doubting but they will give a suitable redresse thereunto."

The Magistrates accordingly, took the subject into their consideration, and did nothing more at that time. The "mischiefs and inconveniences" still continued,—and so did the Magistrates, we suppose, continue to sit and deliberate on the best manner to remedy the grievance. They came to a decision in little more than five years what plan to adopt. On the page of the official record appears the following order:—

"CIVITAS BRISTOL.

"You are hereby required to give notice, to all and every the persons whose names are under written,¹ that they and every of them do hang out a lantern and candle lighted at their respective doors during this winter season, from six till nine of the o'clock every night upon pain of forfeiting for every default 3s. 4d., of

¹ Redcliff	34 persons.		
St. Ewen	12 "	Castle	17 persons.
St. Maryport	23 "	St. Leonard	12 "
St. Augustine	27 "	St. John	40 "
St. Thomas	52 "	St. Nicholas	51 "
Temple	38 "	Christ Church	31 "
St. Peter	47 "	St. Stephen	43 "
St. Werburgh	13 "	All Saints	23 "
St. Philip	25 "	St. Michael	13 "
St. James	25 "		

"which defaults you are every night to take notice and give an account thereof at the Tolzey the next morning.

"Hereof see you fail not. Dated 22nd December, 1660.

"To ROGER SMALL, THOS. KEENE, RD. HOPKINS, Marshalls."¹

From the foregoing list we learn that St. Nicholas, Thomas, and Peter, were the largest parishes, and St. Leonards, Ewens, and Werburgh the smallest, and that five hundred and twenty-six twinkling candles, was made sufficient for the light of the City. As the list also affords us the means of ascertaining in what parishes our wealthy and leading citizens dwelt nearly two centuries ago,—we will so far avail ourselves of its contents, as to indicate the locality of the parties, who occupy, or may hereafter occupy, a place in our annals. The names of many old and honourable families, whose members at this period were filling stations of trust and influence, have disappeared,—and are heard of no more. It will be seen in St. Werburgh's, St. Leonard's and St. Ewen's parishes, which we transcribe without omission, the great bulk of the magnates of the City resided.²

The list from which we have made our selection is supposed to comprise all the respectable inhabitants of the City. It was not considered necessary [it will be observed] that the public should be accommodated with light after nine o'clock. At that hour, all sober citizens were supposed to retire, leaving the deserted streets in the possession of their nightly guardians.³ In the interval after sunset till six o'clock, as dark in mid-winter as in the succeeding hours, the lighting of the streets is not considered. Probably some passing rays from the shops would gladden the neighbourhood, and render unnecessary the grand illumination, till most of the business of the day was over, and all adventitious aid withdrawn. The contrast from the glowworm lights to the brilliant gas of modern days will suggest itself to all—"Such are the changes fleeting time procureth."

¹ In this instance Bristol appears in advance of the Metropolis. Till the last year of the reign of Charles most of the streets in London were left in profound darkness. They were then brilliantly illuminated by an ingenious projector named Edward Heming, who obtained letters patent conveying to him for a term of years, the exclusive right of lighting up London. He undertook for a moderate consideration, to place a light before every tenth door on moonless nights, from Michaelmas to Lady-day, from six to twelve of the clock."—MACAULAY'S *History*, I. 362.

² Appendix A.

³ We have seen how the City was lighted—we will devote a line to tell the manner in which it was watched at this time. "Every citizen to attend the nightly watch, or provide a substitute," which failing to perform, he was fined sixpence in summer, and eightpence in winter, for each neglect.

At Christmas, the people returned to the mistletoe and hollies,—their mince pies and plum puddings. The repressed feelings of years, burst forth in a wild demoralizing carnival. Relieved from the restrictions of the past, they carried their excesses to a feverish and painful extent,—and the healthy vigour of this festival, gave place to a fierce excitement, that had no companionship with the warm-hearted hospitalities, and kindling humanities of old.—Much of the expanded heart—the extended love,—the awakened charity—had been subdued through long disuse; and never again in their original plenitude, simplicity, and beauty,—were they destined to be regenerated.—Vice and luxurious dissipation were infectious. The nation had rushed from the severe grimness of fanaticism, to the opposite extreme,—and given itself up to ignoble and degrading sensuality, immorality, and licentiousness!

There were many in the Chamber, still strongly imbued with the old leaven of Puritanism; who were not alert to obey the pleasure of his Majesty, as expressed in his letter of the 24th September last. Nothing was done. The House resorted to no measures to restore the discarded members, or to dismiss the disaffected, and to occupy their places with supporters of the throne. In this inert state it appears to have remained, till the following March; when, on the 12th inst., it was awoke from its placid somnolency to a state of alacrity,—by the Recorder, John Stephens, Esq., communicating to the Mayor a letter, concerning the Quo Warranto, brought against the City. April 9th, the Quo Warranto, was read to the House; when an instrument under the City Seal was ordered to be prepared, and an attorney appointed to appear for the Corporation the day of the return. “It was [also] resolved, that an humble address be presented to the King, for delaying proceedings, and for renewing the Charter, that the same may be conferred under the Great Seal, and the Committee to consider what further grants it would be convenient to be petitioned for, that they might be added thereunto. That the Mayor [Henry Creswicke] do proceed to London to petition the King, taking the advice of the Recorder and Town Clerk of this City.” Two petitions struggled into form, to be admired as curious specimens of involved writing and elegance of diction. It was left to the discretion of the Mayor, which, according to his instructions should be presented.¹

¹ “*Instructions for the Mayor.*—To present either of the petitions to the King as he may be advised by the Recorder, Town Clerk, and the Burgesses in Parliament for the City, to leave out

“ TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“ The humble petition of your Majesty’s most loyal and obedient Subjects, the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty of your Majesty’s City of Bristol,

In all submission Sheweth,

“ That soon after your Majesty’s most happy return to your Royal palace at Whitehall, your Petitioners by their Recorder, and others by them deputed ; there humbly tendered the acknowledgement of their duties, with all the cheerfulness of heart they could express, which your Majesty was pleased to accept as the earnest of their loyalty. Since which, while they have been under consideration of making their humble address to your Majesty, for the confirmation of all the privileges and charters granted to this City by your Majesty’s Royal Progenitors, and for the continuance of your Royal protection in the enjoyment of them ; but, before the same could be made meet to be presented to your Majesty, there hath been delivered to the Sheriffs of this City, a process of Quo Warranto against your Petitioners, for the using of divers liberties, privileges, and franchises. And although your Petitioners are wholly ignorant of any such errors or defaults, yet the apprehension hereof hath caused a sad reflection with them, fearing least through some misinformation, they may be fallen under your Majesty’s displeasure ; and therefore, the sense of such a suffering, and of the reproach the consequence thereof, together with the frequent affronts on the Government itself, and those in power, by obstinate and irregular persons, hath constrained them for relief to fly to your sacred Majesty, as sanctuary, to succour upon this confidence, that they are able, with an humble boldness, to compare their loyalty with the zeal of any such informers.

“ They therefore humbly pray your Majesty would be graciously pleased, to give directions for the stay of any further proceedings in the said Quo Warranto, and to issue out your Royal warrant for the confirmation of the charters and privileges of this City, with these further additional grants of grace and favor hereunder written, and they shall ever pray.”

The second petition, from the power hereafter conferred on the loyal members of the Chamber, was, probably, the one presented and granted.—

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ Whilst the subjects of your kingdom in general in these latter years of distraction,

“ the clauses concerning the Society of Merchants, *to alter any expression into better phrase or style, retaining the true substance.* The Mayor to sign his name to either of the petitions as may be thought necessary. The particulars to be petitioned for, viz. : The Corporation to have power to fine any Burgess not exceeding £400, who shall be elected a Common Council Man, Sheriff, Alderman, or Mayor, who shall refuse to serve, and to swear he is not worth £1500, and the fines if not paid, the same to be distrained for. All fines and penalties of any bye-law to be levied by way of distress. That a market for horses be held once a week in the City.”

"were deprived of the happy influence of your royal authority, this City more than others have experienced the want thereof; and with sorrow, your Petitioners cannot but sadly represent before your Majesty, that the Government of this place, in the managem^t of the Mayor, Aldⁿ, and Common Council, hath been exceedingly divested of its ancient lustre and authority; through the refusal of able and sufficient persons, when elected to public places under your Majesty, through the obstinacy of bold and irregular persons, and their frequent confronting and reproaching of those in power. And the City itself much decayed in its flourishing and prosperous state, by their many late losses at sea, deadness of trade, interloping of artificers and others, by trading into foreign parts, not having been bound apprentices to the arts and mystery of a merch^t to the loss of your Majesty's customs, and discouragem^t of those which would be most able upon occasion to contribute to your Majesty's service, with many other invasions on their ancient liberties and franchises. Your Petitioners do therefore humbly pray, for the better redress of all the aforesaid grievances, your Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue out your royal warrant, for the confirmation of the ancient charters and privileges of the City in general, and of the charters to the Society of Merchant Adventurers in particular, with such further grants of grace and favour to be added unto both, as are hereinafter humbly presented and implored. And they shall ever pray."

There was no money in the Treasury,—and to meet the expense which the Mayor's visit to London on this business would necessarily occasion, the required sum was advanced by the Mayor, and two Aldermen, John Gonning, and Joseph Jackson; to whom a bond was given,—and also the Farm of Hampe, in the County of Somerset, was made over to them as security for the re-payment.¹

The Mayor was attended to London by his officers in new liveries had for the occasion.² The result of this visit can only be inferred. We may suppose it was satisfactory to the Mayor, who returned with the additional dignity of Knighthood. The honour of Knighthood was prodigally showered by Charles upon the members of the London Corporation, and the principal officers of the City Militia. This was done with the intent of keeping them in good humour, and loyally disposed. It was "an honour," says Clarendon, "the City had been

¹ Alderman Jackson was paid £2, for transmitting £300, to London for the Mayor, the bond cost 16s.

² Among other expenses we find in our Audits, there was "paid for cloth £4: 16s., lace, and trimming, two cloaks, when he [the Mayor] went to London on City business, £5: 18s: 6d., and making the same 12s."

without near eighteen years, and therefore abundantly welcome to their husbands and their wives." It must have been equally so, to the worthy Corporation of our City, who obtained a fair sprinkling from the shower.¹

The 29th May was set apart by act of Parliament, as a "Day of Thanksgiving, henceforth to be observed in honour of his Majesty's Birth, and Happy Restoration." The Mayor gave orders for "the ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and discharging of great guns. The provision of powder to be at the charge of the Chamber." The Chamber, though poor, could not omit the bells, the bonfires, or the great guns. Ancestral predilections in favour of this ancient signification of public joy, pleaded for them. The bells and bonfires, would not cost much. There was only the consideration of the powder; and this cost was lessened by the Chamber granting certain privileges to the master of a vessel, on condition that he proclaimed the Loyalty of the City, in a succession of heavy noises. Many inconveniences had happened to the river, by the coming up of ships out of Hungrood. There was a bye-law in force, to restrict vessels, above one hundred tons coming to the City, under a penalty of ten pounds.² To the existence of this law our extract refers.—19th April. "The Ship 'Robert,' of Bristol, is permitted to be brought to the Key, on consideration that the owner do expend the value of the fine he ought to pay, in discharge of guns on Tuesday next, being the King's Coronation day."

¹ The following members of the Corporation were thus distinguished during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother. Sir Henry Creswicke, Sir Robert Cann, Knight and Bart., Sir Robert Yeamans, Knight and Bart., Sir Richard Crumpe, Sir Richard Hart, Sir Thomas Earl, Sir William Clutterbuck, Sir William Hayman, Sir William Merrick, Sir Thomas Langton, Sir John Lloyd.

² "18th August, 1654. It is decreed that noe ship above the burden of one hundred tons, either laden or not, shall at any time hereafter be brought up to the Key or Back of Bristol, without special license in writing under the hands of the Mayor and two Aldermen. And if any Master of any ship, pilot, or other person, shall bring up any ship to the said Back or Key, contrary to this ordinance, those so offending shall pay the sum of ten pounds, to the use of the Mayor, &c."

"At a meeting of the Mayor and Aldermen, 12th June, 1661. Upon consideration of the many and great annoyances done to the river, by the coming up of ships and vessels, and lying betwixt Frome Bridge and Gibbtaylor, to the extraordinary prejudice of the Port of Hungrood, and coming in and going out of other ships or vessels to or from the Key; which, if not timely prevented, may tend to the utter spoiling of this Port and Harbour, and impoverishing this City and the inhabitants thereof. It is therefore ordered, according to an Act of Common Council, made 15th November, 1629, in the Mayoralty of Humphrey Hooke, Esq., in the fifth of Charles First, that the Water Bayliffe, and Key Keeper, or either of them, do forthwith give warning to the owner or owners,

From glimpses dim and obscure, we are enabled to imagine something of the condition of the river; up which, vessels beyond one hundred tons burthen were not permitted. In 1672 the House was informed, "that a bark, by the name of 'William and Thomas,' belonging to foreigners, had for several yeares lay sunke behind Sir Humphrey Hooke's house, and over against Cannons' Marsh, full of holes, and almost decayed; had created thereby a great bank of mud, which was likely to choke up the river, to the hinderance of passing upp and downe of shipps and vessells, to the great prejudice of the City, if the nuisance be not speedily removed." The House considered of the information, as it had done on every prior occasion, when its attention was called to the subject. The difficulty was, how the expense of removal was to be defrayed, and the meeting ended in the formation of a Committee to consider the best method how to rid themselves of the nuisance. In a subsequent Sessions, the subject is brought before the Grand Jury; when, no owners of the ship being found, "nor any person whatsoever that claims the same," they

Ordered the ship "soe sunke," to be ripped up, or otherwise, for the preserving of the river, and the mud and dirt to be removed, and "the Water Bayliffe, the Sword Bearer, and the Key Keeper, or any of them, to take speedy and effectual care for putting the same in execution; and according to the law of this Court, they shall be held sacred, harmless, and indemnified."¹

master or masters,—of all ships or vessels about three score tons, that within fourteen days after such notice, all the said ships be removed from the respective places where they now lie, and fall down to Hungrode, on pain to forfeit twenty pounds, for each ship or vessel that shall not be removed accordingly.

"HENRY CRESWICKE, Mayor.

MYLES JACKSON, JOHN LOCKE,

ARTHUR FARMER,

WALTER SANDY, GEO. WHITE.

"To the Water Bayliffe, Key Keeper, or either of them."

"15th September, 1666. Whereas the coming of ships to the Key, proves very prejudicial to the Harbour; and may be dangerous in respect of fire, it is ordered that the like engagement as hath been formerly upon the coming up of ships, shall be hereafter given for their falling down within twenty days after."

¹ Another entry touching the interests of the citizens, as connected with the Port, is before us, which it is difficult to render interesting, and which we do not like altogether to omit.—"Whereas we are informed, that the Sheriffs of the Citie of Bristol have lately demanded from some Burgesses of the Towne trading hence by sea to the Citie, a certain summe of money, for and in lieu of Keelage of such vessells at this place, as lie at the Back or Key of Bristoll aforesaid, whereof wee have beene ever free, paying only four pence for moorage of each vessel there. Theis are to certify,

The members of the Common Council, though mostly favourable to the principles of the Commonwealth, had remained till this time undisturbed. They would seem to have been schooling themselves,—and endeavouring to accommodate their consciences, to carry out the intentions of the restored Government. As yet but little progress had been made in obedience to the commands of his Majesty. The reformation of the Chamber can scarcely be said to have commenced. August 23rd it held a meeting, and advanced a step. Alderman James, Alderman Sherman, Mr. Wm. Fitzherbert, and Mr. Wm. Colston, were unanimously desired to take their places in the House, “as members thereof, as formerly they were.” At the same time were chosen, John Knight, Jun., John Bradway, John Hix, and Wm. Stephens.

Greater changes were at hand. The Corporation Act,¹ for excluding disaffected persons from municipal offices, had passed. Unlimited power had been given to Commissioners for turning out all members averse to high monarchical principles. The act petitioned for by the Corporation, that penalties might be inflicted on burgesses refusing to serve,—a part of Creswicke’s mission to London,—was obtained. Nathaniel Cale, a Soap Boiler,—who received the civic sceptre from Creswicke, prided himself upon carrying it into effectual execution. A manuscript calendar, dated 1662, says, “Mr. Nathaniel Cale, Mayor, new modelled the Common Council, turning out all that he supposed to be any ways disaffected to the King, and which did adhere to the Rump Parliament.”²

It is a morning of the 10th October. The “Quarter Boys” at Christ Church have not yet warned the hour of nine. Mr. Cale, expanding with official intelligence, pompously enters the Tolzey. A rather important personage at this moment is the newly elected Mayor. He is in correspondence with the

all persons whom it shall or may concerne, that time out of mind, there hath beene paid, and still is paid out of this Borough, unto our Sovereigne Lord the King a considerable yearly rent, for and in lieu of our freedome, granted us by Charter. In witness whereof wee have hereunto sett our hands and the Common Seale of this Burrough, this 23rd of Oct., Anno 20th Charles 2nd, 1668.”

¹ “*Corporation Act*, passed A.D. 1661, which required all persons holding office in any Corporation, to take the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, according to the rites of the Established Church, to subscribe the declaration abjuring the solemn league and covenant, and the lawfulness of taking up arms, upon any pretence whatever, against the King. This act prevented Dissenters from serving their country in the lowest offices of trust.”

² Seyer.

Government. His situation entails great responsibilities, and he knows it. He has a great duty to perform. With a grave and dignified demeanour he hands over a letter sealed with the Royal Arms to the Town Clerk, who opens it and reads:—

“CHARLES R.

“Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas several of our good subjects were removed from the Magistracy, and other places of trust in that our City, during the late distractions, for their known affections to us, and to the ancient established laws of this nation, and persons of contrary principles settled in their room. Our will and pleasure is, that having first displaced all such Burgesses, Common Council Men, and other Officers, as have been so unduly brought in, and all others who have been notoriously disaffected to our Government. You will cause to be restored such Aldermen, Burgesses, Common Council Men, and other Officers as were during the late ill times put out. And that they with such persons of integrity, as yet remain may be empowered to fill up their numbers by a free and legal election; that so the good people of that our Corporation may with all freedom enjoy the benefit of their Charter and ancient customs. Your compliance herein will be of no less advantage to that our City, than of satisfaction to us, and will give us cause to be mindful of you on any occasion whereby we may assure you of our favor. And so we bid you farewell.

“Given at our Court, at Whitehall, October 4, 1661, on the 13th of our Reign,

By His Majesty's command,

“EDWARD NICHOLAS.

“To our trusty and well beloved, the Mayor of our City of Bristol.”

Cale distinguished himself by acting up to the intent and spirit of this letter. The 30th October, at a meeting of the Corporation, the following members were chosen, and ordered to attend the ensuing evening to be sworn.¹ They did so, were sworn, and took their seats in the House, excepting the five last named.

August 5th, 1662, the following members of the Council were requested to take their places as formerly, pursuant to his Majesty's orders:—Mr. Robert Yeamans, Alexander Jackson, Thomas Moore, Michael Pittman, Richard Hart, John Knight, Jun.

¹ “John Knight, Sen., Robert Cann, John Pope, Christopher Griffiths, Robert Vickris, John Willoughby, Henry Appleton, Edward Morgan, Thomas Langton, Edward Bovey, William Crabb, John Lawford, Henry Rich, William Yeamans, John Bowen, Andrew Hook.”

Hart and Knight were no friends to his Majesty, and were little disposed to obey his mandate. They refused to resume their places. Then, the House impregnated with an arbitrary spirit,—the legacy of the Puritans; and having perhaps in view the low state of their finances; rose in the strength of its recovered power, and inflicted upon them a heavy penalty.—Upon Hart, £300, Knight, £400—and in case of their objecting to pay, an action was to be brought against them, and their names returned to the Privy Council.

At the same meeting, Thomas Day, and Edward Young, were each fined £200, for not becoming members. They preferred, however, accepting office to paying the fine, and on the 13th of August, were accordingly sworn. The 3rd of September, Michael Pittman, who appears to have taken nearly a month to consider what he should do, refused to accept office, and was fined £200, which he paid. A similar penalty was also exacted from Gerrard Lane.

Again we have evidence of the existence of the strong party feeling that influenced the members of the Reformed Chamber. August 8th, 1663, warrants of imprisonment were ordered to be issued against the following¹ formerly chosen members, who now refuse to serve. Amongst them will be found the names of Knight and Pittman, on whom it has been seen penalties were recently inflicted, which they could not have satisfactorily discharged, or they would have purchased exemption from other proceedings.

Aldworth, the Town Clerk, signed a Warrant for sending Michael Pittman to Newgate. This was communicated to the refractory member, who hereupon addressed the House, praying for dismissal, which was conditionally granted on his payment of another fine of £100.

But an event of some importance now claimed the attention of the Corporation, and called them from the inflictions of fines—the issuing of warrants,—and other favourite legalized means for convincing, and punishing obstinate, and prejudiced citizens. It had been rumoured abroad that his Majesty and the Queen were coming to Bath.—It had been whispered in the Council Chamber.—Reported in the Tolzey—and conversed of in the streets.—Their Majesties arrive.—From Bath they would probably come to Bristol. The

¹ John Knight, Jun., Shershaw Cary, Thomas Moore, Alexander Jackson, William Willet, Robert Hurle, Joseph Yeamans, Richard Stubs, Michael Pittman, Nicholas Tilley, Thomas Cale, Thomas Goldsmith.

prospect of the royal visit created great excitement, and feverish expectation in the minds of the loyal portion of the inhabitants. Especially increased when they ascertained that the probability, was approaching to a certainty. The Corporation had decided to send their Majesties an invitation. But experience had taught that royal visits, were invariably attended with royal expenses. The City treasury was empty.—Gold or silver, there was none. In this pecuniary emergency the Corporation bethought them, that they would appeal to the good faith and loyalty of the citizens, for the means of supporting the renowned hospitality of the City. The people's former attachment to a settled constitution was beginning to revive. The appeal was amply responded to by all parties, of whatever shade of opinion. A natural result considering it involved no personal sacrifice. The first official notice of the intention of the Chamber is 24th August, when it was agreed that "An invitation be sent to their Majesties on their arrival at Bath, to visit the City," and the following "members of the House have *voluntary* subscribed to lend the particular sumes of money written at their names, on the credit of the City, Seale towards the entertainment of their Maj^{ties} to bee paid them the first of March, wth interest."¹ To the annexed list may be added Thos.

¹ "At a general sealeing, Saturday the 29th of August, 1663, ann^o: 15^o. Car. 2^d—"R^e in St. George's Chappel.

Theis severall seales following were then past, for moneys lent by the persons underwritten, in order to the reception and entertainm^t of their Maj^{ties} payable with interest, the first of March following—

A Seale		A Seale	
To Wm. Cann, sonne of Sir Robt.		To Thos. Langton.....for	£50
Cann, in trust for Sir Robt.	£180	Thos. Stephens	30
John Locke	for 25	Jno. Hicke	30
Richd. Balman	50	Jno. Bradway.....	30
Henry Creswicke	60	Jno. Knight, son of Aldn. Jno.	
Nathl. Cale.....	25	Knight	100
Henry Gough	30	John Pope	25
Jno. Lloyd.....	30	Jno. Lawford.....	60
Ralph Ollive	30	Jno. Wright	30
Humphrey Little	25	Robt. Yeamans	60
Chas. Powell	30	Chrstr. Griffith	30
Edward Langley	30	Jno. Willoughby	40
Walter Sandy	25	Edwd. Morgan	30

Speed and George Bishop, two highly respected members of the Society of Friends; who, notwithstanding the very severe persecutions which they as a body had experienced,—and while great numbers of their brethren were still languishing in prison,—presented in the name of the society a loan of £100, for the purpose of augmenting the fund, “that their Majesties might be entertained in a style and manner becoming their dignity, and the proverbial hospitality of the City in its most palmy days.”

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs “to take care in all respects for their [Majesties] honourable reception and entertainment here, and to give directions in all things they judge fit,” also “the Mayor and Aldermen to treat with the inhabitants for their voluntary subscriptions and gifts,—Alderman John Knight, Alderman John Pope, and John Lawford, to be Treasurers.” “The Mayor and Aldermen to provide such quantity of *wine and sugar* as they shall think fit, to be sent to Bath, and there presented to his Majesty.

“Considering the expense that it would cost in entertaining their Majesties, the House agreed to waive the giving of any sum of money which at a former meeting they had subscribed to give, and do resolve that the sums which they formerly subscribed, shall be added to the sums they have this day agreed to lend.

“No monies to be paid to any one person that shall lend on the City Seal before another, and that an equal distribution shall be made amongst all, and that every one who lends, shall be paid in proportion to what he advances.

“And that the charges and fees which shall be bestowed or paid for any extraordinary entertainment of the Lords, Ladies, or any of their Majesties’ servants or followers, or to any of their officer or officers, during their Majesties abode in Bristol or Bath, shall be defrayed out of the monies now advanced on the credit of the City Seal.”

A Seale		A Seale	
To Wm. Crabb	for £30	Nicholas Tilly.....	for £30
Rd. Streamer	„ 30	Wm. Hasell.....	„ 30
Rd. Crumpe	„ 30	Wm. Gibbons	„ 30
Saml. Tippet	„ 25	Jos. Yeamans	„ 30
Edwd. Hurne	„ 30	Abm. Berkin	„ 30
Thos. Day	„ 30	Jno. Cicell	„ 30
Edwd. Young	„ 30	Thos. Prigg.....	„ 20
Gerrard Lane	„ 30	Thos. Tovey	„ 30
Thos. Godman	„ 30		

* This was not performed. “29th Sept. 1664. Whereas the members of this House did lend and advance several sums of money upon the City Seal, towards the entertainment of their Majesties the last year; it is ordered that until the principal sums be paid upon each Seale, the interest thereof shall be paid by the Chamberlain, after the rate of £5 per cent.”

From a perusal of the above extracts, we are led to infer that the Chamber was confident their Majesties *would* visit the City; for it must be remembered that the arrangements herein set forth, actually transpired before the invitation had been proffered to their Majesties. But no farther time was lost, in presenting the civility with all due ceremonial—it was most graciously accepted, and the day appointed for the royal visit. The pecuniary difficulties removed, we may suppose, for we are not admitted behind the scenes, the bustle and hurry of preparation to have commenced. Such a choosing of committees,—such an ordering of provisions,—such a tasting of wines,—such a polishing of plate, and burnishing of pewter,—such a collecting of tables and chairs,—such a turmoil, press, and drive to get ready for the auspicious day, that the quiet walls of the ancient City had not witnessed for many a long year. Seyer transcribes the visit from a manuscript calendar.—Though wordy, it is a little bit of visible history, and quaintly told:—

“Saturday, September 5th, 1663. King Charles II. with his Queen Katherine, came from Bath to Bristol, and with them came James Duke of York, and his Duchess; the Duke of Monmouth, Prince Rupert, and a greate traine of nobility. They came in by way of Lawford’s Gate, where the Maior, Sir Robert Cann, and the Aldermen riding in their scarlet robes, and all the Council of the City, and all their companies in their order attended; and when the Maior kneeling down to reverence his Majesty, had delivered the sword and ensignes of his authority to the King, and received them again; Sir Robert Atkins, the Recorder, made an oration; which ended, the Maior rode in before the King bare-headed, carrying the sword, the trained soldiers guarding the way,—and in that order they conducted the King and all his traine to the house of Sir Richard Rogers; commonly called the Great House at the Bridge-end, where they were splendidly entertained at a dinner. After dinner the King made four knights, viz:—Mr. John Knight, of Temple Street, then a Burgess of Parliament for Bristol, and shortly after sworn Maior; Mr. Henry Creswicke; Mr. William Cann, son of Sir Robert Cann the Maior, and Mr. Robert Atkins the Recorder’s son. And the next week following, Mr. Robert Yeamans, then Sheriff, attending his Majesty at Bath, did likewise receive the honour of knighthood. When his Majestie came to Bristoll, all the streets from Lawford’s Gate to the Bridge, as the Old Markett, through the Castle into Wine Street, and the Bridge were all sanded; and about 150 pieces of ordnance in the Marsh gave three vollies,—one when his Majestie came to the Bridge-end, another when he had dined, and the third at his departure. After dinner the King rode in his coach with his Queen to Bath again. His Majesty and the Queene (to use the bath) lay at Bath about a month, and then by the way of Oxford returned to London.”

There is no mention that Charles re-visited the house, where he had passed so many months of his youth,—whose roof had been his shelter and his refuge, in those troublous times when he had no abiding place nor home—and which he had left, to be pursued and hunted, till he found in another land that asylum which was denied him here. After the sentiments expressed in his letter, we should have thought there would have remained some lingering associations,—some early memories, that would have induced him to bend his steps towards that portion of the City where he had sojourned, when his prospect of a throne was dim and uncertain, and an empire seemed fading from his view. But Charles was not of meditative mind,—neither his own providential escapes, nor the tragical termination of his father's life, had left any impression, calculated to check or sadden the thoughtless gaiety, with which he dissipated the passing hours.

At the preliminary meeting,—the Corporation, in sober thought, discuss the important cost of the regal entertainment, and decide no present shall be given. They did not however, act in accordance with this prudent decision. They became evidently excited, and reckless of expense, when a Monarch and his Court were to be their guests; and the cold dictates of prudential economy, melted before the presence of Royalty. Forgetting in their momentary enthusiasm and exultation of feeling, the debts of the Chamber,—its responsibilities—its heavy obligations—and its empty coffers,—they purchase with the borrowed money, a seven-and-six-penny purse, and one hundred gold pieces, at a cost of twenty-two shillings each, which they present to her Majesty the Queen, “who was graciously pleased to accept the same.” There are other incidental expenses that were indispensable. Francis Brown, Esq., one of her Majesty's Servants, for fees due to them, received £36:6. “Sir Robert Cann, on his going to Bath was paid £160.” We should like to have been favoured with the separate items of this gentleman's little bill, that we might see in what particulars, the journey was rendered so costly. Altogether, brief as was the visit of Charles and his train, it cost the City £1273:12:1, leaving a balance over and above the subscription money, of £276:7:11.

Splendid were the rejoicings that took place. We wish we could tell of the good things that were provided for the feast—and entrusted to the careful superintendence of the “eight cooks,” whose services were engaged for the occasion. We are informed only, that there was “*bacon, sturgeons, and*

artichokes," for which Sir John Knight, the Mayor, whom we suppose was a provision merchant, was paid £16:5:8, as though bacon, sturgeons, and artichokes, were delicacies holding so paramount a place in the royal repast, that the allusion to any others were superfluous. From Ralph Oliffe, the Vintner, having been paid £120, for the wine, it is a fair assumption that the goblet circulated with considerable freedom—and that the pleasures of the table were prolonged after the merry Monarch, and his dissolute Court had departed.¹ We may imagine the City had put on its best. We may imagine coloured cloths gay and bright, hanging from the balconies and windows; flags from the towers and steeples; and garlands and streamers suspended across the streets. We may imagine a scene of wild uproarious revelry,—the eating and drinking, the dancing and singing, the music playing, the bells ringing, and the people capering and shouting,—with all the rude noises of an intoxicated mob, echoing through the narrow overhanging streets, that had long been strangers to the unbridled license of popular demonstration. This prodigal display of loyalty, made by the good citizens, could not have been without its effect upon the careless Monarch; it would be remembered by him when he should be driven hard for the means to supply his unbounded extravagance. We do not hear that there was any solid foundation for all these rejoicings. We do not hear that Charles graced his visit, by exercising his royal attribute of mercy,—in releasing the innocent Nonconformists, wasting and perishing in his gaol. We do not hear that for any boon conferred, or favour granted, the citizens had cause to be grateful,—and to make the day as red lettered in their calendar. Oh, King! whom neither misfortune nor prosperity could instruct! There were innocent persecuted men, languishing within the prison walls your gorgeous train had passed. Why, Oh, King! was the brightest jewel in your crown unseen, your most blessed prerogative unused?

The following year Charles granted a confirmation of the Charters of his father, by which the site of the Castle, together with the houses and gardens within the Castle Precincts, were separated from the County of Gloucester, and were made part of the City and County of Bristol. To present a visible

¹ A few years later, Evelyn says, "Leaving Euston I lodged at Newmarket, where I found the jolly blades, racing, dancing, feasting, and revelling. More resembling a luxurious and abandoned rout, than a Christian Court." Mem. I. 446.

token of their gratitude, the Citizens caused a statue of their Royal benefactor to be made, and placed in a conspicuous situation. This was done in 1666.—We learn from our Audits, that October 8th, there was “paid John Harvey, stone-cutter, by order of the Mayor and Aldermen, for putting up the King’s effigy at the Tolzey, £1, and for work upon it £2 : 5. To Robert Wilkinson, plumber, for work about the said effigy, 18s.”

From the amount expended, we cannot suppose the “effigy” as a favourable specimen of the art at this period. Nell Gwyn, whose attention was directed to this same figure in 1674, as a compliment to her Royal lover,—does not appear to have been particularly captivated by any fidelity of resemblance; nor to have flattered the taste of the Corporation, to whom she said, “it looked more like a great clumsy porter, placed there to keep the entrance.” At her persuasion it was removed to a less prominent situation.¹

Further encouragement was given to the fine arts. Further respect outwardly manifested for the King. The Chamber ordered his portrait. Nov. 30th, 1667, there was “paid Wm. Starre, Arms Painter, by order of the Mayor and Aldermen, for his Majesty’s picture, put up in the Council House, four pounds ten.” This choice specimen of, in all probability, native talent, is still to be seen adorning the walls of the Council Chamber. As the amateur, therefore, can by inspection satisfy himself of its artistic beauties, observations of ours would be superfluous. More than ten years later, we see a remuneration of *eight pounds*, awarded to one John Bevill, painter, “for gilding the King’s picture,”—almost double its original cost.

Not many days after the royal visit, came the annual election of Mayor, which fell on John Pope; but he refusing to serve, Sir John Knight was chosen. The Corporation, we may suppose, did not let Pope escape. They put in execution their recently obtained power. They inflicted upon him the heaviest penalty the nature of the misdemeanour would allow. Sept. 29th, for not accepting the “office of Mayor, he was to be fined £1000,—to be dismissed from the Council,—and *to be reputed in all respects as a foreigner.*” Had the last clause been carried into effect, it must have resulted in the ruin of Pope, as far as his commercial dealings with our City were concerned. This will be evident, if we take into consideration, that the limited views of our ancestors, rendered their treatment of foreigners particularly severe. Some

¹ Evans.

instances will presently occur. They were not only excluded from all the privileges of a citizen, but also subject to the most arbitrary restrictions. By the tradesman and mechanic they were regarded with a narrow-minded jealousy;—a feeling in which the authorities participated. To be “reputed as a foreigner,” therefore, almost amounted to absolute banishment; and we cannot wonder that Pope, petitioned the Chamber to mitigate the rigour of his sentence. October 13th, his petition was referred to several members, who were “to report to the House.” November 3rd, they did so, and the House agreed to abate £900, of the £1000; and in answer to the prayer of his petition, he was to be made free, as the gift of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. There is something trifling in all this. The Chamber would seem to have aimed at striking terror into the breast of the unfortunate member,—that on his submission, it may overcome him with its lenity, and call from him endless expressions of grateful thanks.

Much disquietude and heart burnings now exist among the Corporate body. The newly-dubbed Knights are very tenacious of their preferment. They had passed through overshadowed days, when evils real and palpable had occupied their serious thoughts. These had departed,—and like the shadows on the sundial, had left no permanent record. Now, that peace, the advent of prosperity, had entered within their gates; punctilious, inflated,—they raised imaginary evils,—and created amongst themselves a source of irritating annoyance. Wealthy, powerful, and arrogant,—they considered there were privileges attached to their titled names; to which even the graceful and venerated claims of the untitled municipality must succumb. Their imaginary importance was kept continually under arms. Strife and enmity were fomented,—because one titled gentleman, wished to take precedence of another titled gentleman,—and both, of the untitled members of the Corporation. The dispute reached its ultimatum. Absurdity and folly could attain no higher pitch. The question could not be settled without application to legal authority. The case was placed in the hands of Sir Robert Atkins, and Sir John Frederick. The lofty and vaporous character of the chief performers in this drama of etiquette, may be fancied from the correspondence.—

“London, October 6th, 1663.

“As to the dispute that happens between Sir Robert Cann and Sir Henry Creswicke, I have *formerly* delivered my opinion in it, and my own practice and example has

“ever been conformable to my judgement. They are both very worthy friends, from whom I have had very great civilities ; yet I must need say, that to me there seems no difficulty at all in it ; but it is most clear the precedence is due to Sir Henry Creswicke, in all places and meetings where they are met together about the business and service of the City, or according to the customs of the City ; but were they merely in their private capacities, then, Sir Robert Cann, having the superior dignity, has, as clear a right to the precedence. And this, I am told, is constantly observed by the City of London ; and I do assure you we go by the same rule in our Inns of Court. And in my particular, the Order of the Bath gained me no precedence above my ancients, either at the Bar in Westminster Hall, or on the Circuit, or at our table, or in the Chapel at Lincoln’s Inn ; nor had I any privilege or precedence, given me above ancients, till I had the honour to be his Majesty’s Sergeant ; which has the privilege, because it relates to our profession, and merely upon that account. I think Sir Robert Cann is very ill advised, if he come up to London to have the controversy decided here by the Heralds or Council table ; *for it will but expose us to the merriment and contempt of them that hear it.* The ordering and marshalling the members of a Corporation, is most proper for those that have the government of the Corporation, and there should be no appeal till their judgment had been desired in it. In the first place, I must therefore again advise you, *to do the duty of your place with courage, and to let the world know, that the name of a Mayor is not an empty title, but carries power and authority with it, and either invites or commands reverence.*

“Sir, by the Grace of God, I shall be most ready to stand by you in it, being by the relation I have to the City obliged to be.

“Your humble Servant,

“ROBERT ATKINS.”

Sir John Frederick’s letter has this opinion :—

“And now, to satisfy your desire concerning our customs here in London, as to the Court of Ald^r and Common Council Men ;—first, as touching the Ald^r in London, of Knighthood or Kn^t Baronet, or any other dignity given ; no Junior Ald^r takes precedence of his Senior Ald^r in any Court, place, or occasion of the City, but the Senior Alderman keeps his place as before, notwithstanding any such addition of honour—and likewise a Sheriff that is no Knight, hath the precedence of any Commoner, dignified with that or any other honour.

“JOHN FREDERICK.”

Deep and agitating were the interests of the Council Chamber. After anxious and earnest deliberations it was “ordered and agreed that an act of Common Council be drawn concerning the matter of precedence,” which was

done and laid before the House, 5th January, 1663-4. The disputes and ill-feeling arising from this subject, were not confined to the parties already named,—Sir Robert Yeamans is also engaged as one of the principal performers. Sir Robert, is especially distinguished as an irritable, testy, contumacious personage, always in difficulties. He has been insulting the Mayor.—Audacious and refractory, he is committed to prison.

The report states, that, February 9th, “Sir Robert Yeamans, for his contempt and uncivil language to Mr. Mayor [Sir John Knight] and refusing to find securities for his good behaviour, is *committed to his Majesty’s gaol of Newgate within the said City.*” The transaction is obscure.—We know not the particulars of the case, nor the origin of the quarrel that resulted in the newly-created Knight, being incarcerated in the common gaol. Neither are we informed how long Sir Robert was confined. There is simply nothing more than the above statement of the fact, with no adjoining circumstance. We may conjecture that it was connected with the subject of precedence, which had turned the heads of some. Subjects involving the vital interests of the City frequently remain blanks on the journal of the Corporation,—while matters frivolous and absurd, are solemnly recorded as of grave import, whose preservation is indispensable. Hence we can again trace the folly of these punctilious gentlemen. The 5th March, 1664-5, the Corporation was convened, when a copy of the petition of Sir Robert Cann and Sir Robert Yeamans to the King, was read to the House as follows:—

“The humble and Royal representation and petition of Sir Rob^t Cann, Kn^t and Bar^t who was lately Mayor, when your Majesty was graciously pleased to honour the City of Bristol with your Royal presence and Sir Rob^t Yeamans, Kn^t who was then Sheriff,

“HUMBLY SHEWETH,

“That your excellent Majesty having out of your princely favour conferred several honours and dignities upon us. But so it is, that by a late act of the Mayor, and Ald^r and Common Council of your Majesty’s City of Bristol, it being decreed and ordained to this effect, that the Ald^r and their wives, shall have precedence and place of all Knights and Baronets and their wives in Bristol, contrary to the usage and custom that is and hath been in that City.

“Your Majestie’s most humble Petitioners thought them obliged in bounded duty and loyalty to your Majesty, to give your most excellent Majesty notice thereof, that so nothing on their part may be concealed whereby your Majesty’s honour may

“seem to be eclipsed ; and your Royal prerogative intrenched upon, by any of your Majesty’s subjects upon any pretence in these your Majesty’s dominions, least in so doing your Majesty’s Petitioners, shall become guilty of concealing anything that might turn to the prejudice of your Majesty’s most Royal person, the crown, and dignity ; and because the matters aforesaid may also occasion some controversy in that your Majesty’s City, where your Petitioners have residence.

“Your Majesty’s Petitioners, do most humbly pray, that their most humble representation and petition being in your Majesty’s most Royal heart ; such consideration may be had therein, that your Petitioners and others upon whom your Majesty hath been pleased to confer honours, may peaceably and quietly enjoy their places and precedency, and that such order may be taken thereupon as your Majesty shall think fit, and your Majesty’s Petitioners shall ever pray.

“ROB^t. CANN,
ROB^t. YEAMANS.”

In answer—Secretary Bennet’s letter to the Mayor, expressing his Majesty’s determination thereon, was read—

“Sir,

“I have forborne to answer yours of the 13th and 17th current, till his Majesty had given some hearing to the complaints therein, against Sir Robt. Cann, and Sir Robert Yeamans,—who have on their parts pressed us much to be heard, and accordingly were so by his Majesty yesterday, many of the Council being present ; and as to their point of precedency which they pretended to, by virtue of their Knighthood, received this determination,—that in all places where the body or Jun^{ty} of the City is under any form, their Knighthood is not to avail them any thing, but they are to take their places according to their seniority ; the same to be observed also by their wives, if there be any ceremonies or meetings of them,—as it is here when my Lady Mayoress goes to the Spittle,—the wives, then do take place according to the seniority of their husbands, but in all indifferent places, whether within or without the churches, in secret or private places, where there is no solemn representation of the body or Jun^{ty} of the City,—there, the Knights and their wives, are to take place of all that are not so.

“As to the other point of their withdrawing themselves from the public duties of the City, and countenancing factious and disaffected persons, *there they had both of them very severe reprehension given them* ; with a command presently to return home, and submit themselves there to yourself the Mayor, for any disrespect done to you or the dignity of your office,—which being passed, *His Majesty thought fit to have them admonished*, that they doing what they are enjoined, you should receive them with all courtesy, and reconcile them to yourself and your Brethren.

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"As for Mr. Knight the matter passed not so fairly with him; *he had very severe reproof for his misbehaviour to the Sheriff*, and order given him speedily to return to Bristol, and there submit himself to the process of the law, which had yet passed worse for him, if my Lord General had not interposed some good words, remembering his activity at the time of his Majesty's restoration. Mr. Streamer, [the Sheriff,] *had not the good fortune to be present at his mortification of Mr. Knight, which certainly would have contributed much to his satisfaction*, neither had I seen him to acquaint him with it.

"In conclusion, his Majesty bade me tell you how much satisfied he is in your care of the good government and quiet of that his City; and to thank you in his name for it, with assurance that no other encouragement shall be wanting to you as the occasion offers, towards which I shall readily concur with much affection as your,—

"Very humble Servant,

"HENRY BENNET.

"Whitehall, February 25, 1663-4."

From the following entry, it does not appear that the order and reprehension Sir Robt. Yeamans received, had any influence on his future conduct.

"1663-4, March 10th. At a meeting this day, the Mayor, Sir Jn^o. Knight, desired Sir Robert Yeamans, Knt., to submit, in respect of the affront he had done to his Majesty's grant within this City, according to his Majesty's said order signified by the said Secretary—the said Sir Rob^t. Yeamans *refused to do the same*, but submitted, and took his place in the House according to his seniority."

We considered, that with this entry had closed all further proceedings, appertaining to the unfortunate subject of precedency; and felt no small surprise at the pertinacity of the Corporation in again troubling the King about their trifling differences. If we have not wearied our readers with the correspondence,—the Corporation wearied the Secretary with their reiterated complaints; of which we have an instance in his manner of addressing them, read to the House 20th April, 1664.

"Sir,

"I cannot forbear telling you, that *I am almost ashamed*, as well in my own behalf as yours, to molest His Majesty in the punctilios that are disputed betwixt the **Knights**, and senior Aldermen of your City; and, because I am told that some one of the former hath, since his Majesty's determination, contested the precedency with one of the Sheriffs executing his office, "I do again declare to you that his Majesty's pleasure is, that the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of that City, shall take their respective places according to their seniorities, when the body and

“jurisdiction of the City is under any form, or attending on the Mayor, and also when they are doing their duties in the exercise of their respective offices; and this preferably to any Knights whose rank and precedence his Majesty declares to be due to them only in indifferent places, as is expressed in my former letters; having said this, I hope you are sufficiently directed for all decisions of this kind, and that his Majesty shall hear no more of them.

“ I am your humble Servant,

“ Whitehall, April 6th, 1664.

“ HENRY BENNET.

“ To Sir John Knight,
Mayor of the City of Bristol.”

No further letter on this important topic has awaited our research. Hence we conclude the disputants were quieted,—or, if they complained again, they met with no response. Coincident with this punctilious trifling, we shall see Knight and his compeers hunting the Quakers. Barbarous in the midst of civilization.

Six citizens had, since Charles's restoration, received the honour of Knighthood. They were merchants. They had suffered from losses during the Civil Wars; but from these they had soon recovered. So great was the elasticity of the commerce of the port, that all signs of its late depression had already disappeared. The activity and enterprise of the citizens had laid a foundation for prosperity. Their possessions daily increased. Sir John Knight, was at this time one of Bristol's most prosperous merchants. Many years since, Temple Street was dignified by a stately mansion. It had a balcony in front, supported by four slender pillars. It stood opposite Water Lane, but with it mutation has been busy. We must picture the locality as in days long passed,—when surrounded by more pleasant characteristics, than now meet the eye. We must remove the crazy, dilapidated tenements, that press upon the ancient dwelling, and view it as detached; with an ample garden and orchard, extending to the banks of the From. Here it was, in his ancestral home, dwelt Sir John Knight, Mayor, in 1663-4, and member in Parliament for the City.¹ He is now about to distinguish himself, and mark his place in our records by his vigilant and continued persecution of the Quakers. He has been transiently visible to us already, and will be from time to time.

¹ The Parliament that had met at Westminster on the 25th April, 1660, (Stephens and Knight, Representatives for our City,) was dissolved on the 29th of the following November.

We have seen the restraint put upon Nonconformists, by the Corporation act. It expelled and excluded from all civil offices; all, whose conscientious scruples constrained them to refuse conformity to the Episcopal Church. This was the opening of the crusade for the coercion of religious liberty. Next came the memorable statute against the Quakers. They had dreaded the persecution that would follow the ascendancy of the Presbyterian Royalists. Not without cause,—their forebodings were more than fulfilled. The Bill of Uniformity passed in 1662,¹ reinstated the Church in the same condition, in which it had stood before the Civil Wars. Hancock and Evans were dispossessed of their livings, the former of St. Philip, the latter of Christ Church.” They have the honour of being placed among the ejected Nonconformists, by the author of the Abridgement.” Also John Paul, Minister of St. James, would not conform—he resigned in 1663. There are indications of others, whom we suppose were recommended to the ministry with the above, for like qualifications; either ejected or resigning about this period, but the notations are obscure and dim. To elucidate them would occupy time, that would necessarily be diverged from subjects of greater interest. We proceed, therefore to the infamous bill, called the Act against Seditious Conventicles, passed in 1664.² This was to extirpate all public worship except that by law established. The attempt was irrational, the means barbarous. It failed. All the Acts of Parliament man’s ingenuity could devise, could not shut out the omnipotence of God’s truth, or stay the conscientious preacher of his Holy Word. The act had passed—life, liberty and property, were in the

Another Parliament was convened for the 8th May, 1661, for which Knight was again returned, and an old acquaintance, Humphrey Hooke, member in 1640, comes before us once more honoured by the same flattering distinction. On both these gentlemen, Charles had already conferred the dignity of Knighthood.

¹ The present Book of Common Prayer, with its Rubric, was finally arranged, and all the excesses and defects of the earlier forms corrected. August 25th, the Act of Uniformity, was enforced in all its rigour, by which upwards of two thousand Ministers, who refused compliance, were thrust out of their livings. The general term Nonconformist was now adopted, as that of Puritan had been formerly.

² Wherever five persons, above those of the same household, should assemble for religious worship, they were liable for the first offence to be imprisoned three months, or pay £5. For the second offence to six months’ imprisonment, or forfeit £10: and for the third, to be transported seven years, or pay £100.

hands of common informers. It is not many months, since the Society of Friends, contributed conjointly with their fellow citizens, to the entertainment of their Sovereign.¹ That Society are now suffering from the most violent persecution. This was conducted under the auspices of Sir John Knight, who obtained an unenviable notoriety from his implacable hatred to all Non-conformists, by which he distinguished the year of his Mayoralty. The citizens generally disapproved of his proceedings, but he appears to have been willingly assisted by some of the re-instated Aldermen. These men belonged to an age of religious intolerance; they had seen their worship despised and degraded: they had suffered loss in wealth, in power, in place,—and had been exposed to every injury, religious rancour and political hatred could inflict. But fortune had changed, and they now rehearsed the part the descendants of the Lollards had performed. They were no sooner re-possessed of power than they affected to be infallible,—and refused to others, that liberty of conscience, which they had claimed for themselves. Dissent became a crime under the legitimate, as under the illegitimate government. Persecution was the spirit of the age. Stimulated by a remembrance of the sufferings of the past,—gratified in the exercise of recovered authority,—they executed to a merciless extent, the laws against Nonconformists. They even sacrificed their Sabbath duties, for what they considered of higher import,—destroyed its peace, and neglected their devotions, that they might interrupt the devotions of others,—who met for prayer according to the dictates of conscience, but not in the form the law prescribed. The first act *against Seditious Conventicles* has passed. Sir John Knight is in office, Mayor. He is alert and prompt. He loses no time—his first exploit the 28th February, 1664, is thus set forth, “Be it remembered that upon this instant, eight-and-twentieth day of February, 1664, being Sunday, we Sir John Knight, Kn^t Maior, of the City of Bristoll, Sir Henry Creswicke, Kn^t and Nathaniel Cale, Esq., three of his Ma^{tyes}. Justices of the Peace in the said City, and John Bradway, Esq., one of the Sherrives of the said City, did about the hour of two of the

¹ Thomas Speed, who had unsolicited, graciously advanced his money to aid the Corporation to receive their Sovereign, with becoming hospitality and respect; was, within one month after immured in Newgate, for his religious opinions; and in December following, Bishop, who had acted with the same noble liberality, shared the same fate. They were tried at the Sessions in January, 1663-4, and acquitted.

clock in the afternoone of the s^d day, with sundry Officers in our company, goe into a streete called Broadmead, within y^e s^d Citty, into a house belonging to one Simon Tovey,¹ where wee did see about the number of three hundred Quakers at y^e s^d time, and during divine service, unlawfully mett and assembled together; the names of a great number of them are hereunder mentioned. And wee doe certify that according to the Statute made in that behalfe, wee made Proclamacion three times in his Ma^{ties} name, commanding all of them to keep the King's peace, and to dissolve themselves and dep^t from so unlawful assembly and Conventicle, but they did notwithstanding disobey the same and would not depart; although wee there continued requiring them soe to doe for about the space of halfe an hour together, but the greatest p^t of y^m still disobeyed and contemned the said commands and staid there, of which those persons undernamed were sent to prison, in witness whereof wee have herewith sett our hande.

"JOHN KNIGHT, Maior, 1663,
NATHANIEL CALE."

Eight persons only left at once. Some were committed to Bridewell,—others, to Newgate. Richard Sneed, Roland Dole, and Thos. Callowhill, were the most refractory. Many present, were well known to the executive power, for having peremptorily refused to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance when tendered, according to the form of the Statute.²

Another meeting of the Quakers, or "Conventicle Assembly," was disturbed

¹ "19th August, 1661. Simon Tovey committed for refusing to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance."

² "19th of August, 1661. John Johns, and his wife, committed for refusing to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance."

"30th November, 1663. Be it remembered, that whereas Sir John Knight, K^t., Mayor of the City of Bristol, and John Locke, Esq., Alderman, and two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, did tender the oath of allegiance, to eight persons [of whom we know nothing] who severally refused to take the oath."

In December, Thos. Speede, with many others, refuse to subscribe to the oath when tendered.

"19th August, 1667.—Thos. Page to find sureties for the good behaviour, for making a *scorne and dare* at the oath of allegiance, tendered to him by the Mayor, and Aldermen, and for his *uncivill carriage* and behaviour towards them"

"31st March, 1668. William Tovey appeared upon his Recognizance, and discharged upon his submission."

at the same house, by Sir John, July 3rd, 1664, when about two hundred persons were present—who were proceeded against, as in the foregoing instance. Some under sixteen years of age were imprisoned ;¹ which the Statute forbade, and orders are given by the Magistrates for their release.

Again,—one hundred of these injured people were interrupted in their prayers, 17th of July, at the same house, in Broadmead. Sir John was lessening their numbers, and fast filling the prisons. This gave him encouragement to proceed. Sunday, the 31st, he repaired with his brother Magistrates, and Officers, to the usual “Conventicle Assembly,” where he found their numbers reduced to sixty. But the persecutions of Sir John were unavailing. The Quakers persisted in meeting,—and Sir John in breaking in upon their meetings.² Sunday, 7th August,—two hundred were again congregated, whom he dispersed. Next Sabbath day, they were reduced to forty. Not to multiply instances,—we ascertain from evidence before us, that during his Mayoralty, upwards of nine hundred and twenty persons, male and female, were either fined or committed to prison, for indulging in liberty of conscience. But the persecutions did not cease with his Mayoralty, they were continued by his successor, John Lawford. We find him at a meeting in the Pithay, on Sunday, 9th October,—and, as though possessed of ubiquity, interrupting another assembly at the same time, at the usual place in Broadmead. Occasionally the incarcerated were treated with some show of humanity. An exception to their general ill usage is now before us. They were not, when security could be found, allowed to *die* in gaol.

“7th December, 1664. John Weare, a prisoner now in Bridewell, *the third time*, for being at a Conventicle, being *very sick* in the said prison, and William White, tailor, undertaking for his forthcoming, the keeper of the said prison is to set him at liberty till he be recovered again.”

Assembling for “religious worship, except according to the usage of the

¹ “The 6th July, 1664. It being averred by Bridget Jones, that Wm. Williams, a prisoner in Bridewell (for being at an unlawful assembly on Sunday, 3rd July last), is under the age of sixteen years,—it is ordered, that he be forthwith released from his imprisonment.—Present, Sir John Knight, Mayor.”

² By the second Act, persons *preaching*, or *teaching*, in a Conventicle, or suffering an assembly in their houses,—were fined £20, for the first offence, and £40, for every subsequent dereliction. Justices were empowered to break open their doors.

Established Church," more than five persons beside the family present, for the third offence punishable with TRANSPORTATION. So runs the act. Incredible! Yet true,—and literally carried into execution in our own City ; sanctioned by enlightened legislators,—encouraged by a Christian government,—favoured by a Protestant priesthood, not two hundred years ago. One instance shall relate the mournful fact. A bit of domestic history, real, visible, startling and humiliating.—At the general gaol delivery, on the 13th September, 1665—

Nine persons, six male and three female, indicted for being at Conventicles ; and this being their third offence, were committed to Newgate ; and proceeded against by indictment for such their third offence ; they pleaded not guilty, and upon their trial were lawfully convicted by verdict, when judgment was severally entered against them in these words following :—" That they and every of them should be transported beyond the seas to the Island of Barbadoes, one of his Majesty's foreign plantations, there to remain for the space of seven years ; and if they shall escape before or after their transportation, and shall return into England without his Majesty's special license, they are to suffer as felons without benefit of clergy, and lose all their goods for ever and lands for life if they have any, unless they shall before the said sessions of Gaol Delivery be ended, pay down the sum of £100 apeece of lawful money of England, in pursuance of the said act and by authority thereof. These are in his Majesty's name to will and require you forthwith on sight hereof to imbarque the said several persons to be safely transported from this port to his said Majesty's Plantation of Barbadoes aforesaid, and for so doing this shall be your warrant ; whereof you are not to fail, as you will answer the penalty in the aforesaid act for your neglect therein. Given under our hands and seals, this 16th day of September, 1665.

" JOHN LAWFORD, Mayor,
ROBERT ATKINS, Recorder,
JOHN WILLOUGHBY, HENRY CRESWICKE,
JOHN LOCKE, WALTER SANDY,
EDWARD MORGAN, JOHN KNIGHT."

" To the Sheriffs of the County of the City of Bristol."

The Quakers, or those members of their body, who concientiously refused to take the oath of allegiance, and who endured with noble magnanimity the sufferings they would not by any mental reservation evade, still filled the gaols. But in 1672, some pretence of mitigating the evils of their condition seems to have been "got up." That it was but a show of justice and humanity, we

assert on the ground that after the execution of the following instructions, no cessation to the rigours of their cruel captivity ensued.

“ After our hearty commendations, whereas request hath been made unto his Majesty on behalf of the Quakers, who remain at present in several gaols and prisons of this kingdom, that his Majesty would be pleased to extend his mercy towards them, and give orders for their release ; which his Majesty taking into consideration, has thought fit to order to his clearer information, before he resolve any thing therein, to command us to write these our letters unto you. We do hereby, will and require you to procure a perfect list, or calendar of the names, time, and causes of commitment of all such persons called Quakers, as are remaining in prison within the City and County, of the City of Bristol, and to return the same forthwith to the Board ; and so, nothing doubting of your ready performance of this his Majesty’s command, we bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, the 29th day of March, 1672.

“ Your loving Friends,

“ OSSORY,	C. CRAVEN,	T. TREVOR,
BATHE,	HOLLES,	THOS. CHICHELEY,
C. CARLISLE,	ARLINGTON,	JOHN NICHOLAS.

“ To our loving Friends, the Mayor and Justices of the
City and County of the City of Bristol.”

It is certain that in their day of power, the Puritans had given cause for provocation ; and equally certain, that their orthodox successors retaliated when their turn came. But the now inoffensive Quakers, who had been subdued from their frantic enthusiasm and singularity,—to a patient and enduring tranquillity, had never possessed power,—had never declared themselves enemies to the King’s authority ; they still suffered, nevertheless, from persecutions the most vile and atrocious. We find, July 3rd, 1675, there is this charge on the City fund.—“ Paid for watching four Quakers’ shops, when their windows *was* shut and nayled down, £8:11:6.” From the amount, we may suppose the watching to have been of some duration. Its object, (for as the sentence runs, though concise, it is not explanatory,) we infer, was to prevent the unfortunate Quakers, from obtaining an honest livelihood by the exercise of their calling. We can scarcely conceive, that when the authorities shut their shops, they went so far as to shut up the Quakers also,—and kept watch to prevent their going abroad, as they would infected houses where the plague had entered. The intent of nailing the windows down, was evidently to prevent the transaction of any business, and thus starve the Nonconformist into submission.

Painfully our attention has been called to signs of unmitigated, cruel, and merciless punishments, that in their coarseness and brutality, disclose, that laws belonging to a rude age, were put in force by Magistrates, who ranked amongst the enlightened and refined. We have described Naylor's punishment, ordered by a Parliament as fanatical as himself.

"To be whipped," was a favourite sentence of the "sad and worshipful" men, who, clad in scarlet and fine linen, presided at the seat of justice. Humanity recoils at the thought, that this sentence was even extended to females, who were publicly whipped at the cart's tail, through the principal streets of the City. The merciful feeling of the Bench, constrained them to mitigate the severity of the punishment; females especially, were only to be whipped until the "blood doth come;" how much they suffered before that happy crisis arrived, must be left to the sympathising reader to conceive.—We may fancy the Sheriff regarding with peculiar zest the critical moment.

Whipping was the grand panacea for all disorderly characters.—One or two illustrative orders from the Magistrates, we print here.—A few, may be collected in a note.¹

¹ 10th October, 1637. "Elinor Thomas, convicted for a common scould, and a brawler, defamer and disturber of her neighbours, ordered to sit in the stocks with a paper on hir hed testifying the cause."

At the Gaol Delivery, 12th August, 1657. "Elizabeth Sweete, indicted for killing one James Browne, found *not guilty*—Elizabeth Burley, for killing her illegitimate child, likewise found *not guilty*, are ordered to be whipped as vagrant disorderly persons." Many others, both male and female, for all sorts of offences and misdemeanours, are tried, found not guilty, yet punished, some in the Pillory, some by burning, others, by burning and whipping.

February 13th, 1662. "It is ordered that Catharine Osborne, and Ellinor Jones, now apprehended as common vagrants, and having been formerly taken upon the same account, be this day whipped according to law.

"Sir ROBERT CANN, Mayor."

1666. "Whereas Margaret Jones, of Abergavenny, was apprehended for stealing glass from Matilda Stephens, of this City, and Alice Sparks, of Pencoid, in the County of Monmouth, was likewise taken for stealing of a pair of shoes, the which offences they confessed, have for awhile remained in Bridewell. It is now ordered according to the custom of the City, they being idle vagrant people, be openly whipped through the City, and sent to their homes with a pass.

"JOHN WILLOUGHBY, Mayor."

19th March, 1669. "One Susanna Gibson, was apprehended endeavouring to pilfer in the Market, and that 'shee and her children goes up and downe wandering from place to place begging, and refusing to give account either of her name or place of dwelling,' ordered that she be whipped as a vagrant, according to law, and sent to Brougham with a passe.

"ROBERT YEAMANS, Mayor."

"Easter Sessions, 1656. Ann Hind, indicted for killing her child, found *not guilty*, and is ordered to be *whipped* as a vagrant."

"August, 1672. Evan Thomas, felon, ordered that he be *stripped naked* in the cart, and severely whipped *till the blood comes*, carted and lashed next market day."

"24th August, 1679. A bill found against Elizabeth Howell, who is ordered to be whipped at the whipping post at the High Cross, *till the blood doth come*."

Another favourite punishment affording amusement to the spectators, though unpleasant and disagreeable enough to the gasping victims, was that of the "Cooking" *alias* "Ducking Stool," a machine for the correction of scolding women. Its application was considered so beneficial, from its success in subduing termagants, after all milder treatment had failed; that the inhabitants of Edgeware, Middlesex, in the year 1552, were actually presented, for not having one.—Bristol, in its manner of dispensing justice, and executing the laws, was not in advance of the times,—it boasted its "ducking stool," and it was even now at the Restoration in full operation.¹ Indeed, John Willoughby, when Mayor, had as great a *penchant* for ducking women, as Sir John Knight had for persecuting Quakers. The ducking stool, which appears to have been a chair, is thus described: "A post was set up in the water of the Froom, at the mouth of the ditch, under the awful frown of the Castle walls. Across this post was placed a transverse beam, turning on a swivel, with a chair at one end of it: in which, when the culprit was properly placed, that end was turned to the stream, and let down into it,—once, twice, or thrice, according to the tender mercy, gallantry, or auricular sensibility of the operators."² From the frequent examples which are recorded, more particularly at this time, a necessity seemed to exist, that some more impressive measure than admonition, should be resorted to—for quieting the noisy tongue of the domestic brawler. We advance a few that are sufficiently palpable without further observation.³

¹ There is a charge on the City fund in this year, of £2 : 12 : 10, "cost of a new Cooking Stool at the Weir."

² Evans.

³ The 7th May, 1666. It this day appearing, and being proved before us y^e Barbara Hall, wife of James Hall, is a common disturber of her neighbours. It is therefore ordered that the s^d Barbara

The form of expression varies but little in any of the orders, which are numerous; two o'clock is the invariable time when the exhibition "came off," and three "ducks" was the invariable dose prescribed. But this does not in all cases appear to have been efficacious. Some termagants for the second time, brought before the Magistrates, are sentenced to a repetition of the dose.

"1st September, 1666. Whereas, Lettice Evans, wife of John Evans, of the parish of Temple, *have been formerly ducked for a common scolde*, and it being this day proved, that she still continues as a common disturber of her neighbours. It is this day ordered, that the said Lettice Evans, bee this afternoon ducked three times at the usual place, according to custom.¹ "JOHN WILLOUGHBY, Mayor."

At the close of the 17th century, society was still debased by the same revolting exhibitions, that from recorded time have stained our Legislature. Spectacles such as we have decribed on the verity of our chronicles, were familiar. The attention of each Government had been so occupied with curbing the factious and discontented; that the dark blot upon the national escutcheon,—the barbarous cruelty of the criminal laws, was still maintained;—as though no sacred temples decked the land, whose thousand listeners heard of

Hall bee carried to Bridewell, and at 2 of the clock tomorrow, in the afternoon, bee carried to the ducking stool, and there ducked 3 times.

"JOHN WILLOUGHBY, Mayor."

10th May, "It this day appearing and being proved before us y^t Elizabeth Jones, wife of John Jones, of Temple parish, weaver, is a common scold and disturber of her neighbours. It is therefore ordered y^t the s^d Elizabeth Jones bee carried to Bridewell, and at 2 of the clock tomorrow, in the afternoon, be carried to the ducking stool, and ducked 3 times.

"JOHN WILLOUGHBY, Mayor."

19th of June, 1666. "It appeareth to us that Margaret Adams is a common scold, and disturber of her neighbours. It is ordered y^t the said Margaret Adams be sent to Bridewell, and from thence carryed to y^e Weare, and according to custom, ducked three times.

"JOHN WILLOUGHBY, Mayor."

¹ The last instance of the virtues of this valuable *stool* is in "Edward Mountjoy, Mayor. 1718. In this Mayoralty, the *ducking-stool* on the Weir was used as a cure for scolding, in one particularly inveterate instance; but the husband of the lady whose 'evil spirit' was 'so laid,' when the year of civic supremacy expired, brought his action of battery in behalf of his peaceful rib, before Sir Peter King, at the Guildhall, 'and the man (says our authority) recovered such damages, that the ex-Mayor could not endure the mention of *cold-duck* any more.' " The venerable remains of the post were visible about the year 1785.—EVANS.

the sublime virtues of forgiveness, and compassion,—as though no light to man had been revealed from the glory of eternal mercy and eternal love !

“ 1698, May 19th. Dorothy Rogers, for “ counterfeiting a certificate of marriage,” was ordered to be “ publicly whipped from the Tolzey down the Quay, and to be turned out of Town.” “ Rich^d. Carter to stand in the Pillory on Saturday next, for three hours, with an inscription of his crime upon his breast, and to be whipped three times, viz^t on Wednesday next, from Newgate, along S^t Augustine’s Back to S^t Mark’s Lane, on Saturday following from Newgate to the great Sun Dial on the Key, and on Wednesday follow^s to Trinity Hospital, at Lawford’s Gate, and so back.”

The Sheriffs for this year, whose duty it was to see that the punishments were duly inflicted, and in whipping cases, to see “ that the blood doth come,” were in advance of their age. They were culpable for their humanity,—guilty of compassion ; they were too lenient, and did not, in every case, carry out the sentence to the merciless extreme the laws required. For this they had to pay. In August, a fine of five marks, for not burning Isaac Tucker according to sentence ; and in the following year, forty shillings, “ for that the Gaoler did not cause Mary Penny, and Mary Down, *to be well burnt*.”

A leaf from the Justices’ Book may appropriately follow. It is quaint, curious, and amusing. There were great privileges belonging to freemen, and to the possessors of children. Rather confusing to the Justices’ Clerk, whose writing is involved. He makes it appear that persons without children are not fit to sell ale. In fact, fathers of numerous families, obtained advantages not accorded in our days.

“ 1677. The Rev^d Rich. Penwarne, Minister of S^t Stephen, on his petition, admitted to the freedom of the City without paym^t, having resided in the City many years, *and having many children, with the probability of having many more*, to whom the freedom may be beneficial.” “ Feb^r 19. Rev^d Tho^s Palmer, Min^r of S^t Werburgh, Rev^d Emanuel Heath, Minister of S^t Augustine, admitted to the freedom for *the same reasons as stated by Penwarne*.”

The leaf from the Justice Book, between which this above peculiar extract, of a few years later has slipped in, is so characteristic of the times, that we give it in its original orthography and verbiage, just as it was left by the recording scribe.

“The presentments of the Constables of the Ward of St. Stephen, at the Special Sessions of the Peace, held for the said Ward, the 5th day of December, 1670, at the Merchants’ Hall :”—

- "WEE DOE PRESENT Thomas Speede, a seaman, for selling Ale without licence.—Mr. John Lloyd his Brewer.
- "—— John Keemis Cooper, nott fitt to sell ale, having noe child, he keeps a Tapster *which* is noe freeman, *that have a wife and child*.
- "—— Philip Fonds, noe freeman, and sells ale, Mr. Hawkins sells him ale.
- "—— Rich^d Rook, Shipwrite, not fitt to sell ale *having noe child*, and brews *themselves*.
- "—— John Holland, noe freeman, and hath a family, lives att the Ball on the Key, and draws ale under Mr. Woodward.
- "—— Henry Wilkes, a Barber Surgeon, not fitt to sell ale, having noe child and also for entertaining a strange maide in his house, which *is* sick.
- "—— W^m Turner, in Fisher Lane, noe freeman, and keepes open shop, and entertains Elizabeth Holland, att her owne handes.
- "—— Ezekieall Fogg, noe freeman, on the Key, for entertaining one Widow Wyatt, a foreigner.

These undermentioned are the annoyances:—

- "WEE PRESENT the Chamberlain for not mending the sink before the Henn and Chicken.—For not cleansing the Law Ditch, which causeth the water to stop up the way in Glastonbury Court, and stinketh to the greate annoyance of the inhabitants, and for not repairing the Conduit.
- "Wee present Rob^t Bond for *saying* [sawing] timber on the Key."

We have transcribed the above, as giving a picture of the life of the humbler classes, a few more entries of similar character may be thrown together in a note.¹

¹ "13th May, 1661.—Oath was given by John Roch and John Webb, that Thomas Chambers, the person now in the presence of the Mayor and Justices, on Saturday night last was drunk, and swore then and yesterday last at least twenty oaths, and that he was not a good subject that would not swear G—d d—n him, and that the Earl of Pembroke in his discharges, every third word was an oath. The said Thomas Chambers refused to pay the penalties of the statute and was set in the stocks."

"1666. An indictment found ag^t Robert Burkett, Baker, for baking a dogg in a pie, and giving it to several persons to eat, upon certain information to the Court that y^e persons who eat of the same are *not at all hurte by it*, and upon Burkett's confession and submission, this Court doth order his discharge, paying the fine of forty shillings." We nowhere learn that dog pie being considered harmless, became in consequence a favourite dish. At a Sessions held for St. Stephen's Ward, 3rd March, 1677, in the Merchants' Hall, some of the orders given are very contradictory and novel, for instance: "that Elizabeth Pope go to service in three weeks, or to be sent to the House of Correction *for living at her own hands*." At the Sessions for St. Thomas' Ward, held at the Wooll

Bristol at this period had a considerable foreign trade. The education of mercantile men was not then as it now is; hence the frequent allusion to the presence of "Translators." A class of men who earned a livelihood, by translating Spanish letters, and Italian bills of lading, for traders who were ignorant of foreign languages.¹ The supply was great. The Magistrates, fearing they would become burdensome, kept them under strict surveillance. Notations as the following occur in abundance:—"1660. Griffin Brown, a Translator at St. James' Back being a stranger, to depart the City in six days, or to be punished according to law." "Benjamin Bartlett, a Translator, of Temple parish, being a stranger, hath a fortnight's time given him to get work as a *foreign man*." "July, 1666. Ordered, that John Hunchman, Translator, being no free Burgess, do not keep any open shop, or bulk to work or mend shoes, do depart the City in a month's time." Another is more fortunate. "1st December, 1663. It is ordered, that Henry Baker, Translator, bee admitted into the freedome of the Citty, paying the fine of forty shillings."

Objections to the oath of allegiance continue numerous. The remains of the Commonwealth faction are troublesome. The first petition to the King has been successful, but it does not go far enough. The Chamber required a law that would coerce persons refusing to serve; and another petition to that effect was written, to be presented by the Chamber, August 5th. In reply, was received the following letter, from the Lords of the Council, read as directed, in the Guildhall, September 12th, to a large meeting of the citizens:—

"After our hearty commendations, whereas we have rec^d information that several persons of quality and ability, as some Ald^m and others, as Common Council Men, of that City; have denied, and refused to do his Majesty service in the places into which they have been elected and chosen in the Corporation, to the great prejudice of the Government of that City; and whereas also, it is to be presumed that at the approaching annual election of Officers for that City, divers will absent themselves on purpose to avoid being elected, as heretofore they have done,—which his Majesty having well weighed, and considered together with the consequences which this evil example must necessarily produce, towards the subversion of the Government of that Corporation, if not speedily remedied, was pleased to direct this board to write

Hall, in October, it is "ordered that Robert Cotteny doe remove his masty dogg within this two dayes, or else be *bound to the good behaviour*." The orders for removing "masty" dogs are frequent.

¹ The Editor is indebted for this solution to the courtesy of the Hon. T. Babington Macaulay.

"these our letters unto you, to let you know his Majesty is very sensible of such neglect and contempt; and that it is his express pleasure and command, that no person whatsoever, being of the body of the Corporation, do presume to absent himself from the next election of Officers, on the 15th inst^l for the ensuing year; especially at this time, when there ought to be more than ordinary care used in the choice of persons of known integrity and ability, to do his Majesty service. And it is his further pleasure and command, that such as shall be duly elected to serve either as Aldermen, or Common Council Men, in the Magistracy of that City; do not fail to take the oaths usually administered at the entering into their Offices, and likewise effectually to execute the said places, into which they shall be chosen, upon pain of his Majesty's high displeasure; and because, that no man may pretend ignorance of his Majesty's pleasure herein,—we do hereby require and command you in his Majesty's name, forthwith upon the receipt hereof, to cause these our letters to be openly read in the Guildhall, whither you are to summon all who are of the body of that City to appear; and if, after this admonition any shall wilfully neglect, or refuse to assist at the said election, or to take upon him the Magistracy being elected thereunto,—you are hereby willed and commanded to return the names of all such persons up to the Board, whereupon his Majesty will give further directions for reducing them to conformity. And so expecting all due obedience, to be given to these his Majesty's commands, and the directions of this Board, we bid you heartily farewell. From the Court, at Whitehall, the 8th day of September, 1664,

"Your very loving Friends,

"CLARENDON,	MANCHESTER,	WILL MORRIS,	GLARBEVEL,
ANGLESEY,	ST. ALBAN,	HUGH POLLARD,	JOHN NICHOLAS.
CH. BERKLEY,	HENRY BENNET,	BATHE,	

♦ "To our very loving Friends, the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonality of the City of Bristol."

In pursuance of the instructions contained in the above letter, warrants were issued and sent to the following persons, requiring their attendance at the Guildhall to be sworn:—Alexander James, *John Knight [son of the Mayor,] *William Willet, Thomas Moore, *Alexander Jackson, *Richard Hart, Thomas Cale, Shershaw Carey, Thomas Goldsmith, *Richard Stubbs, *John Aldworth, Joseph Creswicke.¹ Thomas Cale was excused and dismissed for certain reasons. Moore, Carey, and Creswicke also attended, but the two former refused to take the oath when tendered, and Creswicke, excused himself on the ground of not being a freeman. To overcome his

¹ * Indicates those who attended and were sworn.

scruples the freedom was offered him, notwithstanding which, he refused to take the oath.

The choice of Mayor fell on William Lawford. The John Knight above-named was one of his Sheriffs, the other was Ralph Olliffe, Vintner, a man "given to much wine," and hereafter notorious for his strenuous efforts to crush the Dissenters. The same day as the election, on the motion of Sir Robert Atkins, Recorder; Walter Sandy, Esq., and Windsor Sandy, his son, were admitted to the freedom of the City, "for the many good services rendered by the said Walter Sandy to the City." The nature of these services we are not informed. The following day Edward Morgan, was deprived of his Alderman's gown, for refusing to take the oath. Thomas Langton, late Sheriff, was chosen in his place.

Another municipal change commanding the attention of the Chamber, arose from the following letter, written by order of his Majesty, directing the Mayor to be elected out of the Court of Aldermen. In pursuance of which, Alderman John Willoughby, at the next annual meeting, a few days after the receipt of the instructions, was elected Mayor.

"CHARLES R.—

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having understood, with much displeasure, the practices and contrivances laid by disaffected persons, to disturb the quiet and unity in the government of that our City, and to prevent the growing thereof in the future; reflecting upon the elections you are within a few days to make of new officers,—we have thought fit to recommend, in a more especial manner to you,—the electing and choosing of such for whose good affection, prudence, and fidelity to our service, you will be answerable to Us, and the good government of that our City; following therein, the ancient manner used in such elections, and especially taking care that the Mayor, being the principal Officer there, be chosen out of the Court of Aldermen, and not of the Common Council; lest it should fall on such a one as were not well qualified as aforesaid, for the discharge of so good a trust. Wherein, not doubting of your care and readiness to comply entirely with our desire herein, we bid you farewell. Given at our Court at Sarum, the 4th day of September, 1665.

"By His Majesty's command,

"ARLINGTON.

"To our trusty and well-beloved, the Mayor and
Aldermen of our City of Bristol."

M M

Assuredly, hospitality was one of the Cardinal virtues of the Corporation; and we may add, from the many beautiful traits we have seen, and from the many that will follow in the track of after years, Charity was another. It is of the former we have now to speak. A great man is about to visit the City,—great, and good, and blameless,—one of his Majesty's most faithful servants,—the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,—the noble Duke of Ormond. The post had been declined by the Duke of Albemarle, on account of the jarring interests of the different parties. But the Duke of Ormond's entire submission to the will of his master, prevailed upon him to enter upon an employment, the inconvenience of which he well foresaw. His amiable character, would have prompted the loyal citizens to have shown him marked respect,—beyond hereditary predilections for giving entertainments indiscriminately to great men, regardless of their worth. The Duke was a familiar visitor; the neighbouring residence of his uncle had brought him often to the City. Now, in his public capacity, he is to be received with becoming respect due to his exalted dignity. The entry shall tell us after what fashion.

“17th March, 1664-5. The House being this day informed that His Grace the Duke of Ormond intends to take this City in his way, as he goes for Ireland, it is ordered that Sir Henry Creswicke be desired to lodge and entertain in his house his said Grace,—he being Lord High Steward, and Lord Lieutenant of this City, as also Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,—at the charges of the City; and that a Committee be chosen, of all circumstances, as to the manner of his reception and entertainment. The Committee, the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and all the Gent. Members of the Common Council y^t have been Sherr., or any five of them; and every member of the House is to have notice of their meetings, and such of them as are present to have voyces.”

Due notice had been given the Corporation. It was enabled to make its arrangements slowly and tranquilly. These, after a deliberation of nearly six months, were completed. “21st August, 1665. The Committee resolved, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, should attend in their gownes, at the Tolzey, in *scarlet*, and there receive the s^d Duke, and y^t at his coming in, one and twenty great guns should be discharged.” But this was not all. Eatables awaited the coming of his Grace, in the shape of bacon and tongues, which our audits gravely inform us, were sent for from London, “*for the reception of the Duke of Ormond.*” Their cost was £10:7. The whole of

the charge for this entertainment was £163 : 7 ; of which Sir Henry Creswicke, was paid £43 : 3 : 11. The Duke is arrived.—Feasted with all the ceremonies pertaining to a royal state banquet. After four days' stay, another exhibition of scarlet—a repetition of the ancient formalities that welcomed his coming, and he graciously departs. Wine and sugar *not* given him. He receives some, however, in London, 1671-2 ; presented from our Corporation, by Robert Aldworth—cost, £50.

It is expedient to notice in this place another visit of the Duke, in July, 1676. His Grace is again on his way to Ireland ; he has been declared Lord Lieutenant of that country, for the third time. St. George's Chapel has been prepared for the entertainment. It had not the magnificence of the preceding banquet. We do not read that bacon and tongues, or any other luxuries, came from the London market. The most extravagant articles noted, are mulberries and sweetmeats ; for which Monsieur Dupont, who will hereafter frequently be introduced to us as the " French cook," was paid £9 : 13 : 8. The expense of the civic feast was limited to £32 : 10 : 9.

The Court is at Oxford. Driven there by the Plague. Last day of November, 1665, an official document is despatched from thence, "For our very loving friends, the Justices of the Peace, of the County of Somerset, and the City and County of the City of Bristol," from *their* "very loving friends, T. Southampton and Ashly," part of his Majesty's Council of State. The communication concerns another plague, that causes much grumbling and murmuring from the poor. "The Hearth Money. The tax *which is wholly employed for the support of the public*,"¹ has been negligently collected. This is made a matter of complaint against the Magistrates. A wordy affair. In substance it amounts to this:—They have not been strict in collecting the "Hearth Money." They have favourites whom they exempt. The Exchequer suffers, and they are told of it. His Majesty is made to say,—

"That he hath observed such a compliance in many of the Justices of the Peace, with those who upon any pretence soever dispute this duty,—that if he permit them to

¹ The Hearth tax was mortgaged to the Earls of Suffolk, by Charles II., as a security for the money on his purchase of Audley End House, his Majesty not being able to pay for it. This tax was taken off soon after the Revolution ; but the State not being then in a condition to pay the money for which it had been pledged, the House was granted back again to the family.—*A New Display of the Beauties of England*, 1776.

"cancel the payments, he conceives it will soon be reduced to very little. Many, by private certificates to gratify their neighbours, taking off the duty; which from the Bench they had before certified as due unto the Exchequer; herewith his Majesty hath great reason to be dissatisfied." The Justices purchase popularity, at the expense of his Majesty, by diminishing his revenue. His Majesty requests, in future, a due regard in this branch of his revenue. Officers have directions to conduct themselves justly and prudently therein. Any exemptions, unless duly certified to the Exchequer, to be punished as a misdemeanour. His Majesty will not resolve, "whether the Constables, by the last act, are obliged to arrest the receivers, (the Sheriffs) in collecting the money, yet finding their salary is still continued, he thinks the Bench might reasonably direct them thereunto. Since it is visible that the neglect thereof may soon wear out his officers, who else must attend at every house an hour before they are paid, and how many officers this way must make a necessity of, and how much it must increase the charge and trouble of those who pay it, every one that is not ill affected may soon perceive."

Of all the taxes, that occasioned most murmuring, was that of Hearth Money.¹ It subjected the people to domiciliary visits. It was farmed,—gathered by insolent collectors,—who distrained the poor without mercy. It is said "that, as soon as they appeared at the threshold of a cottage, the children began to wail, and the old women ran to hide their earthenware. Nay, the single bed of a poor family had sometimes been carried away and sold."² Such was the injustice and rapacity of the Farmer in this City, that we find the Magistrates take the poor into consideration, and petition the Council

¹ *Resolutions to Queries concerning Hearth Money :—*

1. Ovens only are exempted from charge; but all chimneys and hearths, although they have ovens in them, are to pay.
2. All houses that have above two chimneys, are to pay; and though *paupers* dwell in them, no exemption being allowed to such houses.
3. If such house stand empty, and the owner not a pauper, he must pay as occupier; (and if no distress there) he to be returned into the Exchequer, and the duty levyable upon process from them.
4. In case of stopping up chimneys, proceed to demand and levy the duty, or return them into the Exchequer, with the whole case and circumstance.
5. Smiths, Braziers, and Pewterers, if they have hearths for other uses, though in the same chimney with their furnace, or forge, those hearths to pay.
6. His Majesty's Garrisons, and Castles, farmed out, and the Lodges in his Parks, Forests, and Chases, are likewise to pay.
7. Free schools and mills are likewise to pay.

² Macaulay's England.

of State in their behalf. The petition is long; but as a bit of veracious history, we print it, before we dismiss this subject.

“RIGHT HONOURABLE,

“According to our duty, as his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace in this City and County, we have given our utmost assistance that his Majesty’s revenue, arising by hearths and stoves, might be duly paid according to law; yet so it is, that the present Farmer, and his Officers, have here exacted the same, and taken away the goods of *poor people that receive alms, and doe goe about begging from doore to doore*; and whereas, such who by reason of their poverty, are exempted from the usual payments of Church and poore, and doe live in houses that have only two fire hearths or stoves; are, as we are advised, still exempted by the statutes from payment of the said duty; yet the Farmer and Officers, enter their houses and take away their household stuffe, and working tooles, to the utter ruine and undoeing of them, and their wives and children.—insomuch, that we have daily complaints from these poor people; and though we have acquainted the said Farmer that he ought to restore what he hath already taken from them, and to forbear to levy the same upon such for the future, yet he refuseth to obey our orders.” In consequence of the continuance of these unjust exactions, the Magistrates proceed to suggest a system which they deem necessary for the prevention of such cruel persecutions of his Majesty’s poorer subjects, and yet not to interfere with the just collecting of his Majesty’s revenue arising from the chimney tax. They submit the necessity of ascertaining and bringing in, in a written account, the number of fire hearths and stoves that are in each house in this City, and to make therein two distinct columns, the one, of all such as are chargeable,—and the other of all such as dwell in houses that have two fire hearths only; and are exempted by their poverty from Church and poor rates. “Yet the Officers refuse to join with the Constables, and to bring in a list, that so duplicates might be sent up into his Majesty’s Exchequer,—and instead thereof, have brought in a list without observing the said method, or giving in the same upon oath; and would have us subscribe the same, which account being imperfect, and charging all without distinction, they would have the Clerk of the Peace return the same to the Exchequer; and do menace him for not doing it, when the same is not yet allowed by us,—the cry of the poor is so great that we are inforced to lay their complaint before your Honours.” The Justices intreat for directions how to proceed with the Farmer, and for instructions how to proceed with the Officers, in case they percist illegally in collecting thereof; “wee being very loath, in this tender point of his Majesty’s revenue, to interpose or punish them, without your Honours’ order had, and their refusal to obey the same,”—they point out with much feeling the absolute necessity of their Honours’ interposition for the “quieting the minds of his Majesty’s poor distressed subjects.”—There are very many persons who live as inmates

in houses that have above two fire hearths, consequently by law are not exempted from payment of the duty; "these" they go on to state, "are daily making grievous complaints,—their cases are sad;" they therefore desire that such favours as are shewed to the poor in other places from his Majesty, or from their Honours, or the Exchequer, "that the same pity and compassion might be extended to such also in this City; and that your Honours would give us some directions therein accordingly, and we shall use our utmost care for the due payment of the said duty, and for preventing all disturbances that may arise from these poor people, in the levying thereof, according to his Majesty's laws. We take leave and remain,

"Right Hon^{ble}

"Yo^r Lordsp^{pp}" most humble servants."

From the Civil Wars unto this period, we have had but little notice of the Plague in our City; the directions for precautionary measures have been few; and these few appear to have altogether ceased. But now, that terrible calamity raged in London,—and spread terror, dismay, and desolation through the devoted City,—exaggerated accounts, if exaggeration were possible, served to increase even the awful reality. The dark speech of rumour, filled the hearts of our citizens with dread. The fiat has gone forth. London is plague-smitten! The course of the unseen agent, is visible in the huge pits,—wherein, no sad rites are said, poor mortality unshrined, and unannealed, promiscuously are flung. The question of precedency, was seen in its true value, at the approach of a power that took precedency of all. Solemn was the meeting of the Council. The Fair was at hand,—it would attract many Londoners. This must be prevented, but the power was not with them. Sir Robert Atkins is written to, of the danger and apprehension of the City from this cause. Sir Robert issues his instructions, to "the High Constable of the Hundred of Barton, in the County of Gloucester," forbidding the holding of St. Paul's Fair, for the present year.

The members of the Corporation occasioned the Fair to be forbidden, and their fears abated. Thus they remained till June 1, when the prospect of another Fair, again darkened their spirits. The 19th, a meeting was held, when it was resolved that,—

"Whereas the Plague doth now very much increase in Lond^a and the Londer^a with their goods are daily resorting hither, in order to the keeping of St. James's fair, and his Ma^{ty} and Council upon a humble application having given orders for the drawing up and publishing of a proclamation for the

putting off, and restraint of the said fair, for the better preservation of this City, from the said infection, if the Lord shall so please.”¹

Now followed the adoption of those precautionary measures, which in warding off the calamity, had hitherto signally failed. But so well satisfied are the Corporation with the former restrictions and provisions, that they deem them incapable of amendment. These measures were so perfected by the profound wisdom of their predecessors that they did not attempt to extend, or in the least to intermeddle with them. Precisely in the same words, were issued the same instructions as their records taught had been done, years and years before. No improvements were suggested. No evidence of advancing intelligence disclosed. No stricter attention paid to the cleanliness of the streets—the state of the drainage—the removal of refuse, mud and filth. Such was the position and preparation of our City. Let us take a graphic, forcible description by an eye witness, of what was the condition of London at this time.

“Death rode triumphant through every street, as if it would have given no quarter to any of mankind, and ravaged as if it would have swallowed all mortality. It was a grievous sight to see in that great emporium, nothing vendible, or merchantable, but Coffins. You should see no faces but such as were covered with terrors and horrors,—many walking the streets with their sores running, and many dropping down dead at your very feet, while discoursing with them. All the music in the night was the sad sound, ‘*bring out your dead*,’ which like dung, were thrown out into a cart, and tumbled into a pit, without numbering. The day was always summoning to our grave, with knells and tolling of bells; and if we looked abroad, there was nothing but cries out of houses to pray for them. It was their last request; every house marked with a ‘*Lord have mercy on us*.’ I cannot write this without tears, much less could I see it, as I did all the time, without the greatest grief and horror; seldom did we meet friends but it was, as it were, the last parting in this world. In one house you might hear them roaring under the pangs of

¹ The only variation from the orders issued in 1637, is contained in the 4th Clause. “That the inhabitants of this Citty doe by turns in person with Holbeards, keepe watch and ward, att the severall gates and places within this Citty appointed, to examine all persons y^t come from London, or other infected places, and alsoe as to the goods y^t shall be brought.” The orders issued in 1637, were similar to those enforced in 1625.

death ; in the next tippling, and belching out blasphemies against God ; one house shut up with a red cross, and *Lord have mercy on us* ; the next open to all uncleanness and impiety, being senseless of the anger of God ; in the very Pest houses such wickednesses committed, as is not to be named.¹

From a visitation so terrific our City escaped—comparatively harmless passed the fatal breath. A contemporary manuscript informs us:—

1665. “ This year the City of London was most grievously visited with a pestilence, the contagion whereof spread as far as Bristoll. It began at Bedminster, where it raged much, and soe likewise at Barton Regis. Yea, it came within Lawford’s Gate. Some houses in Haulier’s Lane and Redcliff Street, were infected, and some other places, as at the Mermaid on the Back ; and when it was believed it would overspread the whole City, as it had done in London, it pleased God of his wonderful mercy, to restraine it, soe that it went noe further.”²

June 20th, the following year, 1666, a proclamation from the Privy Council, for preventing the increase of the plague, was ordered to be read at the High Cross, St. Thomas’ Pipe, Key Pipe, and the Castle. The plague had entered the City. Pest houses were erected covered with sails, whither the infected were sent, and supplied with bread. Among other items, we find one Thomas Shuter, Apothecary, was paid £9, for necessaries furnished the Pest houses—and £44, was paid Drs. James Harding, and John Dunbar, for attending the infected.³

The English fleet under the command of the Duke of York, obtained a victory over the Dutch fleet, June 3rd, 1665.⁴ This misfortune of the Dutch called their allies to their assistance. France declared war against England, which brought into energetic action all the vigour of the country to man our fleet. Bristol receives his Majesty’s commands.

¹ Dr. Grumble, Chaplain to General Monk. Quoted in Jesse’s Court of the Stuarts.

² Alderman Haythorn’s MS. Cal. Seyer.

³ 15th January, 1666-7. “ John Dunbar, Gentleman Practitioner of Physic, to be paid for his services at the Pest houses, during the late infection, such sums of money as the Mayor and Aldermen shall allow.” At the same time he petitioned the House for his freedom, which was granted him “ for his faithful services at the Pest houses, during the late infection, to the great hazard of his life.”

⁴ Some of the prisoners taken on this occasion, were sent to Bristol:—“ 22 Sept. 1665. The Mayor and Ald^{rs} ordered that the 80 Soldiers who had arrived, with 200 Dutch prisoners, should be quartered, viz.—30 in Redcliff Parish,—30 in St. Thomas,—20 in Temple.”

“After our hearty commendations, these are to acquaint you that the care and burthen of carrying on the war against the Dutch, being now by the conjunction of the French, with those our enemies much increased. And the importance of his Majesties service, for the defence and security of the nation, requiring powerful and speedy supplies of able seamen and marines, to man out the fleets now preparing for this year’s expedition.” This introduction is followed by orders; “that the Magistrates direct all Officers, and strictly command them, without connivance or partiality to take the names of all persons within their several precincts, who formerly used to go to sea; and are capable to serve in his Majesty’s fleets.”***
 “And to such Vice-Admirals, and Prest Masters, as shall be empowered with Commissions from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England, you are desired to deliver perfect copies of those lists of Seamen and Mariners, to the end that when the said Constables, or Prest Masters, shall at the dwelling house of every Seaman so listed leave 12d., *the person so listed, and impressed, although absent,—be as absolutely obliged to serve, as if he himself had been present to receive the said impress money.*” Persons absenting themselves from being impressed, at their return home, or as soon as they can otherwise be taken, be secured till further orders. “From the Court at Whitehall, this 8th day of Feb^r 1665-6.
 “Your very lov^d Friends,

“GILL. CANT,	W. COVENTRY,
ST. ALBAN,	BUCKINGHAM,
ARLINGTON,	LAUDERDALE,
GEO. BECKELEY,	HENRY LONDON.

“To our very lo. Friends the Mayor, Ald^{rs}, Justices
 of Peace at the City of Bristol.”

A letter direct to the Mayor, places before us the favour and estimation in which Bristol was regarded by the Government.

“Sir,

“I have received your letter of the fifth, with the enclosed information, for which I return you thanks; and so desire that as any intelligence shall come to your ears, which may be of use to the King’s service for me to know, that you will give me an account of it;—we are taking all the care that may be, to get out frigates unto the several stations for securing the return of our merchant ships; amongst which, a *particular regard will be had to those belonging to Bristol*, when we know how many ships are suddenly expected home from the plantations.

“I am

“For his Majesty’s service,
 for the Mayor of Bristol.

“Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

“W. COVENTRY.

“Whitehall, 8th March, 1665-6.”

Two entries, also appertaining to the Dutch war, though somewhat later, it is better to dispose of here. Feb. 13th, 1671-2. The Mayor [John Hicckes] received an order, for "impressing 500 Seamen for the Navy—the Comm^{rs}—to pay for the same, and *any loss to be borne by the Chamber*. The men impressed for the Navy, to be placed in the Guildhall under a Guard of Soldiers."

Among the prejudices of the times, may be included the antipathy of the citizens to foreigners; this, a national feeling, was increased locally, by their mercantile transactions interfering with the privileges, and rights of the free-men. Their relative positions will be best elucidated, by condensing certain passages, from an act of appalling lengthy wordiness, called into vigour by the increase of foreigners to our port in 1666.

According to ancient custom, no person not free of the City; could sell within its liberties, any merchandise by retail,—or keep any shop for display of his goods,—or pursue any "occupation, mystery, or handicraft." Particularly by the charter of King John and Henry, no man was to be received within the walls, "against the wills and minds of the Burgesses." No foreign merchant was to buy within the town of a stranger, but of the Burgesses *only*. No "Alien or Stranger, to keep any tavern, or to utter his wines but in his ship, to cut no cloth but in open faïres, nor tarry or abide in the said town with his merchandises to make sale above forty days. And whereas also, Edward sometime King of England, of famous memory, the third of that name, by his charter granted to the Burgesses * * and confirmed also in Parliament, that if there be any difficulty or defecte, for which a remedy hath not been provided," the Mayor and Sheriffs, and their successors, with the assent of the Commonalty, "may elect successively from time to time, forty of *the better and graver sort of men* of the said towne, who should have the power of ordayning and establishing a competent remedy, * * * agreeable to reason and profitable to the community."

The Common Council, the 14th of Henry the Eighth—"as a course thought fitt and agreeable to that time"—enacted, that no Burgess should receive into his house the "merchandizes of any stranger, as well of London as of the parts of Ireland, or of any other place. But the same merchandizes be brought into the Back Hall, there to be openly put to sale upon paine of discommuning every such Burgess, soe doeing contrary, or paying a good fine."

But "diverse strangers and foreigners" do not mind the "said antient Customs, and wholly intending their private proffitt, have of late years devised and practised, by all sinister and subtile means, to defraud the said Customs,* * * and, to that end do now immediately in privatt and secrett places, usually * * * sell their merchandizes, and use arts, trades, occupations, misteryes, and handycraftes, within the said Citty."* * * *

To the great detriment of the freemen, "who beare scott and lott,¹ beare offices, and undergoe other charges, which strangers and others not free, are chargeable withall.** For avoyding such prejudice and danger as thereby groweth,** and is now more of late used than was at any time heretofore suffered," it is ordered by the Corporation in Common Council assembled, "that noe person whatsoever, not being free of the Citty, shall at any time after the feast of St. Michael, now next ensuing,—by any means whatsoever, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other; shew, or sell any merchandizes by retaile within the City,** upon paine to forfeitt to the Chamberlain for the time being," to the use of the City, "the summe of twenty pounds of lawful money of England, for every time such person shall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof." By the same Act, strangers were prohibited from keeping any shop, or pursuing any calling, under a like penalty for each offence.

The forfeitures to be "recovered by action of debte,** prosecuted in the name of the Chamberlaine of the Citty in the King's Maj^{ty} Courtes, to be holden in the Guildhall."*** No action of law to be admitted or allowed for the defend^t who in all cases is to pay the costs. One part of all forfeitures "to be employed towards the reliefe of the poor children, to be brought up and maintayned in Queen Elizabeth's Hospitall, in the Greene. Another part to the informer, and the third part to the use of the children in the Maids' Hospitall, of the guifte of Ald^r Whitsun, deceased." The ordinance not to extend to persons bringing victuals, or wood, which are to be sold in St. Thomas Street, "as hath beene accustomed."

The Act was not dormant. Instances of its activity, watchfulness, and vigour, occur in abundance. Not confining ourselves to one year, we will extend our extracts through many.

"3rd November, 1660. John Simons, of Christ Church Parish, being a stranger, is limited to depart the City, within fourteen days next, or to be proceeded against, according to law."

"11th October, 1662. It is ordered, that James Anderson, Phillip Clarke, and Francis Kay, being all strangers, doe in fourteen days departe the Citty; or else severally bring testimonialls according to law."

"18th February, 1666. Whereas, there are several parcells of molasses and sugar, bought by one Thos. Clayton, a Londoner, of several strangers here in this Citty; and, upon information before us, it appearing that the same, a foreigner bought and sold. It is resolved, and the Sheriffs are desired, that the same molasses and sugar being

¹ "15th June, 1672. Abel Adams, being bid by M^r Mayor, to give back the money he had of a woman, he said he would not,—for I pay scott and lott, and wee tradesmen are valued no more than Turkes."

"now aboard the barque called 'The Talent of Swansy,' be presently seized upon; and that the sharers of y^e suite, in case any shall be, disbursed and allowed out of the *sale* upon the account to be *given* in.

"THOS. LANGTON, Mayor."

December, 1674. "Peter Young, Soapboiler, living on the Bridge, James Fry and Samuel Hollister, Grocers, living in Wine Street, for opening their shops and selling goods not being freemen, their shops to be shut down and their goods to be seized upon as foreign bought,—and sold according to custom until they shall severally take the oaths of a freeman." Fry, prevented the execution of the order by immediately taking the oath, and was admitted to his freedom. The others, opposed the authorities for a time, but were necessitated to yield, and took the oaths in 1676. A few others in a note.¹

Perhaps the most accurate impression of the signs of the times, is conveyed in the Presentments of the Grand Juries. Many of the passages reveal a remarkable difference in the customs of England. Many instruct us of the domestic condition of the City; of the spiritual, political, and social life agitating its bosom. We draw from them conclusions favourable to the expansion of the public mind—we learn the vast changes in all that contributes to the comforts, and necessities of life, which have been made; and the beautiful vision we fondly dote over, of the "good old times," is scared and dissipated before the advance of Truth. These Presentments, contain so many exponents relative to the City, it would be inexcusable to suffer them to perish. Sometimes meagre, sometimes prolix, sometimes obscure, sometimes quaint, and sometimes combining all. We have preferred to give only the

¹ Same date. "That Edmund Hyman, Hooper, being examined touching the buying of some hoopcs of a stranger, has then confessed before the Mayor and Aldermen, that he did buy the s^d quoil of hoopcs for Wm. Swift, and y^t Swift spoke to the s^d Hyman to buy them for him, as he was noe freeman, and that Swift was to give him halfe penny in the bundle for his paines, and it did then clearly appeare that Hyman bought them under color, and noe otherwise."

"Upon y^e complaint y^t Daniell Gibbons, Smith, doth under color keepe shopp, orders that y^e s^d Daniell Gibbons shopp be shutt downe, and his name putt out of y^e Inrollment of Apprentices, except he shew cause to the contrary the next adjournment of the Court."

"1st Dec. 1669. It is ordered that John Aldridge, who works with Jonathan Arnold, shal be no longer entertained by the said Arnold, and that for the future the said Arnold being noe freeman, shall not work at the trade of worsted combing within this Citie, or entertain any other person; and further, that noe persons being freemen, and using the art of worsted combing, shall entertain or sett any journeymen on work, unless they bring a testimoniall according to law."

more informing, and more expressive passages. In this instance, we give the preface common to each.

“ To the Worshipful Sir Robert Yeamans, Knight and Baronet, Mayor—and the Aldermen, his Brethren, his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace of the City and County of Bristol, at the Quarter Sessions, held at the Guildhall of this said City, the 18th day of October, in the 21st year of Charles II, 1669.”

“ The humble Presentment of the Grand Inquest. We being by your Worship’s summons called into this service, lying under the sacred obligation of an oath, for performance of our duty ; being desirous faithfully to discharge the trust committed unto us in all humility and reverence to your Worship,—without troubling you with *prolixity and tediousness*, do humbly present the particulars underwritten.”

Then follow *fifteen elaborated statements* of grievances ; the pith of which we will endeavour to extract. Among subjects most enlarged upon “ is the horrid impiety of the observance of the Sabbath day.” On the gross and increasing immoralities within the “ liberties of the City,”—loud complaints on the abuse of weights and measures, and on the negligence of those whose duty it is to inspect these evils. “ Of undue fees extorted by the Mayor’s and Sheriffs’ Officers.” “ The untoward unrulinesse and heedlesse rashnesse of Halliers,” in carelessly driving their horses through the streets, &c. A list of neglects (not very complimentary to the habits of our ancestors) on the want and due observance of decent cleanliness before their doors, and in many of the streets, &c. Also, “ the necessarinesse of putting up lights in the darkest nights, especially in many darke places and passages.” “ The want of employing several sums of money according to the wills of donors, benefactors to this City; whereof we understand much hath been given to the use of the poor, to buy corn for store at the best hand, and to be delivered unto them for their money at the first cost, and to keep them at work.” They say they are “ given to understand, that sundry considerable sums of money were given and bequeathed for the use of clothiers, and clothworkers, and principally to be preferred to persons of that trade by way of loan for several years gratis, which might be very available for the advancing of *that famous trade in this City*, much wanted, if they were disposed of to the uses for which they were devised.” The Chamberlain does not escape censure from this inquisitorial body,—for his many neglects of not repairing certain roads, streets, slips, and holes, particularly “ a greate hole in the River, at the Back, by reason whereof

a barque laden with corne did oversett," whereby the corn was spoiled, "since lastt fair this happened." They express themselves with much warmth on "the greate damage" to freemen by the dealing of "one foreigner with another" in this City, "a thinge very much complained of as a greate grievance unto divers tradesmen."

"The unsufferable rudenesse and extortion of Porters in exacteing what they please for landing and shipping of goods, without complying with whome, persons are suffered scurrilously to be abused." They conclude with the nuisance arising from the unnecessary number of ale houses, and the abuses of taverns, inns, and victualling houses, &c., &c."

The leading feature in our next Presentment, is devoted to a flattering eulogium on the virtues of John Knight, Jun.¹ Its sentiment, strangely marks the character of the age. There were more than one family of the Knights, who rose to municipal distinction. It is a task, as their names glide through the official pages, to recognise, under the rapid changes of principles usual at this period, their separate identity. The John Knight, here before us, we suppose a nephew of Sir John, the unrelenting enemy of the Society of Friends.

"To the Right Worshipful John Knight, Mayor, and to the Worshipful the Aldermen, his Majesty's Justices for the City and County of the City of Bristol. The humble presentment of the Grand Jury, at the General Sessions of the Peace, begun the 11th day of October, 1670. We, the Grand Inquest for the said City and County,

¹ "1670. March 6th. The House resolved that a remonstrance be made in the names of the Corporation of Mr. Mayor's qualifications, course of life, deportment, as well before as since his election of being Mayor."

"These are to certify and declare, that John Knight, Esq., now Mayor of the City of Bristol; hath from time to time given clear evidence of his serious, and sober life; of his peaceable disposition, and judgment in promoting the reconciliation of others; and by his earnest desire for composing differences wherein himself hath been concerned;—hath likewise given signal testimonies of his great loyalty to his Majesty and Government, to the hazard of life and estate, in the worst of times, and for the restoration of his Majesty—is orthodox, in his judgment, as to doctrine, conformable in his practice to the Liturgy and Government of the Church of England—and no frequenter or approver of seditious Conventicles—and further, since his elevation, to be Mayor of the City, hath also manifested his unquestionable ability, faithfulness, and wisdom, in the service of his Majesty, in his place, by his prudent management of public affairs, and by a careful execution of his Majesty's laws, relating either to matters ecclesiastical or civil."

The above remonstrance was forwarded to his Majesty. Sir John Knight was absent at the presentation, but Sir Robert Yeamans was present.

“seriously considering the great advantages redounding to such humane societies ; where, due encouragements are given to the virtuous,—and where just restraints are laid upon the exorbitant and dishonest practises of bad men ; and that the piety and policy of present and former ages, have expounded many wholesome and good laws to this purpose, the execution whereof as it is the grand concernment of this honourable Court,—so we esteem it our bounden duty, according to our present trust, to be, in what we can, subservient and ministerial thereunto. And also gratefully to acknowledge, in behalf of the City, the vigilant endeavours of the Worshipful Bench therein ; and more particularly, the prudent choice of that worthy person, before whom the chief ensigns of authority in this place are now borne ; who hath deserved so well of this City, that we judge ourselves obliged (having this opportunity,) thereof publicly to make this thankful acknowledgement ; he, being a person of known loyalty, who adventured himself in the times of the greatest difficulty and danger in the service of his sacred Majesty, and his country ; and who hath on all occasions, manifested a tender regard to the preservation of the liberties and franchises of this City. And considering that nothing renders a City more flourishing, than when it is governed by good laws,—and those are duly executed, we cannot but humbly lay before your Worships, such things in order thereunto, as fall under our present observation ; some, whereof are of great importance to this Corporation, being very confident that in a work that tends to the general good of this place, your utmost endeavours will not be wanting.”

They then present the usual amount of grievances, nuisances, and annoyances.

A dread of the infringement of their charter of privileges, franchises, &c., as they have reason to suspect that apparent violation “have been lately offered thereunto.”

An open disregard of the Lord's day, by neglect of all religious observances, also in cursing and swearing, and many other gross violations. Against “seditious, riotous, tumultuous, and therefore unlawful meetings,” which are of frequent occurrence, desiring their suppression. Their attention is particularly called to the “odious and loathsome sin of drunkenness ; and the evils arising from alehouses, taverns, victualing houses, kept by persons who from want of integrity, honesty, and decorum, are not qualified for such callings.”

Then follow some minor inconveniences ; and in clause twelve, they complain that the Key Pipe, “though heretofore presented, remains unrepaired,—whereby the water is in danger utterly to be lost, to the great distress of that part of the City, (although, as we are informed) there be a considerable sum of money intrusted in the City's hands for the constant performing of it. And likewise, that the Back Pipe or Conduit is very defective, there having been no water of late.” They courteously conclude their list of complaints by a hint, that the several Aldermen should frequently visit in their several Wards, which would greatly conduce to the amelioration of many of the evils above cited.

In explanation of the eulogium of the Grand Jury, on the character of John Knight,—and the further testimonial of the Corporation, which was forwarded to his Majesty,—Seyer, informs us of a transaction, that will serve to elucidate what otherwise,—all adjacent circumstances being obliterated,—must have remained only conjectural. Sir John Knight, whom he describes as a busy, clamorous, insolent, and abusive Tory; the great object of whose vast ambition was to be principal man in the Common Council; a man who expected every thing to give way before him; a man obstinate, opinionated, without feeling, without shame. This said Sir John, allowing the rancour of religious and political animosity, to carry him beyond the bounds of moderation; informed his Majesty, in 1669, that the newly-elected Mayor, Sir Robert Yeamans, and most of the Council, were fanatics. They did not probably, with Sir John, believe in the “Divine right of Kings;” hence, the grounds of his accusation. But this is insignificant. Whatever the aspersion, Mr. Mayor was in consequence invited to London, by his Majesty’s Government; an invitation he felt constrained to accept. Arrived there, to use the choice expression of the second Mary, he was *clapt* into prison,—committed to the Tower. It was also communicated in a very official and stringent little document to John Knight, the succeeding Mayor, that his presence was likewise required in London. In order, therefore, to oppose his calumniators, and to place his character before his Majesty in its true colours, was produced the testimonial from the Corporation we have just perused. Knight was examined and honourably acquitted. In the words of the Calendar,—

“But it was soon found to the contrary, and the informer was forced to fall on his knees to his Majesty and crave pardon. Sir Robert Yeamans, returned the 21st of February, and was honourably brought into Bristol, with 220, horse: and Mr. John Knight, the then Mayor, returned the 20th April, and was honourably brought into Bristol, with 235, horse,—but the said informer, Sir John Knight, came to Lawford’s Gate, and privately passed over the water to his own house in Temple Street.”

Herefrom, we learn that the same divisions and animosities, that had eaten into the heart of home during the Civil Wars—still infected the citizens; and even led to more serious results, than stormy discussions in the Council Chamber.—Hatred, bigotry, and intolerance had descended from sire to son.

¹ Seyer II., 514.

Education had not enlightened, security not contented them, and the flames of Dissent kindled and blazed as fiercely as ever !

The local antiquary is acquainted with a curious plan of the City, published in 1673, entitled "An exact delineation of the famous City of Bristoll, and suburbs thereof, (engraved and published in 4 sheets,) by J. A. Millerd, cittizen and inhabitant there." He was a mercer. The Corporation, to whom it was dedicated, thought so highly of the performance, and perhaps flattered by the novelty of having a work of art dedicated to them, returned him a vote of thanks,—with a more solid testimony of their approbation, in the shape of a silver tankard, at a cost of £10:7:8. The words of the record are—"The thanks of the House, with a piece of plate of the value of £10, with the City Arms engraved thereon, be presented to M^r James Millerd, for his present of a Map of the City, *being the largest, exactest, and handsomest that was ever yet drawn of this City.*"¹ This induced Millerd to further efforts, and he subsequently engraved and published an oblong perspective view of "The City of Bristoll." But he calculated too liberally on the disposition of the Corporate body to patronise art, if he expected a repetition of the gratifying result that had attended his previous exertions. A late painstaking antiquary² says—"There was a dedication of this print, but which was afterwards rendered illegible by the addition of curtains, partially drawn over it. There is a tradition that the dedication was also to the Corporation, and that the quaint rebuke of the curtains, resulted from Millerd's disappointment at his succeeding efforts receiving no further recognition." Millerd was also patronised by the Society of Merchants. November 20th. They gave him a vote of thanks for his "ground plan" of the City, on that day presented them; and ordered "M^r Treasurer to provide a piece of plate, of the value of £5, with the Arms of the Society thereon to be engraven,

Ja: Jacobus
or James

¹ "Millerd's maps are coarsely and un-artistically executed; but the large four-sheet delineation is now become exceedingly rare and valuable; nothing being known of the original plate, which probably has long since been destroyed. It is [the maps are] surrounded on all sides with representations of the principal public buildings, some of which were copied by the Rev. Samuel Seyer, as illustrations of his Historical Memoirs, and who intended to re-engrave more of them, had he lived to complete the topographical portion of his work."

² The original copper-plate is still preserved.

³ "Corn Street Perambulated," a series of papers by Mr. Tyson, published in the *Bristol Mirror*.

and to present the said Mr. Millerd therewith." In the same month, the Society of Merchants ordered £10, to be presented Richard Bloome,¹ "for his civility and respects," says the record, "in presenting us with two vols. of his works, viz.—a volume of Geography and Traffic; and a volume of Britannia, beautified with Sculptures, and dedicated to our Society, with our coat of Arms in the front of each volume." The liberality of the Society of Merchants probably, subjected them to numerous presents, of a similar expensive character. These, they eventually resolved to decline accepting. The last notice we have on this subject, is June 18th, 1678, when Richard Wallis, was presented with £5, for a "Map of the Arms of Trades. In future," the entry adds, "no present of like nature to be accepted, where a gratuity is expected."

"In the month of January, 1672-3, there fell such a rain, that on the 17th day the meads about the City were overflowed four feet and a half upright; it drowned abundance of cattle, carried away a great deal of hay, and did much damage to the corn. And this year, 1673, wheat was very scarce and dear, so that we had supplies from foreign parts."² Two elucidatory notations, concerning this flood and dearth, and we pass on.—The first from the Council Chamber:—

"Upon consideration of the inundation of the late overflowing of the waters within the parish of St. James, it is ordered that it be referred to any four of the Aldermen to examine by all ways and means, the grounds and causes thereof; whether the same was by the hand of God occasioned, by the great snow and rain; or occasioned by the unsound neglect, defaults, and annoyances of any other person or persons whatsoever, and they report their opinion at the next meeting of the House."

The poor would have greatly suffered in this City from the scarcity of corn, had not the Chamber with its usual benevolent consideration advanced £1000, for the purchasing a supply, and retailing it to them at the wholesale price. By an order of the Quarter Sessions, the poor rates for two months were directed to be doubled.

¹ October 20th, 1674. The Chamber voted Richard Bloome £5 "for his present of two books of Maps and Arms."

² "19th January, 1673. The Court this day taking into consideration the great necessity and wants of the poor at this present time, corn being at such an excessive high rate, do order that the rates for the poor in the several parishes of this City, shall be doubled for the space of two months,

While the Protestant Dissenters were harassed in all parts of the kingdom, the Roman Catholics were tacitly encouraged and protected by the Court. A growing and increasing feeling of discontent prevailed. With Popery, and slavery at the door; the triple cord snapped; the Protestant powers ravaging each other; with the exchequer closed; the Heir Apparent of the crown, an open Papist; and an army encamped near London under Popish officers; the discontented people could not close their eyes upon the foreboding indications of an approaching crisis.¹ The Parliament, to avert the threatening convulsion, attempted a remedy, and passed an act commonly called the "Test Act," for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants, whereby "every person is incapacitated from holding a place of trust under the Government, without taking the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England." To consider of this, there was a meeting of the Common Council, May 13th, 1673, when the Act was read. Part of the consequent entry we transcribe.

"The House being of opinion, that every member thereof is concerned in what is required by the said Act to be done and performed. It is resolved, that the Mayor (Chris^m Griffiths), Ald^m Sheriffs, and Common Council, do meet together on Trinity Sunday, at the Tolzey, and to go there hence to such parish Church, as Mr. Dean Towgood shall think meet; and then and there, to be present at Divine service and sermon, and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the said Act; and Mr. Dean is desired to preach that day, and to administer the Sacrament to every member of the House."

Another invitation. The Lord Marquis of Worcester, Lord-Lieutenant of the City, is coming to Bristol. His purpose to settle the Militia. Intimation has been given to the House. August 7th, a meeting is convened. The Marquis is forthwith to be invited, "and entertained in all respects at the charge of the City." Sir Robert Cann, and Sir John Knight, are to ride to Badminton, on the following morning, and present the invitation in the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. It was further ordered that the Mayor and Aldermen, do "consider and resolve in all circumstances whatever, as to the manner of his reception and entertainment, and that an

"to begin on Saturday next, and the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of the respective parishes are to take notice thereof, and to collect the same accordingly, and to make a just distribution of the same to the impotent and the necessitous poor."

¹ Hume.—Bernard.—Pict. England.—Neale's Hist. Puritans.

humble address be made to him for the appointing such Lord Deputy-Lieutenants, that are citizens, and not country gentlemen." ¹⁻²

Of the manner in which the Marquis was received, no relation has been given. We infer that he accepted the invitation, and was hospitably entertained, from there being a charge on the City fund of £247 : 4 : 11, for that purpose. Of this sum £122 : 1 : 4, was paid the Mayor, Richard Streamer, £3 : 18 : 9, to Capt. Jos. Creswicke, and £121 : 4 : 10, to Nicholas Dupont, a French cook; a rather important personage, whose services are in requisition on all state banquetings.

Two or three courtly visits in the following year, may appropriately, while on this subject, be inserted in this place. Seyer, quoting from a MS. Calendar,³ says that Queen Catherine, accompanied by the Duchess of Cleveland, came to this City, Sept. 11th, 1674, and was honourably entertained at Sir Henry Creswicke's. Records are silent, and point not to any form, nor scarlet. The visit was probably private, and at the gallant Knight's expense. The audits have not the most remote allusion to this entertainment.

"On the 11th September, the same year, the Countesse of Castlemaine [one of Charles's Mistresses] rode into this Cittie in her coach, in pompe, attended by Sir John Churchill, of Churchill, together with Sir Thomas Bridges, of Cainsham, and their ladies, with their retinue of servants; and rode by the Tolzey, and downe Broade Street, and so along the Key, where the great guns fired as she passed by. She alighted at Alderman Olive's, at the 'Three Tuns, in Wine Street, and was there entertained at the cost and chardges of the said Sir John Churchill."⁴

The Corporation, with a just sense of propriety, did not extend their respect for the King, to his royal mistresses. Many of the Corporation were men

¹ "The country party included all the public men who leaned towards Puritanism, and Republicanism."—MACAULAY I., 203.

² "The country groaned under this pressure [taxes] and began to be dissatisfied; which having an influence on some gentlemen of both Houses, gave birth to two parties; the one for the country, the other for the Court. The former, pretended in an impartial manner to espouse the cause of the people in their liberties and properties, and whatever is dear to Englishmen; to assist the religion and Government by law established. The latter, pretended to the same, but thought the King was to have a competent income, and be invested with due power for the exercise of his regal office, without having too great a dependence on the people, a cause which had been of such pernicious effects to his royal father."—REESBY'S *Mem.* 177.

³ II., 514.

⁴ Seyer II., 515.

of sound moral and religious principles,—who were, probably, shocked at the licentiousness of their Monarch ; and though generally lavish of their entertainments,—did not, as in this instance, bestow them upon titled paramours. They went to no expense to do honour to the Countess, unless the firing of the guns were by their order. They gave her no reception, nor entertainment ; and although the royal mistress and her party rode by the Tolzey, no civic dignities assembled to bid the lady welcome, and for lack of their wonted hospitality the Countess and her party were compelled to seek refreshment at an inn. Sir John Churchill courteously paying the bill.

Another illustrious visitor we would not overlook,—more especially, when, at this moment, he is entrusted with the chief direction of affairs.—The Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer, comes to Bristol. He is, no doubt, received with proper formalities by the Corporation, but their records make no revelation, except that the City paid for feasting him :—“ July 23rd, Nicholas Dupont, the French cook, received for wine and other provisions for the entertainment of the Lord Treasurer, £17 : 9 : 9.” The Corporation could not test great men by any standard of morality. It was sufficient they were in power, to merit the civic compliment.—Danby for instance, was “ greedy of wealth and honours, corrupt himself, and a corrupter of others.”¹ His business in this City, if any other than gracing the entertainment, not discoverable.

The sound of hostile cannon is heard on England's shores ! A Dutch fleet is sailing unopposed up the stately Thames ! The renowned Admiral De Ruyter, Commander. Not for centuries had a hostile force dared to approach its coasts. Not for centuries had so great a humiliation fallen upon the nation. A few burnings of ships,—a general terrifying of the people,—and the enemy prudently retired. So great an indignity to a brave country, does not fall within the compass of our local transactions, more especially as our chroniclers are mute. They relate some coincident circumstances,—amongst others, that the Duchess of Monmouth, “ one of the wisest and craftiest of her sex,”²⁻³ came privately to Bristol, and dined at the house of Edward Hurne, vintner, on St. Michael's Hill, [he was Sheriff in 1669,]

¹ Macaulay.

² Evelyn.

³ “ She is very assuming and witty, but hath little sincerity; she governed the Duke, and made him do several things, which he repents of.”—*Diary of the Times of Charles II.*, Edited by R. W. Blencowe, Esq., A.M., I., 460.

where she was visited by the Mayor, [Edward Morgan, "upholder"], and some of the Council. What political intrigue was going on that called for this private visit, and the attention of the Corporation, is unwritten. The Duchess was afterwards entertained at the house of Richard Streamer [Sheriff in 1663] in St. Werburgh's parish; where, a banquet was prepared for herself and retinue,—and where, she was visited by Mrs. Mayoress. She was conducted on her departure, as far as the Castle.¹ March 8th, 1668. There was paid Eliza Wells, for sweetmeats, delivered towards the entertainment of the Duchess, £3:18:8. Allowing the Duchess had a numerous retinue, they were considerably refreshed, if they consumed all the wine for which the City paid on this occasion. The Chamberlain has a charge of twenty pounds for this item alone.

We do not know when, or wherefore, originated the custom, of our good Corporation, in making presents of wine and sugar. The period is so remote that our records do not reach it. It is sufficient to observe, Bristol had a celebrity for boundless liberality in these luxurious gifts. So proud, indeed, was the Corporation of its fame, that it did not suffer any distinguished personage, of whatever creed, or party, to visit the City or neighbourhood, without presenting him with a sample of these delicacies. These observations have arisen from the perusal of the following entry, not remarkable for its perspicuity.—Common Council, 18th July.

"Several letters from London directed to Sir John Knight, from Walter Sandy, Esq., giving of him notice of the coming of the Lord Arlington,² one of his Majesty's Privy Council, and Principal Secretary of State, with other persons of honour. And therein with his service to the Mayor and Aldermen, tendering it as his advice, that a present of sack, claret, and white wine, should be sent unto Bath, unto him, as a testimony of the acknowledgment and service of the City."³

Lord Arlington, one of the secret Council of Charles, that went by the name of the Cabal,—was, with several persons of distinction, at this time at Bath. He was in heart a Catholic, and is described as a man "of learning, of elegant taste, and polished manners, but specious and unprincipled."³ He had not received any of the Corporation's favourite medium of conveying respect to official dignitaries, whose word might be useful. Neither the

¹ Evans.

² Lord Chamberlain, 1671, resided at Euston Hall, in Suffolk.

³ Macaulay.

freedom of the City which he would not value,—nor wine and sugar, which he would, had been presented him; and he might have departed from the neighbourhood unhonoured, and unthought of by the worthy Corporation, had not the propriety of grafting themselves upon his memory, been suggested to them by Mr. Sandy. The Chamber lost no time in deliberation; and on the impulse of the moment, “ordered and agreed that the Chamberlain should forthwith provide a hogshead of sack, a hogshead of claret, and a hogshead of white wine, and to take care the same be sent to Bath the same evening, and that Mr. Chamberlain do go along with the same, and present to his Lordship accordingly.” The Chamberlain, accordingly waited on the principal Secretary of State, by whom the wine is graciously accepted. The sum of £39, appears in the Treasurer’s accounts as the cost of the compliment. But this was not all, the Corporation had invited persons of less distinction and influence to dine with them—and the fame of their hospitality was bruited about. Therefore it was moved by the inflexible loyalists, that he should be invited to a dinner. But a majority of the Chamber, knowing that he belonged to a ministry noted for its dangerous and pernicious counsels, and his tendency to Popery, negatived the motion.

There have been solemn preparations at the old Guildhall,—its walls are hung with dark funereal pomp,—and black grim splendour surrounds the silent form of departed greatness! Death has asserted his sable dominion,—dismal trappings, and banners of the grave gloomily proclaim his victory! For three days the citizens throng the Hall,—where, in gorgeous solemnity is laid a form of clay,—the mortal remains of the Great Captain, Commander of the Navy, Sir William Penn. His life-work done,—to his native City brought,—for a stately funeral, befitting his reputation and renown! The trainbands line the street on either side.—The chief dignitaries of the City, swell the dark procession to the tomb—and with such military observance as denote respect for departed greatness,—in Redcliff Church they left him to his rest! His monument is there,—and tells the story of his life. Three long pennons and a suit of armour are suspended over his memorial,—a portion of the armour remains,—and the shattered shreds of two faded pennons,—passing silently away.

Were we to recapitulate year by year, the persecutions the Nonconformists endured, we should but weary the attention. Therefore we have allowed an

act passed in 1666, under the plausible pretence of defending Monarchy from the encroachments of Dissenters, to remain unnoticed, till called for by the introduction of any event on which our narrative might touch. From the cruel hatred, and rigorous treatment the Nonconformists received throughout the greater part of England, Bristol is not exempt. But before entering again on the exploits of our civic authorities, we will steal a few words from that "quaint old gossip, Pepys,"—he is alluding to the "five mile act,"¹ when he says, "this law against Conventicles is very severe, as Greed or Creed, whom I meet here do tell me; that it being named that Papists' meetings might be included, the House was divided upon it, and it was carried in the negative, which will give great disgust to the people I doubt—and this business of religion do disgust every body, the Parliament being vehement against the Nonconformists, while the King seems to be willing to countenance them; we are all poor and in pieces—God help us."

1674. Ralph Olliffe's Mayoralty, even in that bigoted age,—was especially distinguished by an exercise of the authority, with which the proclamations of the Government against sectaries had endowed him. He is said to have entered upon his official career, with the understanding that he would use his most strenuous efforts to back dissent,—for which reason he himself declared, he had accepted the civic sceptre. He was a vintner and publican, landlord of a noted tavern in Corn Street; of which the "Three Tuns," the Vintner's Arms, was the sign. Here, with other convivial members of the fraternity he indulged himself as freely in wine, then scarcely deemed a fault, as he did in putting into execution the stringent and unhealthy laws against Nonconformists. Here, with his creatures around him, as ignorant and besotted as himself, the chief Magistrate of the City, held his domestic empire; diversifying the afternoons' carouse, by concocting measures with his boon companions, for hunting Conventicles the following morning. The Baptists' Records, with great minuteness, and somewhat verbose phraseology, enlarge freely on the persecutions endured at this season, by its early members.

¹ "It was enacted that no Dissenting minister, who refused to take the non-resistance oath, should, except [when passing] upon the road, come within five miles of any Corporation, or of any place where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of £50, and six months imprisonment.—Under colour of removing them from places where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of subsistence."—HUME.

Of these the substance, and a few of the more noticeable passages may be ingrafted in these pages.¹

In October, "began the eighth persecution" under the new Bishop, Guy Charlton, "a violent man against good people who had separated from the church." He resolved not to "leave the track of a meeting." In Bristol "there were now six separate churches settled in this City, viz: three baptised congregations, two Independent congregations, and one Presbyterian congregation, viz: Mr. Hardcastle's, being our meeting, most part baptised; Mr. Gifford's, all baptised; and Mr. Kitchen's, all baptised. And Mr. Thompson's and Mr. Troughton's congregations were Independents, and Mr. Weeks' congregation were Presbyterians." Three were in St. James' parish, and the remainder in the Castle Precincts; the most of them consisting of many hundred hearers and members. "Thus the Lord, having settled us for several years before, in order, as armies with banners; yet, but like little flocks of kids in comparison with the multitudes from the many synagogues of the Philistines of our days. Their Goliath, Guy, the Bishop, being come, and he having now got a Mayor, within a month after he came, fit for his purpose,—one greatly in his favour, Ralph Olive by name, a vintner, and a great drinker, a man given to much wine,—being now newly-elected and sworn, that would do what the Bishop would have him. And not only were these two [the Bishop and the Mayor] bad instruments risen up as formidable enemies against us; but the Lord suffered to be raised up another wicked instrument to be a scourge and trial to us, his poor people; justly, for our sins of unthankfulness and unsuitable walking to our gracious Father, and not rendering according to former benefits received. Which third, and pestilent adversary against us, which did the drudgery of the work for them, was one John Hellier, an attorney-at-law, of this City, and had been bred up here. And he was one very crafty and subtle in the law; that, through craft prospering in his hand, had gotten an estate of about £200, per annum. This was the Mayor's landlord," who turned informer, and attended the meetings for the purpose of laying informations against them. "The Bishop also sent three, and sometimes more, of his own clergy, namely, Parson Pledwell, of Peter's; Heath, of Austin's, and Godwin, of Philip's, that would come up in our meetings in the midst of sermon, and stay some time, and take notice of as many as they could

¹ In part quoted from "Corn Street Perambulated," in the *Bristol Mirror* :

know, then go to the Mayor, and give information against us. Thus when they should be preaching to their own flocks in their parishes, they left them, and would so audaciously come to devour us, in the attire of foolish shepherds, but inwardly were ravening wolves." The licences that had been granted by the King to the Bristol separatists, and others to hold meetings, were recalled in February, 1675. Whereat "the Bishop and his clergy greatly rejoiced, and began vigorously to bestir themselves." They lost no time.—"The very same week this Proclamation came down to make void the licences, the Bishop, with divers of his clergy, got some of the Aldermen and some of the Military Officers together, and goes to Mr. Thompson's meeting, in the Castle, upon the fourth day of the week; his lecture in the middle of the week, being the tenth day of the twelfth month, February, 1674; where, finding of him preaching, they, after search, met with him where the people had conveyed him away in another part of the house, against the freeness of his own mind. And so they laid hands on him and brought him before the Mayor, to his mansion house; where, after long examination and discourse, about nine of the clock at night, the Mayor, Bishop, and some Aldermen commit Mr. Thompson to Newgate prison for six months." In the same manner were the other Ministers committed. "And when Sheriff Fielding, about ten at night, had brought them to the prison door, he deridingly bid Mr. Weeks, take his leave of all his holy brethren." The noisomeness of the place was intolerable, and Mr. Thompson was soon seized with fever. A physician who attended, counselled his removal; the application was refused. A bond of £500, was offered in vain to the Sheriff for his security, and an appeal to the Bishop was equally futile.—The Bishop was inflexible. But nothing could move the indomitable spirit of his incarcerated victim. Mr. Thompson declared, that if he had known at the time, when he was thrust into prison that he should die there, he would have done no otherwise than he had done. He did die there.—In a few weeks his sufferings terminated, and he bade adieu to Time. Though one minister had attested his sincerity by the sacrifice of his life,—though the others had been imprisoned,—it did not intimidate. There were not wanting godly men to carry on the work. But the leaders of the congregations, consulted and adopted precautionary measures,—

"In order to which," the record states, "at our own meeting, to prevent spies that might come in the room as hearers, and yet that no strangers, or persons we know

“not, might not be hindered from coming into our meeting, whether good or bad, to hear the gospel, we contrived a curtain, to be hung in the meeting place, that did inclose as much room as above fifty might sit within it; and among those men, he that preached should stand; that so, if any informer was privately in the room as a hearer, he might hear him that spake, but could not see him, and thereby not know him. And there were brethren without the curtain, that would hinder any from going within the curtain that they did not know to be friends; and so, let whoso would come into our meeting to hear, without the curtain. And when our company and time were come to begin the meeting, we drew the curtain, and filled up the stairs with women and maids, that sat in it, that the informers could not quickly run up. And when we had notice that the informers, or officers, were coming, we caused the minister or brother that preached, to forbear, and sit down. Then we drew back the curtain, laying the whole room open, that they might see us all. And so all the people would begin to sing a psalm; that, at the beginning of the meeting, we did always name what psalm we would sing, if the informers, or the Mayor or his officers, come in. Thus still when they came in we were singing, [so] that they could not find any one preaching, but all singing. And, at our meeting we ordered it so, that none read the psalm after the first line, but every one brought their Bibles, and so read for themselves: that they might not lay hold of any one for preaching, or as much as reading the psalm, and so to imprison any more for that, as they had our Ministers. Which means the Lord blessed, that many times when the Mayor came, they were all singing, that he knew not who to take away more than another. And so when the Mayor, Hellier, or the other informers, had taken our names, and done what they would, and carried away whom they pleased, and when they were gone down out of our rooms, then we ceased singing, and drew the curtain again,—and the Minister or brother would go on with the sermon, until they came again,—which sometimes they would thrice in one meeting disturb us,—or until our time was expired. This was our constant manner during this persecution, in Olive’s Mayoralty; and we were by the Lord helped, that we were in a good measure edified, and our enemies often disappointed. *Laus Deo.*”

The Magistrates had so much to do with granting of warrants, sending their Sergeants, and raising Constables, to suppress the meetings in the evening; and the next morning receiving informations and trials, that they “grew much weary,” and appoint but one day in the week to hear matters about meetings. When disturbing a Conventicle, his Worship and Officers must have felt their insignificance, before a congregation all singing; who, in answer to their commands, and in reply to their threats, only sung with louder voice. The Chief Magistrate, indignant at the perseverance of the separatists, loses his dignity. Here he appears in a ridiculous attitude:—

"Upon the 25th of the second month, [April,] 1675, as brother Terrill was speaking, about two of the clock, or near it, two of the Bishop's men coming in, find us then singing; then they go away; and half an hour after, the Mayor of the City and Alderman Streamer, with several officers, come up into our meeting; and the Mayor finding us only singing, and none read the Psalm, in great rage and passion he strikes one man's Bible out of his hands, so fierce, that the book fled over the people's heads, three or four yards from him, among the people. Then, in said rage, the Mayor commands us, in the King's name, to depart; but the people keep on singing, looking on their books; which the Mayor perceiving that none departed, he fell on us by threats, that he had given us warning. Then the Mayor went down to the door, and commanded it to be kept, and suffered none to go forth, but as they gave their names. And as they came forth, the Mayor sent three, namely, brother Simpon, that aged disciple, and Mr. Hill, with Matthew Price, to Newgate prison, where he had sent six of Mr. Weeks's meeting the same day, as they met in the street, before their door, because they kept them out, and charged them as persons guilty of a riot, and broke into the man's house, out of whose window the Minister preached to the people; but the Minister escaped when the Sheriff broke in. This day, Whiting, [a desperate fellow,] the Bishop's man, broke our pulpit; and thus they trampled upon us."

Alderman Hickes, sanctioned the proceedings of his Chief, and though not introduced in the above transactions, was also one of the clique.

"The 13th Lord's day, being the 14th day of the 9th month, 1675, we had again great trouble in the morning; for Hellier, the day before, had got one of the Aldermen, Sir Robert Yeamans, a great wine drinker, to the Three Tuns Tavern, in Corn Street, where Alderman Olive dwelt; there they were most part of the afternoon, filling themselves, and preparing who should give us disturbance the next day."

Mr. Robins, Steward of the Sheriff's Court, had received information that himself and Hellier were to be sent for to London, for belying the Parliament; which rather alarmed and quieted them for the time. "This," says the record, "put them in some fear, that it was observed, that Hellier and Robins, and some others, went to the Tuns Tavern, to their instrument, Alderman Olive, and plodded what to do, drinking themselves drunk. So, through this fear, some judged we were let alone this day." These legalized interruptions to the solemnity of divine worship, were continued by Alderman Olliffe, after the expiration of his Mayoralty. Sanctioned and promoted by the head of the church, ostensibly in the name of a religion which has for its fundamental principles, peace, good will, and charity. How strange the anomaly!

An attempt was this year made by the Dean and Chapter, instigated by Guy Charlton, the Bishop, to obtain certain privileges, and impose an inquisition upon the citizens. The attempt was met with the determined opposition of the Corporation, as will be seen by the perusal of their correspondence. When Independents, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Papists, and Dissent, in its endless variety, repudiated the Established Church; it was no season for its members to loosen their bonds of union, by ill-judged aggressions upon ancient rites and immunities. Our first intimation of their proceedings, is from a letter written by Mr. Crabb, Mayor, to the City Representatives in Parliament, dated April 9th. Mr. Crabb may have performed his municipal duties with credit to himself, and have reflected honour upon the City. But Mr. Crabb is a very poor hand at a letter. We have a specimen of his style of composition before us; but it is so prolix, and intricate, that our rapidly-contracting limits, induce us to spare its infliction upon the reader. The information the Mayor is endeavouring to convey, may be told in a few words. He suspects some of the Clergy,—and other important personages suspect them also,—are surreptitiously seeking, without the privity of the Corporation, to procure “a clause to be inserted in the Bill for the Endowment of Poor Vicarages, or some other act now passing,” [Mr. Crabb has not a very lucid idea of the business,] “which would be a preliminary to something worse, that might be hereafter tendered to the Parliament,” and advises the Members, “such designing, *if there be any*,” to their “sudden inspection therein, that the City might not be surprised,” in an affair of such magnitude. This, with his “humble service, is all at present,” from the nervous Mayor.

The replies of the Representatives, “the Worshipful Sir John Knight, and Sir Humphrey Hooke,” are not extant. But the correspondence of the Corporation has been preserved,—and is so far interesting, as proving the origin of that offence, which eventually induced the civic authorities, after a slight intermission of apparent conciliation,—to provide for themselves, a place of worship. For this purpose St. Mark’s Church,—now used as the Mayor’s Chapel, and distinguished as a sumptuous architectural gem, was fitted up after the debased fashion of the age. The letters of the Corporation it would be inexcusable to omit. The reader can spread them into significance. With but little commentary we print them word for word. More than a month has elapsed since the Mayor’s communication. A Committee has been appointed.

The 12th May a letter is indited, "To the Hon^{ble} Sir Rob^t Atkins, one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas,"—

"MY LORD,

"We have desired Sir John Knight, to deliver you a copy of a paper given in to us by the Dean, and Prebendaries of the Church of Bristol. The purport whereof is to exempt themselves, not only from the jurisdiction of the City, but in truth from all temporal jurisdiction whatsoever; which, in our opinion, will not only be a great infringement of the liberties, and privileges of this City; but, also of very ill consequence, and pernicious to the Government. The particular transaction, whereof we refer to the relation of Sir J^{no} Knight. In a case of this moment, and difficulty, we make it our request to you, that you will be pleased to afford us your advice, and assistance with Sir John Knight, to support our rights and undoubted immunities; and the frequent experience we have, of your readiness to promote all good acts for the weal and preservation of this City, assures us of your granting the request of,

"My Lord, your Lordship's most humble Servants,

"W ^m . CRABB, Mayor,	THO ^s . STEVENS,
ROB ^t . CANN,	R ^d . STREAMER."
J ^{no} . LAWFORD,	

We do not know what course Atkins recommended. He probably desired, if proceedings were still continued, to hear further from the Corporation. The 18th of June, another letter is addressed to him, wherein their grievances are described.

"MY LORD,

"We make bold to acquaint your Lordship, that the Dean and Chapter, per-severe in the contest with the City,—with unseemingly rigour and severity; *as by arresting of the Mayor*,—by endeavouring to obtain a commission of charitable uses, in which they nominate none but creatures of their own to be Commissioners. We humbly beg your Lordship's opinion, whether we are not exempt by the statute, from the inquisition of such commission,—*and, if your Lordship happen to see my Lord Chancellor*, that you would please acquaint his Lordship with these proceedings of theirs; and then we are sure they will receive very slender encouragement from his Lordship, to proceed in this severe manner; and to make so great a breach between the Church in the City, and the Government of it.

"W ^m . CRABB, Mayor,	JO ^s . LAWFORD,
ROB ^t . CANN,	RICH ^d . CRUMPE."
J ^{no} . KNIGHT,	

From a subsequent letter, we suppose that Sir Robert did not “happen to see my Lord Chancellor,” and that he, Sir Robert, recommended the Corporation themselves to inform that important functionary, of the treatment they were receiving.

“My Lord,

“There has of late begun unhappy differences between the Dean and Chapter, of the Church of Bristol, and the City. The ground of this contest is, immunities lately set up and claimed by the Church, much in derogation of the privileges, and undoubted rights of the City; and not only so, but they have endeavoured to shorten the jurisdiction and extent of the City,—by depriving us of almost an whole parish claimed by them as a distinct and separate jurisdiction. How far they have been aggressors in this contest, and with what unbeseeming heat and ardour they have prosecuted this affair, by the instigation of the Bishop, will be too tedious to give your Lordship the trouble of knowing. Nor, my Lord, as we are informed, are they contented with that only, but are labouring to obtain a commission of charitable uses in which they do not *stick* to declare, that they principally aim at an inquisition into the *Arcana* of the City; and have not nominated any members hereof, nor any person but such who are creatures of their own to be Commissioners. We hope, my Lord, that the City is exempt by the Statute from any such inquisition,—however, our humble address to your Lordship is, that if any such inquisition be to be issued forth, that the names herewith to be delivered to your Lordship might be inserted. It is not without a great sense we have of the misfortune of this place, to be thus engaged where the Church has so many enemies; that they will so industriously endeavour to make so loyal a Magistracy, at a necessary variance with them; and of what ill consequences it may be, that they should intermeddle with the Government of the City, and interrupt the current of justice, in a great part of it—your *Lordship we are sure is very apprehensible*, and we are confident will not find countenance from *so great an example of wisdom and justice as your Lordship*. Thus begging your Lordship’s pardon, we remain,

“My Lord, your most humble Servants,

“WILLIAM CRABB, MAYOR, JOHN LAWFORD,
ROBERT CANN, RICHARD CRUMPE.
JOHN KNIGHT,

“To the Right Honourable Heneage, Lord Finch, Baron of Daventry,
Lord High Chancellor of England.”

The tender eulogium on the character of the Lord Chancellor, with which the Corporation conclude their letter will not be overlooked. Though with

that beautiful ambiguity, for which records and correspondence of bye-gone days are famous,—it is left uncertain, whether for this expression ; or, for what other passage in the letter they beg his Lordship's pardon. This concludes all notable matter we can extract. An entry will furnish the sequel:—

“Sir Thomas Jones, Judge of Assize, made it his request that Sir John Churchill,¹ would endeavour to accommodate the controversy between the City, and the Bishop and Dean and Chapter, if permitted, which was agreed to ; and a report to be made to the House for its final determination. ‘*This order to be kept secret,*’ it being by vote of the House, agreed to be secretly communed of, and that no person presume to discourse of it under severe penalties.”

While this dispute continued, the Corporation did not as customary, on the 5th November, go to the Cathedral,—but, attended service at Redcliff Church ; where a sermon was preached by the Rev. Nicholas Penwarne.² In the preceding month, “he preached a sermon in the Gaunts’ Church, before the Corporation, when some difference happened between the City, and our Bishop.”³ The dispute did not long continue. An entry in 1679-80, is significant of a temporary reconciliation. “Paid £21 : 9., for a cushion, and a cloth of state, both fringed,—and a unicorn gilded, put up in the College to hold the sword.”⁴

¹ On the 6th there was paid Sir John, £15 : 4 : 6., “for charges about a Commission for charitable uses sued out by the Bishop.” No item of any other expenses occurs in our Audits.

² “SIR,—This day our Town Clerk went with Mr. Penwarne to the Bishop’s Court, and by the Attorney, gives me the great thing expected from him, in conformity to the Canon, in that point of prayers wherein he is to prefer the dignified Clergy, before the civil Magistrates, and his compliance is expected to-morrow sevensnight. And if you think it worth our while to contest it, I hope you will give us some countenance, before the time is fixed, otherwise it will be unreasonable in us to expose the Ministers to the *fury* of the Bishop, for a cause we cannot justify, and desire your answer, and am,

“Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

“RICHARD CRUMPE.

“To Sir Robert Cann, Knight and Bart., a Member of Parliament, at the Parliament House,
22nd June, 1678 ; another of the same to Sir John Knight.”

³ For these two discourses the Rev. Gentlemen was paid £2, each.

⁴ 1681. “August 18th. The Mayor acquainted the House that the Dean and Chapter were willing to allot a place in the quire for the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, to hear Divine Service there in a body,—a Committee appointed from the Dean and Prebends, and to have the seats made convenient.”

Indications are on the civic page, that old Bristol, will speedily be astir again, with bells and bonfires. Her Majesty the Queen, is about to honour the City with her presence. The Council meet. It resolves that the manner of receiving and entertaining the royal visiter, should be left to the judgment of a Committee.¹ The Committee decide upon the gentlemen to attend upon the Queen.² It orders, "Notice be given to the several Churchwardens, to ring the bells of the several Churches, on her Majesty's arrival. It directs, "that the way of her Majesty's entrance shall be through the Castle Green, Wine Street, and that the streets be sanded, where her Majesty is to be entertained." That, "All the House appear *in black clothes*," and that, "the Sheriff order the keeper of the Gaol, to keep the prisoners from the grate."³

High festival in the City. It is the 20th July, the day announced for her Majesty's visit. There is a repetition of the usual rejoicings,—acclamations, bells, guns and trumpets,—that the faithful chroniclers of old, so lovingly delight to tell. Queen Katherine has arrived from Bath, escorted by the Earl of Ossory and his troop. The Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet, "who did ride two by two in their foote cloathes on horsebacke," with the Council, "all in black clothes, and chief of the Citty receive her Majesty at Lawford's gate, where the Town Clerk, very gravely utters a learned oration." This ceremony over, to the great comfort of her Majesty. "The Magistrates tooke horse again, and the procession advanced. The Mayor did ride bareheaded before the coach where the Queene was,"—from Lawford's Gate to the residence of Sir Henry Creswicke's, in Small Street. She was guarded by the trainbands. They announce her Majesty's arrival by "a volley of shott, and presently after the great guns fired,—these ceremonies were followed by a most noble and honourable *treat*,"⁴ a masterpiece, probably of Monsieur Dupont's. After the

¹ "The Mayor (William Crabb,) Sir Robert Cann, Sir John Knight, Alderman Hickes, Alderman Olliffe, Alderman Crumpe, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Creswicke, Mr. Day, Mr. Earl, or any five."

² "Sir John Knight, the two Sheriffs, Henry Glisson, and Henry Merrit, Sir Robert Cann, Mr. Earl, and the Town Clerk, to attend them."

³ The gaol was in Wine Street, and the grating to which the prisoners ordinarily had access, communicated with the street.

⁴ 1676. Cost of entertaining the Queen Katharine at Mr. Creswicke's house, Small Street, 11th July, £446 : 2 : 8.

treat, the Earl of Ossory, and other nobles, together with Sir John Knight," that locally conspicuous personage, of more importance than the Mayor,—attended on the Queen, who rode in her coach to the Hotwells, where she remained some time, refreshing herself with the then celebrated water. Her Majesty returned to her Court in Small Street, where she took a "little repose," and her leave, and so left the City for Bath the same day.¹

Attracted by an entry we have dragged into light from its dusky lurking place, where, probably, it has lain from the day the silent pen traced the tortuous characters. We are again, bewildered and confused by the numerous family of the Knights,—whose names at the same period are constantly perceptible to us. We have vainly endeavoured to hew down the mass of obstructions, and to simplify the matted perplexities, that like a maze, entangle us in our research,—and have resigned the hope of giving to each member of the various families so called, his separate position and identity. The owners of this common cognomen, are of humbler grade in society, than those we have hitherto introduced. They are connected with an incident, frequent at that time in sea-faring life, which we pause to relate before entering upon an extraordinary period in England's history; when a fearful epidemic of suspicion, mistrust, and terror, infected the minds of the people,—from which our City did not escape. In 1668, Henry Knight, brother of John Knight, cooper, sailed from this port in the "good ship 'Matthew and Sarah,' of Bristol, Thos. Sparks then Master." The "good ship" was taken by the Turks,—and Knight was "carried captive into Sallee, and from thence to Fez; where, he became a slave to the Emperor of Morocco. He had continued in miserable bondage above six years,—when his brother, October 21st, 1674, petitions the Court to procure his freedom; stating there was a probability of obtaining it for £130. "The Court upon consideration of the s^d petitioner, having a tender regard to so real an object of charity, do make it their request to the inhabitants * * * that they would shew their readiness to assist the petitioner by their charitable contributions, towards the relief of the poor brother, who hath been so long in that slavish captivity; and do order that the Churchwardens of each parish, (by and with the consent of the Right Rev. Father in God, Lord Bishop of this Diocese,² now present in Court,) do on the petitioner's behalf,—ask, take, and receive the charity and benevolence of all well-disposed persons, living

¹ MSS. Cal. Seyer.

² Gilbert Ironside.

“in the respective parishes, for that end and purpose. And all such sums as shall be by them received, towards the poor captive’s ransom, be paid into the hands of Robert Yate, of this City, merchant ; who, is hereby desired to take care for remitting the same towards the redemption of the petitioner’s brother.” Whether the sympathies of the good people of Bristol, were aroused by this appeal, and the unfortunate man was emancipated, is not related. A few years after, 1699, the slavery of the Christians to the Infidels, moved the heart of a Mr. Barker, residing at Fairford. In a letter written to him by the Corporation, occurs this pleasing passage:—“Mr. Fitzherbert did this day acquaint us with a very kind inclination of yours towards this City,—which was, that a relation of yours having left £1000, the profit thereof, for ever to be employed in the redemption of captives from slavery ; you were pleased to make this place the object of that charity, and so to receive the benefit of it.”

Amongst many of the privileges possessed by the supreme municipal dignity, was that of nominating a person for the freedom of the City, with the concurrence of the House.—This freedom, it has been seen, was not only necessary, but indispensable, for all commercial purposes. We have not had to relate that it was otherwise regarded.—But a case occurs, that astonishes the Mayor and the whole House. The proffered boon is disdainfully, and contemptuously rejected. The ancient privilege guarded with hereditary prejudice, is loaded with scorn, and flung aside as a worthless, useless toy. The highest honour the City could bestow, is cast with contumely at the feet of its authorities. We cannot improve upon the quaint diction of the civic record, so as to render the transaction clearer, or more interesting:—

1676. “August 29th, Mr. Mayor, [Sir Robert Cann] proposed Mr. Robert Bagnell, to be made a freeman on his nomination. Carried by a majority.”

“September 12th. Mr. Mayor, this day represented to the House, that whereas they were pleased at the last meeting, upon his motion, to grant the favor unto Mr. Robert Bagnell, to be admitted into the freedom of this City, which Mr. Mayor acquainted the said Mr. Bagnell with ; but the said Mr. Bagnell, instead of being sensible of the great honour that was done to him by Mr. Mayor and this House, and making suitable returns therefore, *did in a saucy and impertinent language*, seem to contemn and despise the honour which was conferred upon him, and this House highly resenting the affront, did order that the last order be utterly expunged from the Council book, and Mr. Bagnell to have no advantage thereby ; and to testify

“their further sense and displeasure against him, they think him for ever incapable of any such favour, and the Mayor to have power to nominate another person; all which was granted to Mr. Mayor, out of the great sense this House has, of the great honour and service, Mr. Mayor has done this City this last year.”

The atrocious fiction, commonly called the great Popish plot, now filled the minds of the people with indignation and alarm. The hereditary hatred, and animosity to Roman Catholics was revived,—and there was nothing too monstrous and exaggerated, that the foul fabricators could conceive, but found implicit credence. Yet gross and palpable as was the imposition, “so widely had the panic spread, that all Protestants, clergy or laity, Conformists or Nonconformists, Royalists or Republicans, of the Court party, or of the Country party,—considered their lives in danger, and in many instances adopted the most ridiculous precautions against an unseen enemy.” The Parliament declared “that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the Popish recusants, for assassinating the King; for subverting the Government, and for rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion.” The King was necessitated to issue a proclamation,¹ directing that Popish recusants, should not go to a greater distance than five miles from their own houses; another, offering a reward to any one who should discover or apprehend a Romish Priest or Jesuit,—and finally, gave his assent to a bill for disqualifying Papists from sitting in Parliament. The originator of this successful imposition, which had crammed the gaols with Papists, and brought many victims to the scaffold, was Titus Oates. But from the dark dens of iniquity, there soon emerged other scoundrels, who sought to be sharers in his good fortune; and were ready to swear away the lives of all the Roman Catholics in the country. William Bedloe,² who followed Titus Oates, in his path of infamy, probably made some revelations to the Corporation of Bristol,

¹ A letter was forwarded to Bristol, ordering the conviction of Popish recusants, wherein his Majesty requests that the “Justices of Peace in the City of Bristoll and County of the sd City, do with all speede certifie unto the Exchequer such convictions as are perfected, and likewise certifie his Majties Attorney General, what convictions are preparing, and whether any thing hinders the compleating of the same, as alsoe whether any person of quality who are suspected to be Popish recusants, have beene omitted to be presented, and what the obstructions, praying and requiring you to make signification of the same,” &c. &c.

² “Bedloe, by his own confession, had sworn falsely; and was told by ‘Wyld, a worthy and ancient Judge, that he was a perjured man, and ought to come no more into courts, but to go home and repent.’ Indeed, he must have been truly Oates’s fellow, if we may credit his own account.

who kept him with great care, and forwarded him to London. The worthy Mayor was evidently taken in. He believed in the existence of the plot; and considered the wild revelations of Bedloe, most important to the safety of the State.

The credulity of the people was not to be shaken; there was nothing too monstrous and diabolical to find acceptance. Another Bartholomew massacre was anticipated. Armed and murdering Papists were feared in every shadow. Confusion, panics, clamour, and deadly rumours, interrupted the business of life, and filled the minds of men with dread. But it is needless to dwell upon the state of murderous effervescence society exhibited. Our relation is connected with the felon Bedloe, and his subtle attempt to bring Lord North into the conspiracy. The Corporation gave full credence to the "hellish plot," and by some means, of which we are not informed,—obtained possession of the infamous Bedloe; who had, we conjecture from the sequence, disclosed sufficient of the "hideous romance" to invest him with an awful importance. The Mayor,—a "pompous and inflated Welshman,"¹—believed every thing. Believed that "all the leading statesmen and divines in England were to be murdered. That three or four schemes had been formed for assassinating the King. He was to be stabbed. He was to be poisoned in his medicine. He was to be shot with silver bullets."² There was nothing too monstrous and incredible, for the bewildered Mayor. He had suddenly become a person of supreme consequence. Fortune had brought him in contact with his destined opportunity. The life of the King—the safety of the Government—the preservation of all his Majesty's Protestant subjects, depended upon the exertions of John Lloyd, Mayor of Bristol. It was one of his most important appearances, upon the stage of earthly life. He informs the Secretary of State of the valuable treasure he has obtained. In reply, the Secretary desires him to have a care Bedloe does not escape, and to send him securely guarded to London. The Mayor shall give his own relation of what he has done. From his letters we discern the character of the man.

In the title page of his 'Narrative of the Plot for burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster,' he styles himself one of the Popish committee for carrying on such fires."—HARRIS'S *Life of Charles II.*, II., 142.

¹ "I never saw or heard any human thing speak so lofty as he did, and all in humour and tags of Latin. He declared for *sub* and *supra*, and much more at that rate."—LORD NORTH.

² Macaulay. *Pict. Hist. England*. Macpherson.

"Bristol, Nov. 6th, 1678.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,

"The last night, by your directions and order, I sent Bedloe up to you, and in the securest way I could then think of; *I wish he may prove as useful to his Majesty by his information, as you apprehended he would.* There came here last week 14 persons, their habit spoke them gentlemen,—their Arms, as Swords, Pistols, and some Guns, as Soldiers,—and their speech to be Irish; they pretended to have come lately out of the French service, and that they were now going upon his Majesty's service into Ireland; being in these circumstances, I did not think meet to restrain them,—nor to use much severity in their examination, especially seeing their behaviour was civil, and did not render them obnoxious to any law; some of them have already got their passage,—and those that remain, as I am told, talk as if the number of 300, are expected here this week upon the like account. I shall take all care imaginable to secure the peace of this place by the civil power; so that I hope we need not be apprehensive of much danger from their persons; but whether any of them by this course fly examination above, or are engaged in this *devillish design* against his Majesty, and in what method to deal with them or others, in cases of this nature, I beg your speedy advice and order, which shall be exactly followed, and do beg the favour of your correspondence in these difficult times, for the advancement of his Majesty's service.

"Your Honor's most humble Servant,

"JOHN LLOYD, Mayor.

"To the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary Coventry."

The Mayor's next letter is to Mr. Secretary Williamson,—November 9th, he informs him that he had by the safest method he could think of, sent Mr. Bedloe to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and doubted not "he had appeared." And he adds "I have also sent back to you [Mr. Secretary Williamson] a letter directed to Mr. Bedloe, as believing it improper for me to intrude into, for aught I know, ought not to come under my perusal."

He further desires to know whether they ought to put themselves "in any other posture of defence, or watch, than what has been usual,¹ or to make any narrower inspections into strangers, who come for transportation to this City, than has been ordinarily done." In reply, Mr. Secretary Coventry, acknow-

¹ "All the gaols were filled with Papists. London had the aspect of a city in a state of siege. The trainbands were under arms all night. Preparations were made for barricading the great thoroughfares. Patroles marched up and down the streets. Cannon were planted round Whitehall. No citizen thought himself safe unless he carried under his coat a small flail loaded with lead, to brain the Popish assassins."—MACAULAY, *Hist.*, I., 235.

ledges the safe arrival of Mr. Bedloe, on the evening of the 7th instant, by Mr. Mayor's prudent directions and conduct, for which the Secretary returned *his Majesty's thanks*.² Considering that Charles, regarded the whole affair as a gross imposition,—the *thanks* are a stretch of the imagination on the part of Mr. Secretary—who next commends the Mayor's discretion in behalf of the fourteen persons going to Ireland; and desires him, should the three hundred come “to be soe much the more vigilant, in observing their persons and behaviour,” and to detain any that he may have probable cause to suspect.—In conclusion, “I shall gladly embrace and entertain a correspondence with you in this tyme of publick danger, and at all tymes shew myselfe very cordially, &c.” For which condescension the busy Welshman felt grateful, and the dignity of his office, as represented in his person, assumes a more than ordinary importance.—Preceding Mayors, had had their little weaknesses; though Mayors, they were but mortal.—Willoughby had inclined too much to the ungallant uses of the “Ducking Stool;” Sir John Knight's particular antipathy, was Quakers; Olliffe's prejudice extended to Dissenters of almost every denomination; and Lloyd's bias was for the discovery of plots. He had a genius that way. He could read a conspiring Papist in the countenance of every stranger, and the affectionate confidence, and cordiality of the Secretary, had increased his vigilance.

December 18th, he writes to the Marquis of Worcester, detailing a capture he had made of one Turwill, come from Ireland, on “a report of my Lady Rooth and other passengers, that he had spoken dangerous words.”—That from Turwill's papers, which he had seized, he finds “only, that he formerly has been related to Mr. Daniel Arthur, a person now in custody, (as is reported,) for being engaged in this plot ag^t his Ma^{ty} and a letter from one Mr. Lumsdale,” a copy of which the Mayor incloses, with another paper, which he is inclined “to thinke a character, [probably in cipher,] it not looking like any language that either myself or those concerned with me in taking the examination had been conversant with.” This is all the Mayor could “find or pick out of his papers.” But two witnesses swore, that “there being a discourse betwixt them and this Turwill, about this plot and conspiracy, he said, “he believed there was no such thing, and that it was only a talke and report of

² The expenses for removing Bedloe to London were probably paid by the Government. There is no charge on the City fund for the same.

some idle and *fantasticall* people,”—an assertion that must have almost overwhelmed with indignation, the bosom of the superstitious Welshman. Next, with a few bold touches of his pen, the Mayor depicts the character of Turwill, who owns himself to be a Roman Catholic ;—“ his disposition seems rough and resolute, his stature tall, and his demeanour gentill.” Furthermore, he says, “ he will not take security for the prisoner’s good behaviour, according to the late proclamation, until the case be communicated to the Council, and he has their directions.” In conclusion, he tells the Marquis, that he will make no apology for giving him the account. “ My office obliging me to give it to some one of the Councell, and my own experience, giving me sufficient assurance, that you do not thinke any thing a trouble which may be of publicke good, or use to his Ma^{tye}.” A letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, dated June 2nd, 1679, written by Romsey, the Town Clerk, also shows the activity of the Mayor, during his official career. It incloses some treasonable correspondence, discovered by that dignitary, who “ traced it to the very authority.” In allusion to it, the Town Clerk said, “ It seems there has been some such sort of correspondence held before at this *Coffee House* ;” but he does not give us the locality, or name of the Coffee House.

Lloyd, during his Mayoralty, received for his services the accolade of knighthood. Bedloe for his crimes was not arraigned before an earthly tribunal. He returned to Bristol where his closing days, which we shall trace, were brief, and oppressed with poverty. But to the last he endeavoured to support the vicious part he had played. In the month of August, 1680, he was seized with a fever, which confined him to his chamber in an obscure dwelling in St. Augustine’s parish. Regardless of the deepening shadows that forewarned the coming night, his thoughts yet clung to the dark perjuries that blackened with infamy his name ; and even now, he was planning the destruction of one, as distinguished for his probity, as was the dying schemer for his villany. Allowing our thoughts to follow those of the sick man, we are conducted to a quaint old dwelling in King Street, opposite the Merchants’ Hall. Its pointed gable, its curious ornamental and decorative work, called pargetting, that covers the spaces between the diamond-paned windows ; and other peculiar and pleasing features of the period, indicate its years and its past importance. What we now see is the back of the house,—the front, faced the Marsh, then a green sward, of which it had an uninterrupted view, terminated by the winding

river, and the hill of Redcliff, crowned with the "pride and glory of the western land." This was the residence of the Town Clerk of Bristol, the noted John Romsey. Within a room whose windows looked on the Marsh, and whose interior decorations, high chimney piece, panelled walls, and traceried ceiling, correspond in character with the exterior of the house;—here, on the afternoon of the 16th of August, while Bedloe is tossing on his feverish couch, are entertained the Lord Chief Justice North, and his brother. The former has just returned from opening the Assizes. They have been enjoying the ample provisions the hospitable Corporation had provided, under the presidency of the Town Clerk;¹ seasoned by the confidential discourse of that important functionary; who, to do him justice, took every advantage of the opportunities his official situation offered, for gleaning and imparting secrets, connected with the State and its policy. They were thus engaged, when one of the Mayor's Sergeants, who had been nodding in the passage, entered the room and announced Sir John Knight. Sir John, was in a high state of excitement, in which the word Popery never failed to throw him. On this occasion, he was more particularly lofty, having come to inform his Lordship, that Mr. Bedloe, who was dangerously ill of a fever, with little hope of recovery,—had something of great consequence that he wished to impart to the Lord Chief Justice. North, habitually and prudently cautious,—promises to pay him a visit that night after supper, at nine o'clock,—if he were previously satisfied that there was no infection in Bedloe's distemper,—and that the time would not be inconvenient for discourse, without prejudice to his condition. This Sir John, who takes an intense interest in the transaction, undertakes to ascertain; and shortly after, two physicians wait upon the Justice,—and assure him there is no danger of infection, and that the time he had appointed for his visit would be most opportune,—for commonly Bedloe took his repose in the afternoon,—and that at nine o'clock he would probably be refreshed and fit to discourse. Lord North, thereupon declared his resolution of going; and desired the company of the two Sheriffs,² and his brother, Roger North, and appointed his Marshall, Mr. James, to go with him. On their way they were joined by Mr. Crossman, [one of the Prebends of the Cathedral] who told North, that Bedloe had desired him to accompany the

¹ On the occasion of Justice North holding the Assizes, 16th August, 1680, Romsey was paid £54 : 17 for entertaining him.

² William Hayman, and William Swymmer.

party.¹ Whereupon, says Lord North in his narrative, "we went altogether, and being come into the room where Mr. Bedloe lay,—I saluted him, and said I was extreme sorry to find him so ill. I did imagine he had something to impart to me as a Privy Counsellor, and therefore, if he thought fit, the company should withdraw. He told me that needed not yet, for he had much to say which was proper for the company to hear; and having saluted the Sheriffs and Mr. Crossman, he began to this purpose:—"²

The disclosure of a man indurated by many years of villany, though called a "death-bed confession," can scarcely be taken as any safe authority. If a subtle design of implicating North with the plot existed, his peculiar caution rendered it a failure. "Nothing was more desired," says North's biographer, "than to remove him (who was an inflexible Loyalist) out of their way; and in order to that, to fasten some trepan upon him, or get some advantage of charging him with matter of discouraging, ridiculing, tampering, or stifling, the plot; all which were sins in a high degree, and ground enough for an address to remove, &c. &c."

"The next day," says Lord North, "Mr. Bedloe's brother came to me, and told me his brother desired a copy of the deposition he had made before me, but I told him I had well considered it, and could not give him a copy without the King's leave, but I would move the King in it; and, if he gave leave, I would take care to send one to him; and Mr. Bedloe's brother told me, that it was his brother's desire that I should recommend to his Majesty his condition; that his sickness was very chargeable, and move his Majesty for some supply of money for his subsistence, which I promised to do. This is all I can recollect of what passed upon this occasion, and is in substance true, but the very words or order I cannot remember."

Bedloe did not live to receive any further reward for his infamies. Four days after his mock confession, as shallow as the plot it attempted to bolster,—he lay on his bed of death,—there, the cheats and delusions of his life stood confessed. On the sixth day, he was buried, as the parish register³ informs us, at the Chapel of the Gaunts. Evans says, but without giving his authority, that "he was buried below the steps, at the entrance to St. Mark's Chapel, (without any memorial or inscription), at the expense of the City Chamber, his goods being all seized for debt."

Rich in association with pious memories, is that ancient chapel's consecrated ground. Here, far off in the olden ages, were laid two warriors of the Cross,—

¹ Lives of the three Norths. ² See North's Examen. ³ "1680, August 22. William Bedlow."

chivalric pilgrims to the Holy Land,—munificent founders of the sacred fane, where their bodies find repose. Rude vigorous figures are their effigies, hewn out in stone,—solemn, and teaching, in the death they emblem. Here coeval lies Sir Henry de Gaunt, “first master of God’s Holy House of Mercy at Billeswick,” of venerated name. Here too, revered by time, united in the tomb,—are the ashes of the spiritual soldier, the lordly Abbot, and the mitred Bishop;—behold him imaged forth in hard insensate marble. Here rest the high, the lofty,—illustrious of descent, and of ancient ancestry. Virtuous dames—Lords, brave and blameless—“whom youth could not corrupt.” Here too, the heroic and devoted Cavalier,—the enthusiastic and sincere Puritan,—lie mouldering side by side. Philanthropic Aldermen, whose proudest monuments are seen in noble schools. Worthy merchants, whose enterprising spirit brought wealth unto our port. All! the beautiful, the brave, the virtuous, the noble,—the pious, just, and good,—so the ignoble, the base, the worthless,—the convicted felon, the merciless informer,—all crumble cold and low. “They consume in the sepulchre out of their own dwellings.”—“Dust to dust, it mingleth well among the sacred soil.”¹

¹ A few scraps interpose between us and the current of our narrative. They have no adjacent circumstances. Nor are they elucidatory or confirmatory—except in one or two instances accidentally overlooked, till the passage they rendered obvious, or the opinion they strengthened, had passed the press. These we think, the better to avoid confusion and disarrangement, when their place and utility are dubious, not to force into the text; but, to collect and chronologically arrange them,—as we have done in the Appendix B.

CHAPTER VII.

Description of Bristol, time of Charles II.—The Corporation borrow Money—Colston, one of the Governors of Christ's Hospital—His Pertinacity—His residence at Bristol—Admitted to the Freedom of the City—A Member of the Merchants' Hall—Colston Trades to the West Indies—Extract from the Will of his Father—Colston proceeds against the Corporation for the recovery of his Loan—His residence at Mortlake—Sir Robert Cann and Sir Robert Yeamans sent Prisoners to the Tower of London,—Mr. Roe, Sword Bearer of Bristol—Parliamentary Election, 1680. Grand Jury Presentment—The "Blazing Star"—Sir Robert Atkins indicted for neglecting the Duties of his Office—His Resignation—Entertainment to the Marquis of Worcester—Letter from Sir Robert Sawyer—Instruction from the Bishop of Bristol to the Ministry for compelling Attendance on the Established Church—The Rye House Plot—An Address from the Corporation to his Majesty—Quo Warranto brought against the City—Surrender of the Charter to the King—The Duke of Beaufort instrumental in obtaining another—Letter from the Members of the Society of Friends in Bristol Gaol—Dismissal of Sir John Knight from the Council—Proclamation of James II.—Servile Address of our Corporation—Preparations against the coming of the Duke of Monmouth—Arrival of the Duke of Beaufort—Letter from the Duke to the Mayor—Jefferies' outrageous Conduct at the Guildhall—Insolence of the Soldiery to the Inhabitants—The Duke of Beaufort offended, writes plainly to the Corporation—James II. visits Bristol—Progress of Popery—The Queen at Bath—The Corporation send her an Invitation—Their Majesties visit the City—James's Experiment with the Corporation—Singular Letter from the Corporation—The King orders the Freedom of the City to be given to Sixty-eight Persons—Landing of the Prince of Orange—The Duke of Beaufort's hasty Departure from the City.

VERY prosperous was the old City at this period,—and very proud, arrogant, and pompous were its "Merchant Princes." We discern their wealth, and lavishment, in the costly nature of their apparel,—in the trains of servants, with showy liveries, that attend them, when they parade the streets,—too narrow to admit a display of opulence, in sumptuous equipages. We also discern their wealth, in ostentatious christenings,—in splendid marriages,—in the gloomy magnificence of their funereal processions,¹—in luxurious entertainments, in costly banquetings, and far-famed hospitalities. Their luxury was maintained, by advantageous commerce with Spain, the West Indies, and with the North American plantations. In this old City, there was not a shop-keeper, but launched in mercantile adventure. Keen was the spirit of enterprise, and large their returns. Some of the richest burghers, inhabited the

¹ "A man who dies worth three hundred pounds, will order two hundred of it to be laid out in his funeral procession."—LORD NORTH.

Bridge; as their fathers did when this narrative commenced. Some in Redcliff, Thomas, and Temple Street, resided, and kept dusky shops. Content to live and toil, and accumulate their golden stores, in the heart of the overcrowded City;¹ till their day's work done, they are laid in calm repose, beneath the hallowed roof where sleep their sires. Contemporary descriptions are rare. They are to be valued, not on account of their scarcity, but for their reality. One, though incorrect in some of its details, and somewhat rambling and intricate in its construction, is worthy of favourable notice. It places before us the old City, as it appeared to the observant traveller. Though his blunders, as to locality and distances, are too palpable to escape detection, and may somewhat weaken credulity, yet they do not diminish our interest.

"Most of the towns in England, situated in the internal parts of the country, are almost without walls or defences, which are to be met with only about those on the sea-coasts. Bristol does not derive much strength from its walls, except the side towards Bedminster, which the River Avon separates from the town. On this side, there are three great streets, wherein are some rich merchants, and a very handsome church of our Lady of Redcliff, built with a red stone, and ornamented round about with the figures of saints and bas relievos. Its bell and tower is high, and very well finished. One may walk on the top of the church, there being a platform, surrounded by a balustrade. These three streets, begin at the bridge over this river; it is covered with houses and shops, and here dwell the richest merchants of the Town. Near this place is a pleasant walk, in a beautiful meadow by the river-side. Having passed the bridge, you come to a great arcade, supporting a little church, with a clock and tower on it,² which makes the entry into several handsome streets, leading to all parts of the Town; that in the middle is the principal, and forms an open area, or Market-place, wherein stand the Town-house, and Exchange. The street called Monis³ Street is of equal magnitude; it passes by an area, where some markets are held, and wherein are some covered market-houses; this crosses another street, which runs behind the grand Port and Quay. I lodged in the house of a Fleming, where I was pretty well entertained, both man and horse, for two shillings. Indeed, all over England living is very reasonable, provided you drink but little wine, which in this country is very dear. The little river, which makes the great Port, separates a small part of the Town, to which the way lies over a stone bridge;⁴ it is situated on the *declivity of a mountain, where formerly stood a strong castle, commanding the whole Town: at present its place is occupied by the Cathedral Church of St. Augustine, ornamented with a high tower.*

¹ Macaulay—Lord North—M. Jorevin.

² St. Nicholas Church, and gateway.

³ High Street.

⁴ Froom, *alias* Christmas Street, Bridge.

"I walked from thence to the port of Conquerol,¹ in the village Depill,² where those large vessels stop, that for want of water cannot come up to the town, from which it is distant *three miles*. By the way, on the banks of the river, I found a medical spring, near a small house, in which dwelt a man, who explained to us its wonders and qualities; which made me recollect those at Bath, a town only *six miles* from Bristol, and situated on the same river, where are baths, whose waters are hot in some places, and cold in others. The King has a place there, appropriated for his bathing, round about which are several admirable pieces of sculpture. The metropolitan church, in the same City, is among the finest in England; it is represented in the *forty wonders of this kingdom*. The ordinary walk of the people of Bristol is in a meadow, at the end of the peninsula of the town, where the *two ports join, on account of many fine rows of trees, and its being a place proper for ship-building*.
 "The Fleming at whose house I lodged long, kept a priest, who secretly said mass in his house; but it having been discovered, he was forbidden to do it; *so that at present one cannot hear mass at Bristol*, although it is a port frequented by many Catholics,—Flemish, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. At Bristol one may procure a passage to Ireland; vessels loaded with coal or iron frequently sailing from that place to Cork, or Kinsale, which are good sea-ports in Ireland. I was desirous of seeing, before I went thither, all that part of England watered by that beautiful river Severn,—which passes through some of the most considerable towns in the kingdom. I left Bristol to go to Glochester; the way lay through meadows, by the side of a small river; whence *I entered into the mountains*,³ where I found Stebleton,⁴ Embrok, Ierenton, Stoon, Nieuport, Kemlrig, and Estminster; and from thence I arrived, through meadows, at Glochester."⁵

Thus faintly we discern the general features of the City. One who lived in that old time,—with silent penmanship has noticed the mutations in its moral life. Though his sentiment be tintured with a strong Nonconformist flavour, we extract a passage, the more especially as the opinions of the writer are reflected by other contemporary authorities. "Vice, profligacy, and a disregard of civil and moral obligations, had entered the City; and taken possession of her high places. The sacred fount of Justice was polluted; her laws

¹ Hungroad.

² Pill.

³ The writer, of whom we are not cognizant, designating hills as mountains, indicates him accustomed to reside in a flat country, probably Holland.

⁴ Stapleton, Hambrook, Iron-Aeton, Stone, Newport.

⁵ Description of the City in the reign of Charles II., by M. Jorevin. Corry, Hist. of Bristol. Appendix No. 2.

violated; and Religion herself, in her holiness and purity, was degraded to an instrument of cruelty, oppression, and wrong. In their abundance, the people had forgotten the God, they had acknowledged in their extremity. In their elevation, pride and the lust of power had supplanted the meekness and humility, with which they were clothed in their adversity. They cared not to traffic with the bodies and souls of men, so that they supported their state, and maintained their rule. They heeded not the groans that resounded from the prison walls, so that the banquet was spread, and assembled guests brought joy to the repast.”¹ To this may be added the extraordinary words of Sir Robert Atkins, when, in arrest of judgment, arguing his own cause in the Court of King’s Bench. He had been Recorder of Bristol one and twenty years. He had sworn all the Aldermen then upon the Bench. He had done all he could to join them together, and unite them. But “*ever since they grew rich, and full of trade, and Knighthood,—too much sail, and too little ballast,—they have been miserably divided.*”² The Recorder’s emphatic expression is strengthened by the opinion of a shrewd observer, Lord North, who says, “Pride and ostentation are publicly professed.”

A morning in June, the 15th; the year 1682. Fancy has carried us to the centre of the old City.—We are near the Tolzey.—There is the High Cross painted and gilded. It has another statue since we beheld it last. There is the long Arcade, supporting the little church with a clock and spire over it, and gigantic boys, with ever-ready hammers to note the flight of Time. Beneath the Arcade, the Corporation’s officers are lounging,—Marshalls in long gowns, with the City Arms on their staves,—Sheriffs,—Yeomen, in their municipal costume, with basket-hilted swords, and daggers. Pass and repass stately dames, and worthy Aldermen,—real Knights, sumptuously clad, tenacious of their dignity. Servants in gaudy liveries,—solid, sober tradesmen, humble artizans, rough labourers, and translators in “rugged coats of frieze.” Gilded carriages, trucks drawn by dogs,—drays laden with rich merchandise, “Bristol milk,” and sugar,—moving to and fro we image them—vaguely as in a dream,—shifting, changing, disappearing,—till the broad current of human life shall cease to flow. Dimly visible in that old scene, is a form of noble and majestic bearing; but of mild and courteous demeanour. That haughty personage

¹ MS. Cal.² Seyer, II., 520.

who passed, has bowed to him with a marked deference of respect. He receives salutation from the ostentatious and the humble; and with a gentlemanly feeling he gracefully acknowledges to each. His age would seem between forty and fifty; but he is about to enter the Tolzey, we will detain him a moment while we cast a glance at his dress. It is as plain as the fashion will admit. A doublet or coat with buttons, and button holes all down the front—close petticoat breeches,—stockings drawn up to meet them, tied above the knee with ribbons,—high heeled shoes with rosettes; which had not then been generally superseded by the buckles, before which they shortly disappeared. He wore the absurd and monstrous peruke, that, “in that day, lodged upon the heads and shoulders of all the gentlemen of England, under the corrupted appellation of a periwig.”¹ This was covered by a low-crowned hat, with turned-up brim,—the transition state, from the sugar loaf hats or chivalric “Spanish sombrero,” to the cocked hats of the 18th century. His neckcloth is plain, not of the usual Brussels or Flanders lace,—tied in a knot, as was the fashion, under his chin, the ends hanging loosely down.² Such, by the aid of old books, old prints, and paintings, we can dimly trace the general personal character, of him who now with a grave, serious aspect enters the Council Chamber. He is evidently of importance,—more than one pompous personage who had figured in the *precedency farce*, rise and greet him with profound respect. Formal introductions, ceremonies, courtesies, and compliments, that mean nothing, may be imagined—the same then as now—the same probably in far off years to come. The follies of the world seem not to have occupied the thoughts of the new comer. Upon his brow there sits a look of care. His words are few. To business. He is very calm, very slow, very methodical in examining the deed that the Chamberlain has placed before him. After an attentive perusal he is apparently satisfied with its correctness. The bond is signed.³ The business ended, with gracious ceremonies he departs. We follow him. Not many steps, ere he enters the house where dwells Sir Wm. Hayman, in Small Street, and here for awhile our trace is lost. We will return to the

¹ “The tasteless fashion of ringlet periwigs, of Marlborough wigs—endless barbarism of perukes, bag-wigs, tie-wigs, cannon-wigs, and bob-wigs, caricatured the countenances of English gentlemen for more than a century and a quarter.”

² Knight's British Costume.

³ The bond was sealed 28th September.

Council Chamber,—and, availing ourselves of our privilege, see what the Chamberlain has writ upon the official page.

“1682. *June 15th, Rec^d of Mr. EDWARD COLSTON, of London, M^cchant, £1800, for which he is to have a Citie Seale, next sealeing day, at 5 d Cent. ; this money was to pay off a Seale of Ann Lysons.....£1800.”*

Once before, we have read that name, and only once.—An infant's baptism, the record. Vainly through following years we trace his footprints. They are not in the Chamber of the Council,—nor in the Hall of the Merchant.—Not in the House of his sire,—nor in the City of his birth. His name is not written on the Freeman's page.—It is not enrolled amongst the loyal.—It is not preserved amongst the factious. For forty and five years, there is neither scrip nor scroll to testify his presence in the City,—which by his noble benevolence he subsequently so enriched. And now we behold the man—a pecuniary loan the record. And what a huge dark void between.—No illumination.—No ray of light,—not the faintest gleam cast on the deep profound that has shadowed each intervening circumstance, and eventually obliterated all.

But it is not here we first behold him, whom the gloom of gathered years has so long concealed from view.—Not here.—But in the great mart of commerce.—In one of its most noble establishments for Charity's most holy cause. Interested in its management—presiding at its councils—directing its affairs, sits in the prime and vigour of life, the long-sought Edward Colston,—one of the Governors of Christ Church Hospital, one of London's wealthy, respected, and honoured Merchants!

“A General Court in Christ's Hospital,—the 25th October, 1681,” we read the following report:—

“At a Committee in Christ's Hospital the 4th day of October, 1681:—In pursuance of an order of Court of the 26th day of March, 1680, and the 9th day of June, 1680, this committee took into consideration such persons as they conceived were fit to be chosen Governors of this Hospital in the room of some lately deceased, and thereupon did proceed to nominate by the balloting box, the persons following to be presented to the Court for their confirmation, viz:—The Right Reverend Father in God Henry L^a B^p of Lond., Geo. Dashwood, Esq., Mr. Tho. Browne, Scrivener, Mr. Abr. Dowllings, S^r Rich. Lloyd, MR. EDWARD COLSTON, Mr. Nath. Litton, Mr. Fran. Chamberlen, Mr. Dan. Morse, Mr. Gilbert Upton, Mr. John Berry, Mr. Xopher Hawkes.”

"Now this Court again by the balloting box, chose the aforesaid persons to be Governors of this House, and ordered that staves¹ should be sent them forthwith, and that if any refuse to receive the staff, the Court to have notice thereof."

The next notice of Colston, connected with this Hospital, is from the "Benefactors' Book," in 1684:—"Mr. Edward Colston, of London, Merchant, and one of the Governors, *for his benevolence gave £100.*"

It is plain from the above extracts, that Colston resided in London, or the neighbourhood, and had obtained a distinguished position in society. At the date of our first entry, he was forty-five years of age; and we may suppose had been prosperous in his commercial speculations. That he was opulent, the large amounts he expended in the establishment of his various charities, subsequently to our coming upon his path, sufficiently evince.

From the pages of Silas Told, we extract an anecdote, which he makes to occur in 1676, five years earlier than any recorded evidence, we possess of Colston's existence in any place. Wesley, regards Told as a man of unquestionable veracity, but unpolished and uneducated, as will appear from his narrative. When he writes from observation, as an eye witness, he is no doubt accurate. But he has incautiously introduced statements that have somewhat impaired our credulity. Told, who was one of the first hundred boys, admitted into Colston's School, writes of the founder, that—"He was the son of Edward Colson, *a journeyman soap-boiler, whose wages did not exceed ten shillings a week.*" After the character we have had of Silas Told, this account is somewhat startling. No doubt it was the current tale, circulated throughout the school. The gossip of the boys, savouring of the marvellous. What reliance may be placed upon it, the reader will judge from another statement, founded on no better authority, and which we know to be incorrect. "I have been likewise informed," he adds, "*that he built at his own expense the whole church and tower of All Saints, near the Tolzey, Bristol.*" After this specimen, we leave the reader to credit as much as pleaseth him, in what followeth. But as the small estincident or circumstance, regarding our subject and his affairs, where materials are so scanty, is to be eagerly embraced;—though the authority be dubious, we transcribe Told's anecdote word for word.—

¹ A green wand or staff about six feet long, sent to each newly-appointed Governor as an insignia of office.

Attention need scarcely be directed to its absurdity, and especially to its inconsistency, with the whole tenour of Colston's character ; with his prudence, his sense of justice, and his good sterling common understanding ; as we know him, from his letters and his deeds.

“A singular instance of his tender conscienciousness for charity was at the age of forty, when he entertained some thoughts of changing his condition. He paid his addresses to a lady, but being very timorous, lest he should be hindered in his pious and charitable designs, he was determined to make a christian trial of her temper and disposition, and therefore having filled his pockets full of gold and silver, in order that if any object presented itself in the course of their tour over London Bridge, he might satisfy his intention.”

“While they were walking near St. Agnes' Church, a woman in extreme misery, with twins in her lap sat begging, and as he and his intended lady came arm and arm, he beheld the wretched object,—put his hand in his pocket, and took out a handful of gold and silver, casting it into the poor woman's lap. The lady being greatly alarmed at such profuse generosity, coloured *prodigiously* ; so that when they were gone a little farther towards the bridge foot, she turned to him and said, “Sir, do you know what you did a short time ago ?” “Madam,” replied Colston, “I never let my right hand know what my left hand doth.” He then took leave of her, and for this reason, never married, *although he lived to the age of 83.*”

The only notice we have obtained of Colston in London, is from the records of Christ's Hospital. As we have nothing appendant, they may be disposed of in this place. Resolute as we shall ever find him in all benevolent endeavours ; he here appears in a somewhat anomalous character. His desire to befriend a poor boy, has carried him so far, as even to induce a relaxation of the laws of the Hospital in his favour. The circumstance tends to show with what determination of purpose Colston could act, when that purpose was to benefit another. And how he broke through regulations, that constituted the harmony, and well-being of an establishment, to effect his good intent. The character of Colston as we read it in after years, is so peculiarly distinguished by a rigid sense of high principle, that we regard with surprise his tolerating an infringement, he would himself have been the most ready to condemn. The transaction places before us, the great consideration in which his patronage was held.

March 31st, 1684. At a meeting of the Court of Governors, Colston desired to present for admission a poor boy, although the boy's father

was not a freeman of London. His request was made to the Court of Governors for their permission. But the Court, which had refused a similar favour to Sir Stephen Fox,¹ deputed six governors (or any two of them) to wait on Colston and "desire him *not to insist* upon the business, but to comply with the rules."

Colston, was however, much displeased with this result to his application. He became importunate. Thereupon the Court, at a meeting on the following fourth of May, considering "he hath been, and may be a very great Benefactor to this Hospital, agreed to admit such a child, *if he shall insist* upon it."

The following year Colston gave another £100, as his "Benevolence" to the Hospital; and at a general Court, held the 12th February, to consider the great privilege of presentations for children—the minute thereto relating informs us, that "the Court proceeded to nominate such as the Hospital is obliged this year to gratify as Benefactors."² At the same Court, the following resolution was passed:—"This Court, for several reasons thereunto moving, added Mr. Edward Colston to all Com^{tees}."

Colston, was therefore held in high esteem. He was one of the most influential of the Governors. We see, that out of the eleven gentlemen named to have the privilege of presenting children, he is allowed to present two, a distinction only accorded to one other. And that the Court, also accede to a request contrary to its rules, which it had previously refused to Sir Stephen Fox. Its estimate of Colston must have been great, and his subsequent benefactions commensurate with its hopes. Colston's pertinacity, had not lessened the confidence of the Court, nor the value of his services. May 1st, 1686, a Committee deputed him "with the Treasurer and two other Governors, to go to Ware and Hertford, and send up children as they may find fit; also at Ware to consider the *houseing* lately purchased, and give order for repairs or anything else, that may improve the same for the good of the Hospital." Again, at a Committee, 10th June, 1687. It was fully agreed by all parties to refer the "examination and determination" of the Hospital accounts, to Colston and Mr. Midgley; and they were "to certify as to the interest

¹ "Sir Stephen Fox, from a poor foot-boy, and then a singing boy, has, through Court places and appointments, realised £150,000; now Clerk of the green cloth."—HARRIS'S *Charles II.*, II., 297.

² Mr. Edward Colston, 2; William Moses, Esq., 1; Mr. Pennyman, 2; Erasmus Smith, Esq., 1; Sir Robert Clayton, 1; Sir Matthew Andrew, 1; Mr. James Paule, 1; Mr. Robert Raworth, 1; Mr. Charles Beaver, 1; Mr. Robert Siderfin, 1; Daniel Colwall, Esq., 1.

received on the principle sums received of Mr. Sketchley's Estate." This year, as on the preceding, Colston gave one hundred pounds for his "Benevolence" to the Hospital, and another hundred in 1689, making £500, in the space of five years.

Once again, and only once, is the name of Colston visible in the records of the Hospital. Hope brightens when we behold it. It adverts a donation. It augurs the good that follows. "1693-4. 18th February. Received of the Worpⁿ Edwd. Colston, Esq., one of the Governors (at several times) being his free gift towards completely furnishing the new buildings at Hertford, without any charge to y^e Hosp^l £500." This is the last notice; his name appears not here again, till his immortal spirit had finished its earthly course.

We have had a glimpse of Colston in his own City,—let us return thither, where a little light begins to gleam into the darkness. He was perceptible June, 1682, lending money to the Corporation. The previous November, the days of his father were brought unto their close. Darkness in the interval, impenetrable,—all trace expunged and gone. That Colston received the blessing of his honoured sire,—directed the impressive solemnities of the season of affliction—may be assumed without the direct authority of documentary evidence. That his widowed mother, more nearly claimed his affection, and engaged his filial attentions from this period, indications of his frequent and protracted visits, naturally lead us to infer. As far as we can ascertain, Colston, had not yet embarked in any commercial enterprise from this Port. He had not even taken up his freedom, to which by birth he was entitled. Now circumstances influence him to secure its privileges.

December 10th, 1683. .“Edward Colston, *merchant, was admitted to the freedom of the City, being son of William Colston, deceased.*”

He is discernible a few days after as a member of the Merchants' Hall.

“1683, December 17th, M^r Edward Colston, *being a free Burgess of Bristol, and a meire merchant, son of William Colston, merchant, dec^d a late member of this Society, was admitted into the liberties of the same Society.*” Then follows his declaration.—

“*I do promise to be obedient to the rules and constitutions of this Hall, and will pay to M^r Treasurer, and the Clerk and Beadle, the accustomed fees.*

“EDWARD COLSTON.”

On this occasion, he took the customary oaths of allegiance, and supremacy,

before the Mayor, Sir Wm. Clutterbuck; and that of a Burgess, before John Cook, Esq., Chamberlain. In virtue thereof, he presented himself before the Master of the Society of Merchants, claiming his right to be admitted a member,—and on his admission, was appointed one of a Committee for managing the affairs of Clifton. This he attended the 7th and 21st of June, 1684. Proving his temporary abode here,—a fact further evident, from his having, on the preceding April, been chosen one of the Vestry of St. Werburgh's parish. He does not, however, appear to have been a Churchwarden, nor to have filled any other parish office, nor do we find him attending the parish meetings.

From the record of Colston's enrolment as a member of the Society of Merchants; we learn that he was a West India merchant, *meire* signifying the ancient name of the Island of St. Christopher,—or, as commonly abbreviated, St. Kitts. Bristol held an important position in the commercial world at this period. Its trade, more especially with the West Indies, was flourishing,¹ its prosperity was increasing, and its merchants were rich. These considerations probably influenced Colston to embark here. There was another, higher, in which the voice of nature was heard. Duty commanded, affection prompted him, to administer to the affairs of his widowed parent; and endeavour to console, by his presence, and his sympathy, the first dark hours of her bereavement. Probably, his obtaining the privileges of the City, had reference to commercial transactions in which his departed parent had been engaged. Some glimmerings on this subject may have issued from the records of the Custom House. But these have been consumed by fire,—and nothing is known.

In the house whence his honoured father had been called to his rest, Colston now for a time resided. We may picture a family group, consisting of his mother, sister, and Sir William Hayman, husband of the latter; who, upon the death of his father-in-law, had removed his establishment to this house. This stately dwelling, where sovereigns, princes, and nobles had been entertained, we identified in our opening chapter. In a few brief words it may be described. Externally, it has a gabled front, with square-headed, mullioned,

¹ "Commerce with the West Indies had been considerable. In 1649, the Mayor of Galloway, writing to Prince Rupert concerning the supply of his Majesty's fleet, complains of great scarcity of ships, from the large numbers sent to St. Kitts."—WARBURTON'S *Prince Rupert*, *Index*.

and transomed windows. Internally, the hand of innovation and mutation is impressively visible. But there still remains the *debris* of a lofty hall, and indications of the domestic architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that have not entirely yielded to all subduing Time,—mutilated fragments, favourable witnesses of the wealth and taste of our ancestors. Without derogating from the interest attached to the mouldering ruins of magnificent castles, abbeys, or priories,—suggestive as they are of wholesome, though melancholy reflections,—as much, or more, is associated with the departed dignity of ancestral homes, whose ancient habitants are dwelling in the dust. No object comes to the heart with more power. No object has a sadder tale, nor teaches a graver moral! And this long-honoured abode, enriched with treasured thoughts, and images of Colston, and his sire,—more especially connects the reality of the present with our visions of the past!

Fortune had smiled upon Colston, and he was affluent. This much the page of old Time reveals. We do not hear that he became suddenly enriched by legacies,—or from any other adventitious source. To his precise business habits, his judgment, management, and economy, may be attributed the secret of his wealth. In the subjoined extract from his father's Will, it is clear that Colston's inheritance was comparatively trifling; and which did not come into his possession until he had expended far more in public charities.—

“1676. Item. I give, devise, and bequeath unto my Sonne, Edward Colston, his heires and assignees for ever, *after the decease of my wife*, all that messuage or tenement and cottage, now used as one tenement, called and known by the name or names of Chaunters' Place, also Knaphall, with all and singular the appurtenances, lands, &c. situate, lying, and being in Hambrook, in the parish of Winterbourn, in the county of Gloucester, to hold to him, his heires, and assignees for ever. Item.—I give and bequeath unto my said Sonne, Edward Colston, his heires or assignees for ever, after the decease of my said wife, all that messuage or tenement and three farundells or three quarters of one yard land, with all and singular the appurtenances, lands, &c., situate, lying, and being in Hambrook aforesaid, in the parish of Winterbourn, in the county of Gloucester. To hold to him, his heirs, or assignees for ever. Item.—I further give and bequeath unto my said Sonne, Edward Colston, *one thousand pounds of lawful money of England.*”

He also gave to Colston a third part of the rents and profits of two houses, and a warehouse lying in St. Peter's parish, held on lease from the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, and a third part of his Goods and Chattels after the death

of his wife, and appointed Colston his executor. The remaining two parts were divided between his sons, Richard and Thomas. Colston will be found hereafter renewing the lease of the last-named property, of which he eventually became the sole possessor.

Thus have we come upon the long-sought footprints of our Philanthropist,—and have traced them to his early home. He is now before us,—happy or miserable, in the fearful responsibility of great riches. We prize and value that on which the energies of the mind, and the patient labour of years have been employed to purchase. Had Colston set his heart here, where his treasure was? Did he find his joy in counting his stores,—forgetful of the moth and the rust that corrupt,—and of his sacred and hallowed stewardship? There is, in 1684, a solitary entry of £100, in his name, on the benefaction-book of Christ's Hospital. But there is no record of any contribution from him, to any of the charitable institutions, in his native City. Whether any incident awoke his soul to an awful impression of his important trust, cannot now be ascertained. From all that has descended to us, we see at this period no sign of that beautiful pervading spirit of philanthropy and benevolence, that guided all his future ways, and accompanied his pilgrimage, blessing and blessed to its peaceful and happy close.

Towards the end of the year 1684, Colston is before us in connection with the pecuniary transaction from which, it will be remembered, arose our first notice of him in our records. His name is affixed to a receipt, for a portion of the interest of money lent the Corporation. Here is the receipt:—

" I doe acknowledge to have recd. of John Cooke, Chamberlaine, of y^e Citty of Bristol, one hundred and sixteen pounds, being so much due for interest of y^e eighteen hundred pounds, lent the said Chambl^r Michaelmas 1683, & if no other receipt appeare before, this, may serve for one.

" Witnesse my hand in London, 10th Decem., 1684.

" EDWARD COLSTON."

Suppressing the Rebellion, headed by the Duke of Monmouth, and other contingencies had involved the Corporation to a considerable amount. Burdened with debt, they were obliged to borrow to meet their liabilities. In this emergency, they were assisted by Colston with the loan of £2000.

" Ordered that the two seals dated 28th Sep. 1685, to Mrs. Ann Colston, for £1100, & 900, be cancelled, they having been given up at Mr. Edward Colston's desire ; in

"lieu of two former bonds given him for £2000, one for £1800, the other for £200, both still in Mr. Colston's custody."

Another receipt appertaining is before us.

"Recd. y' 5th October, 1685, of Mr. John Cooke, Chamberlaine, the sume of one hundred pounds, being so much due to me y' 29th Septemb. last, for interest of two thousand pounds Lent y' Citty on their Seale, I say recd. & p' me.

"EDWARD COLSTON."

Colston, in 1686, made application to be repaid. A Committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements. These were not satisfactory to him. He was as fully determined to have his money from the Corporation, as he had been to exact the admission of the boy into Christ's Hospital. Apparently, the Corporation had annoyed him, at which he had taken umbrage. He resorted to legal measures:—

"Oct. 13th, 1687. The Mayor, Sir Richard Lane, recommends to the House the business of Mr. Colston, 'that an extent is issued against the City.' It being proposed that the Quit Rents of the Castle and Stockland, be security to such person, who shall advance the money to Mr. Colston, or to Mr. Colston himself; and Mr. Town Clerk, to take care of the conveyances for the Mortgagee to accept of £200, at any time in discharge of the principle, and that Mr. Romsey, Town Clerk, and Mr. Yate take care to see to this."¹

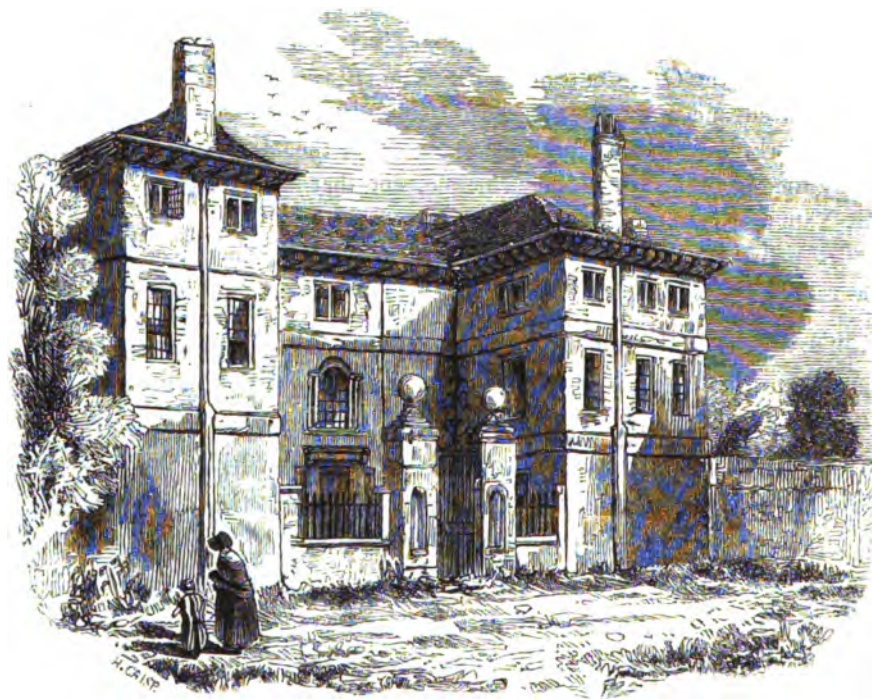
In 1686, April 19th, £400, was paid to him, and in 1687, November 5th, the balance was settled, including legal charges, which he had incurred, to Mr. Thomas Edwards.

Colston's determination to enforce the payment of his bond, would seem to indicate a mercenary disposition. But, with no other evidence than the simple statement of facts, as entered in the Corporation records, we cannot justly arrive at any conclusion as to the motive by which he was actuated. We know not the provocation he received. Even at this time, he may have contemplated those noble monuments of his Benevolence that adorn our City; on one of which alone—but a few years subsequently to the date of this transaction, he expended much more than the sum he was so resolute in recovering. No sordid feeling, therefore, could have prompted this peremptory settlement of his loan.

We have found Colston in an honoured and distinguished position, without being able to assign to him a local habitation. We have found him influential,

¹ The Corporation directed the Manor of Hinton, in Gloucestershire, should be sold.

respected, and affluent; but we cannot point unto the spot where he abode.— We cannot identify the dwelling that he called his home. Without further information, than we have obtained up to this period, we have a feeble idea of a restless, self-willed, eccentric man of business, who resided where his business called him, whether at Bristol or London,—who lent out his money on interest, and perversely insisted on being repaid, when it was not convenient to the accommodated parties. And who, by annual fits of benevolence, left bright lights relieving the darkness of a parsimonious life. It is probable, that till this period he kept no establishment,—residing in lodgings when in London, and with his mother when duty, engagements, or affection called him to his native City. But we have now to associate him with a mansion still remaining, though time-worn, dilapidated, and deserted. The retreat where,



while yet actively engaged in the pursuit of commerce, he occasionally sought retirement from the bustle, the strife, and turmoil of the world.

Lysons, in his "Environs of London," published in 1792, writes, "An ancient

house at Mortlake,¹ now on lease to the Miss Aynscombes, is said to have been the residence of Cromwell; during the present century it was the residence of a more amiable, though a less elevated man, the benevolent Edward Colston, the great benefactor to the City of Bristol."

Tradition has, however, so taken possession of the old house in the name of Cromwell,² that there is left no nook nor corner on which to found a gossip's tale, for his amiable successor. It is, as though Cromwell had been its last occupant,—as though the image of the stern fanatic excluded all others,—and intruded itself into the peaceful chambers where the spirit of philanthropy had dwelt. Leaving the apocryphal tradition, of the old mansion's former habitancy, to the investigation of the antiquary, we turn to a passage of more immediate interest to ourselves,—its certain possession by Colston. This must have been somewhere about the spring of 1689, as on April 1st, at a vestry meeting in the parish of Mortlake, he is nominated with others, and chosen Auditor of the parish accounts. Whether he abode here previously to engaging himself in parochial business, we have no means of ascertaining. From this date, however, he appears to have been very regular in his attendance at the meetings of the vestry. The first meeting, when his autograph signifies his presence, is on May the 20th of this year.

At Mortlake, Colston lived without ostentation. His establishment was limited to two male servants, "Arthur and John;" and two female, "Alice and black Mary." He kept his carriage, chariot, and horses; which, from his frequent journeyings to London and his native City, were in constant requisition. His style of living was simple; conformable to his position as a private gentleman. Economy, the habit of his life, regulated his expenditure. If he had any pursuit, beyond that to which the energies of his declining years were devoted, it was the indulgence of a taste for ornamental gardening. Choice shrubs and evergreens were cultivated in his grounds. The walks were gracefully laid out, carefully maintained, and decorated with statuary.

¹ The village of Mortlake, in Surrey, is situated upon the banks of the Thames, about seven miles from Hyde Park Corner. The name of the place is supposed by Lysons, to be derived from *Mortuus Lucus*, or the Dead Lake. In Domesday Book it is called Mortlage. In 1619, at the first introduction of tapestry in this country, a manufactory was established here.

² "By the assessments made during the Protectorate, it appears that Lord Park, Lord Tichbourne, and Sir John Ireton, Cromwell's City friends, had houses at Mortlake, but it is not believed that Cromwell actually resided at Miss Aynscombe's house."—LYSONS.

Amidst the throes and convulsions of a great nation,—the warring elements of political discord,—amidst the iron rule of military despotism,—amidst sedition, persecution, and corruption,—amidst distracting controversies, plundering ejections, atrocious plots,—murder, misery, blood, and plague, had Colston's character been formed. We behold him in the prime and vigour of his years, enriched by merchandise, respected, honoured, esteemed. With riches almost boundless, and length of days, what might he not accomplish? How did he purpose to employ his possessions? The nearer ties of kindred he had none. It was not for these he had accumulated. He had not ravened for wealth, from avarice's deadly sin,—or he would not voluntarily have parted with his treasure, to the extent we have already seen. Enough has been discerned, to denote that Colston was impressed with the conviction, that a "man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth;" and that he walked not in the smooth beaten path,—but in the rough, less-trodden road,—whose end is happiness and glory. Colston sought this end, not by adding coin to coin—acre to acre. Not in the pride of place, nor pomp of power. Not in sumptuous equipage, nor fashion's vain pursuits. Not in ambition's struggles, nor in dissipation's coils. Not in these did he seek happiness,—but in the quiet calmness of a soul devoted to good intents. In soothing the sigh of misery,—in drying the tears of affliction,—in feeding the hungry,—in clothing the naked,—in his love to man,—he sought to glorify his God, and to obtain that peace which passeth understanding;—a foretaste of that celestial happiness, that knoweth no end,—that is not for Time, but for Eternity.

While tracing Colston in his peaceful way, great transactions are enacting. In the kingdom, distracting controversies, uncertainties, and change. In our City, feuds,—and animosities that extinguish religion, and make a people wretched,—mournful emblems of a time of fear, distress and danger, which then was. The pretended popish plot had fixed, as its instigators had desired,—a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of Roman Catholics; and produced enmities amongst the Protestants, that did not easily wear out. Suspicion and mistrust alighted on those who did not give full credence to the "hideous romance." One of the best narrators of the event observes,¹

¹ Ralph's History of England during the reigns of King William, Queen Ann, and King George I.

“a strong faith in the plot was the test of all political merit; not to believe was to be a political reprobate; and according to the zeal, was the cruelty of the times. The terror excited by the plot¹ had caused such a thirst of revenge, that nothing but blood could satiate; every supposed criminal, was pre-condemned; and no sooner did the victim appear, but the people called out for the sacrifice. Pity, was looked upon as not only impertinent, but almost criminal; and even the great prerogative of mercy, lodged in the Crown, was of no use.” Sir Robert Cann, one of the members in Parliament, and Sir Robert Yeamans, if submitted to the above test, would evidently come under the head of political renegades. They did not possess that ample credence, necessary to ensure them from molestation. Neither prudence nor judgment, checked the expression of their thoughts. The result in times so excitable may be easily foreseen. They became objects of suspicion. They were summoned before the High Court of Parliament, to answer for their want of faith. Of this transaction are the following particulars:—

“28th October, 1680. An information being given the House, against Sir Robert Yeamans, of Bristol, and against Sir Robert Cann, a member of this House; that they did in October, 1679, publicly declare that there was no Popish plot, but a Presbyterian plot.”

Mr. Rowe,² Sword Bearer, of Bristol, (no creditable authority) who subse-

¹ Sir Leoline Jenkins writing to Mr. Sidney, July 24th, 1680, says, “Letters from several parts beyond the seas, do tell us that we are represented there as if we were already in a flame. Blessed be God, we are much more quiet than the malicious report of the many, both at home and abroad, would have us to be.—*Diary of the Times of Charles II.*”

² “April 12th, 1681. Rowe was presented by the Grand Jury, ‘to be a common sewer of discord and strife, and one of a vicious life and conversation.’—May 31st. Jn^o Roe, Sword Bearer, dismissed from office,^a for having borne false witness against several persons of quality in this City,—for refusing to come from London when required by the Mayor,—for neglect of duty in refusing to carry the Sword before his worship, 27th October, 1680;—and for speaking very opprobrious words of the Magistracy and Government.” Roe was a member of the Society of Merchants, from which he was dismissed, 15th Oct., 1683. “He was suspected to have engaged in the late horrid conspiracy against the life of his sacred Majesty, and his only and dearest brother, James Duke of York. He fled to Rotterdam and other parts beyond the seas.”—Nov. 15th. The Mayor produced a mandamus for restoring Jn^o Rowe to the office of Sword Bearer, and of his having retained Mr. Sanders, Mr. Powlett,^b and the Town Clerk, as Counsel; and Mr. Sheriff and Mr. Hellier, as Solicitors.”

^a August 12th, Mr. Daniel Pymn was chosen in his place.

^b January, 1682, The salary paid to Mr. Powlett, as standing Counsel for the City, to be withdrawn in future, and he to be relieved.

quently engaged in the Rye-house Plot, was called to the Bar of the House of Commons, and bore witness to the fact, that Yeamans and Cann, had both publicly declared there "was no Popish plot." This was likewise attested by Sir John Knight. Thereupon, Sir Robert Cann,¹ a choleric old gentleman, was called upon to make his defence. Standing in his place, he uttered several reflecting expressions against the busy Knight:—"that as for the credit of Sir John, in Bristol, it is such, that a jury of twelve men, his neighbours, will not believe his testimony;" and repeated, with a blasphemous oath, "it is true." Sir Robert Cann, was then ordered to be brought to the Bar of the House, and upon his knees receives a reprehension from Mr. Speaker. This is not all. Sir Robert is found guilty of publicly declaring, in the City of Bristol, October, 1679, "*that there was no Popish Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot*;" and is hereupon committed to the prison of the Tower, and expelled the House. He was then brought to the Bar, and upon his knees, received the judgment of the House; and the Speaker was ordered to issue out his warrant to the Constable of the Tower, to take the body of Sir Robt. Cann into custody, and to detain him during the pleasure of the House." Sir Robert Yeamans was also sent for in custody of the Serjeant at Arms, to answer for his want of faith in the Popish Plot. He was also committed to the Tower. But although a prisoner of State, Sir Robert Cann is soon weary of his bondage; he speedily becomes discreetly humble and submissive. November 8th, a petition from him is read, "whereby he acknowledges his offence, and begs the pardon of the House; and to be released from his imprisonment." His

¹ "Sir Robert Cann was chosen into the Westminster Parliament, in the time of Charles II., when the anti-petitioners and abhorers were mortified. It was found afterwards that a rebellion was then hatching; and the instruments were every where active, and particularly Bristol, where one Rowe, the Sword-bearer, was as busy in mischief as the best; and being accused in the Rye discovery, he took to his heels. About that time there was in Bristol a loyal party, much superior to the faction, and Sir Robt. Cann was one of them. They all had found out that this Rowe was a rascal; and though he was their officer, yet they held him in utter detestation. But in order to lay hold on some persons, or proceedings in Bristol, on account of abhorring (the history of which is to be found in the Examen,) the factious party caused this Rowe to be brought up to testify against some of his masters. Sir Robt. Cann, ever violent, passionate, and hasty, was so provoked at such his appearing, that in the Parliament-house he swore, "By G—d, he was a d—d rogue." For this swearing, he was sent to the Tower, where (being a little too stiff to kneel) he lay till the Parliament rose. After which, he came out, and was entertained very civilly at his son's house."—*Lives of the Three Norths*, III., 137-8.

prayer was granted. The Speaker was ordered to issue out his warrant for Sir Robert's discharge accordingly. Sir Robert Yeamans pursued the same course. "Nov. 12th. He acknowledged the offence by him committed, and humbly begged for pardon; and there kneeling, Mr. Speaker, after giving him the censure of the House, acquainted him that he was discharged,—paying his fees."¹

Upon the expulsion of Sir Robert Cann from the House of Commons, a Mr. Henley, whose character appears equivocal,² is brought forward to occupy the vacant seat. He was opposed by the Corporation. A meeting of the House, 6th November, directed a Petition to be presented to the Parliament, against a claim made by that gentleman, "who pretended to be duly elected, who in truth was not so," praying a writ might be issued to elect a new member in the room of Sir Robert Cann; and that Mr. Crumpe, [Mayor in 1677] should attend the House of Commons, and present the Petition, with the Mayor, Sir Richard Hart,—and Sir John Knight, then in London, was desired to assist them. December, 20th, Mr. Treby reports from the Committee of elections and privileges, to whom the matter of the election for the City of Bristol was referred:—

"That the Committee having taken the same into their consideration had agreed that the election for the City of Bristol as to Mr. Henley was void."³

"Mr. Treby further reports to the House that Sir John Lloyd, late Mayor, William Jackson, and William Clutterbuck, Sheriffs, of the said City of Bristol, did at the time of the said election, impose an oath upon the electors before they came to give their voices in these words, viz. :—

"You shall swear that you are a freeman, and that you have not given your voice already."

¹ Journal of the House of Commons.

² "September, 1679. Ordered, that the thanks of the House be given to Mr. Mayor, for his prudent behaviour in the whole management of the matter with Mr. Henley, upon his demand of a certificate of his taking the oath of allegiance in order to his freedom of the City, and that Mr. Mayor be justified and defended in all things done by him in that matter; and that the six seniors of the House, be appointed a Committee to inspect into and enquire of what duties the City, and Sheriffs have been defrauded, by reason of his trading in this City, *he not being free of the same*, and who has sold and used his goods, and that a report of the matter be made to the next House, in order to a further proceeding against him."

³ Sir Richard Hart, Mayor, was paid for his charges in London about Mr. Henley's election, £115 : 6 : 8.

"Ordered, that the said Sir John Lloyd, William Jackson, and William Clutterbuck, Esqrs.,¹ be sent for in custody of the Sergeant at Arms, attending this House, to answer at the bar of this House for the misdemeanours by them committed at the said election."

"Ordered, that Mr. Speaker do issue out his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out 'a new writ for the election of a citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the City of Bristol.'"² Sir Walter Long, Bart., was elected."

The last Parliament the King ever convened, met at Oxford, in March 1681. After sitting seven days, it was abruptly dissolved by his Majesty.³ The candidates for Bristol were the Mayor [Sir Richard Hart] a violent Tory, and Sir Thomas Earle, a moderate Whig. Against them, were the Recorder, Sir Robert Atkins, usually considered to be of the low party, and Sir John Knight, a high party man. The two former were returned.⁴ "The meeting at Oxford resembled rather that of a Polish diet, than that of an English Parliament. The Whig members were escorted by great numbers of their armed and mounted tenants and serving men, who exchanged looks of defiance with the royal guards. The slightest provocation might, under such circumstances, have produced a civil war, but neither side dared to strike the first blow."⁵ March, 17th. The Mayor thanked the Corporation for their kindness, in choosing him for their representative in Parliament, signified his intention to go to Oxford on the following morning, and desired the instructions of the House. Several gentlemen of the House declared their satisfaction in the choice. The defeated party did not submit without an effort. March 24th, a petition was presented to Parliament from Sir Robert Atkins, Knight of the Bath; Sir John Knight, and other burgesses and freeholders touching the election.

¹ "November, 19th, 1681. Messrs. Jackson and Clutterbuck were paid £90, towards their expenses in a journey to London, touching the return made by them as Sheriffs, in the year 1679, of Sir Robert Cann, and Sir John Knight, elected members of Parliament for the City."

² Journal of the House of Commons.

³ The King took the Commons completely by surprise. "By the steps, says Burnet, which the Commons had already made; the King saw what might be expected from them; so very suddenly, and not very decently, he came to the House of Lords, the Crown being carried between his feet in a sedan, and he put on his robes in haste, without any previous notice, and called up the Commons and dissolved the Parliament, and went with such haste to Windsor, that it looked as if he was afraid of the crowd that this meeting had brought to Oxford."

⁴ Seyer.

⁵ Macaulay's Hist. I, 261.

When it was “ordered that the matter of the said Petition be heard at the Bar of this House on next Monday seven night.” Further proceedings not related.

Reference has been made to the Presentments of the Grand Juries, as exercising a great influence upon the age; and placing before us a faithful picture of the social, and polemical condition of our City. At this conjuncture of affairs, they fill up a hiatus,—and illuminate a void. Though somewhat lengthy, they are so characteristic and veracious, that their admission is indispensable. We read in them, the warring elements of religious rancour,—indications sad and stern; gravely ominous of evil days.—The near approach of a Papist to the Crown.—The little effect of the “Test Act.” The advance, instead of the retardation of Popery, that had followed the introduction of that act,¹—all conspired to awaken the fears of the people, and to spread before them a long vista of calamities. But the sentiments of the Grand Jury, steadfast believers in the “Hellish plots of Popish adversaries,” will best express the feelings of this locality.

“CIVITAS BRISTOL,

“To the Right Worshipfull Joseph Creswicke, Esq., Mayor, &c., &c., the humble Presentment of the Grand Inquest, * * * continued by adjournment from July 13th, 1680.

“We the Grand Jury, called to the service by your Worship; under the most sacred and solemn engagement to use all faithfulness and sincerity herein—Do in the deepest sense of our duty, and with a most hearty zeal for the safety and preservation of his Majesty’s Royal person, our most gracious sovereign,—the true Protestant religion by law established in this kingdom—and the peace and prosperity thereof, in general,—and of this City in particular—in *this time of so apparent danger*, from the many *hellish plots*, both at home and abroad,—from our *malicious* Popish adversaries, against the life of his sacred Majesty, our religion, and our peace—Humbly crave leave to lay before your Worships, the distracted condition of this City, occasioned by the unhappy dissensions and animosities of late arisen herein;

¹ This Act intended for security against Papists, coming into employment; had so little effect, that either by dispensations had from Rome, they submitted to those tests and held their offices themselves; or those put in their places, were so favourable to the same interests, that Popery itself has rather gained, than lost ground since that Act. A bull was set up in St. James’s Chapel, with orders to all Confessors, to absolve men for taking the oaths, and the test.—HARRIS’S *Life of Charles II.*, II. 166.

"to which some men, we fear more in gratification to their own private prejudices, passions and disgusts,—than of any sincere intention to the public good, (whatever may be pretended to the contrary) hath given manifest progress and encouragement. Strange, that when a danger so evident, declared by so many royal proclamations, and by many other open and incontestable proofs; the wicked designs of the Jesuits, who are the declared enemies both of our Religion and Government; and that threatens the destruction both of King and people; at this time more heats and animosities should be fermented amongst us, than hath been since his Majesty's most happy restoration; * * * which gives us just cause to suspect, however such men cover themselves, under the umbrage of great zeal and religion,—that they are inflamed by Jesuitical principles; for the Jesuits have not a fairer prospect of bringing us under the tyranny of Rome, than by continuing and carrying on of *differences amongst ourselves*. *Divide et Impera*, is their maxim, from this evil spirit and principle, this City hath been represented as *ill inclined* to his Majesty's person and Government. Our worthy Mayor, a person of unquestionable loyalty to the King, and of exemplary zeal for the Church, traduced as fanatically disposed; and all those true sons of the Church of England, who have any moderation to Dissenting Protestants, to be more dangerous to the Church, than the Papists themselves; when, we cannot but think that an hearty union amongst all Protestants, is now more than ever necessary, to preserve us from our open and avowed enemy. We have humbly made this representation to your Worships, that you in your great wisdom may take such lawful methods as may vindicate yourselves, this City,¹ and the Government thereof, from the *obloquy and reproach* cast on it, and may conduce to the peace, welfare, and tranquillity thereof."²

Protestant Dissenters were marked as enemies of the King and Government. We see in this address, that persons behaving with any moderation towards them, were considered more dangerous than the Papists themselves. At this period also, the two powerful parties,—which, till lately, have since divided the nation, began to be distinguished under the names of Whig and Tory.³ The

¹ "1677. October 30th. The City and the Governm^t thereof, having been aspersed by persons in London,—The Mayor, Sir John Knight, or either of them now going to London, are desired to remove the aspersions as much as they can."

² Signed by—John Hine, George Mason, Richard Codrington, Edward Bright, Francis Fisher, Abraham Weare, William Browne, James Fisher, Arthur Grant, Robert Bound, Richard Taylor, William Lewis, William Scott, John Hawkins, John Chesheire, Richard Wastfield, John Wolver, John Harris, Wm. Bethe.

³ When four Indian kings visited this country, about 1710, they had two interpreters, one Tory, one Whig. "The Tory told them, that this island was very much infested with a monstrous

Whigs, or low churchmen, were the more zealous Protestants, and declared enemies of Popery. The Tories, or high churchmen, stood on the other side of the prerogative, and were for advancing the honour of the King. They inclined more to a coalition with the Papists, than with the Presbyterians.¹

Somewhere about this period,—our citizens are a little diverted from their continued dissensions, by the appearance of an enormous star, of unequalled lustre. Conjecture is filled with its presage. Manuscript Calendars² note the year 1682, as distinguished “by a wonderful comet, or blazing star, which continued to be seen many weeks. It rose in the West, and set in the East; its brush, or tail, at first was of so prodigious length, that it extended almost from the horizon to the mid-heaven; but it grew shorter and shorter till it wholly disappeared.” A comet, rising and setting contrary to the motion of other heavenly bodies, is a vulgar error, frequently perpetrated by our old chroniclers. There is probably, an anachronism in the MS. Calendar, unless there was another celebrated comet, of whose later advent we are ignorant. We are inclined to consider this comet of “prodigious length,” the same which alarmed the superstitious fears of Evelyn, in 1680. He describes, with gloomy forebodings, its appearance:—

“This evening, looking out of my chamber window towards the West, I saw a meteor of an obscure colour, very much in shape like the blade of a sword; the rest of the sky very serene and clear. What this may portend, God only knows,—but such another phenomenon I remember to have seen in 1640, about the trial of the great Earl of Stafford, preceding our bloody rebellion. I pray God avert his judgments! We have had of late several comets,—which, though I believe they appear from natural causes, and of themselves operate not, yet I cannot despise them; they may be warnings from God, as they commonly are animadversions. After many days and nights of snow-clouds, and dark weather, the comet was very much wasted.”³ In a letter from Mr. Sidney, at Amsterdam, to Sir Leoline Jenkins, December 7th, 1680, he says, “The blazing star, I suppose, hath given you an account of itself.” Mr.

kind of animal, in the shape of men, called Whigs; and that he hoped ‘they should meet with none of them in their way, for that if they did, they would be apt to knock them down for being kings.’ The other interpreter, ‘talked very much of an animal, called a Tory, that was as great a monster as the Whig, and would treat them ill for being foreigners.’ These two creatures, it seems, are born with a secret antipathy to one another, and engage, when they meet, as naturally as the elephant and rhinoceros.”—ADDISON.

¹ Neale's Hist. Puritans.

² Quoted by Seyer, II., 516.

³ Evelyn Mem. I., 532.

"Sidney's Diary, December 12th, 1680. "I was at my Lady Delavall's, and was called out to see the blazing star." Again, December 16th, "The blazing star, or meteor, was seen from five o'clock to half-past six."¹

Much animosity was occasioned by the last election of members in Parliament for this City. Education and refinement had not then subdued the bitter and violent passions, that, like a huge gulph, divided the contending parties; and produced a scene of discord, in which the amenities of private life, and the courtesies of society, were alike disregarded. This particular contest gave birth to a singular occurrence, in which Sir Robert Atkyns, the Recorder, is the prominent feature. In all the transactions which Sir Robert had had with the City, during his many years of office, he maintained a quiet and stately composure in his intercourse with the Corporation; treating apparently, with indifference, their petty-minded squabbles, and bickerings on trifles, concerning which he was so frequently pestered. And by his temperate, wise counsels, and mediation,—mitigated enmities, subdued the irritation of wounded pride, and softened the rancour of political hatred. As the circumstance we are about to relate, gives us not only an insight into his character, but also into that of some of the leading citizens; and presents to our notice, the contending parties whose disputes agitated the City, and contributed to its unrest, we will add our gleanings on the subject, to the narrative of Seyer; condensed, or transcribed, according as the interest of the information may require.

Alderman Sir John Lloyd was dead. There was a vacancy on the Bench. The Mayor, Sir Richard Hart, in a spirit of partisanship, refused to call a meeting of the Aldermen for choosing a successor. The majority wished to elect Mr. Thomas Day [Sheriff in 1670]. He stood next in succession; but the Mayor opposed him,² and endeavoured to defer the election; until, by the absence of some of his [Mr. Day's] opponents; particularly of Sir Robert Atkins, he might ensure a majority of his friends. Three several times had the Recorder proposed to the Mayor to hold a meeting for the election. Three several times had the Mayor refused. Whereupon Sir Robert, as senior Alderman, and five³ others, gave notice of their intention of doing so, the 5th

¹ Diary of the Times of Charles II. The Hon. Henry Sidney was Envoy to the Court of Holland.

² The Mayor's prejudice against this gentleman was probably increased, from Mr. Day voting against him at the election for Parliament.

³ Sir John Knight, John Lawford, Joseph Creswicke, William Crabb, and John Hickey.

March. At the time of the meeting, Sir Richard Hart was standing at the door of the Tolzey. He declined attending, and walked loftily away. Regardless of his absence, the six Aldermen, unanimously elected Mr. Thomas Day to the vacancy. The Mayor was incensed. He caused the Recorder, and Aldermen Knight, Lawford, and Creswicke, to be indicted for a conspiracy and riot. At the Quarter Sessions, October 4th, the Grand Jury presented,—

“ Sir Robert Atkins, Knt. of the Bath, and Recorder, for withdrawing himself and departing from the Gaol Delivery, by the presentment and indictment at large; also for his denial to swear Sir Richard Hart,¹ and Alderman Long, duly elected; Sir Robt. Atkins, Recorder, Sir John Knight, John Lawford, Esq., and Joseph Creswicke, Esq., Aldermen, for assembling and uniting themselves; and calling a Court of Aldermen, and electing Mr. Thomas Day an Alderman, without the presence of the Mayor, contrary to law and the Charter of Henry VII.” It will be observed that although there were six Aldermen, and all unanimous in their choice, four only were indicted. A prudent and cautious policy. It would have been too gross, and palpable to have indicted six Justices of the Peace, before a lesser number of their brethren. This strange indictment was tried at the Assizes at Bristol, by *Nisi Prius*. The defendants were found guilty. “ And thereupon Sir Robert Atkins,

¹ Sir Robert's attention is called to Sir Richard Hart's not being sworn, in the following letter; in which the cogent reasoning of the worthy Mayor will be admired:—

“ Sir,—By the advice of our Aldermen, whom I called together since I was sworn Mayor of Bristol, I have appointed the 18th day of this inst. October, (and to that day we shall take care to adjourn our Sessions,) for holding a Court of Gaol Delivery for this City and County,—as the copy of our order on the other side appears. We have three felons to be tried, who have been long in our prison,—and we think it fit they should be delivered or condemned, before the next term calls me to London; where (*as my predecessors have done,*) *I go to take the oaths by law required*; wherefore, we all expecting it, I desire you not to fail to be here at the time appointed for our Gaol Delivery, *because you know we cannot deliver our Gaol without you*; and your presence is further necessary here, to swear Sir Richard Hart an Alderman of our City, *who hath been chosen long since, and cannot be sworn but by the Recorder*.

“ I am, your humble Servant,

“ THOMAS EARLE, Mayor.

“ Bristol, primo October, 1681.

“ To the Honourable Sir Robert Atkins, Knight of the Bath and Bart.,
at Sergeant's Inn, in Fleet Street, London.”

Mr. Hart had been elected an Alderman near twelvemonths, 11th October, 1680. “ Richard Hart, Esq. was elected an Alderman of this City, but the swearing of him deferred, by reason the Charter do give authority for Aldermen to be sworn only before the Mayor and Recorder, except in the case of a Recorder only.”

“one of the defendants in Michaelmas Term, 1682, came into the Court of King’s Bench, and in arrest of judgment argued his own case; not as counsel, not at the bar, but in the Court in his cloak, having a chair set for him, by order of the Lord Chief Justice.” He begins by making several legal objections to the indictment; resting his defence on the ground that the Mayor *is not so great a personage* as the indictment supposes, and that if he will not do his duty by calling the Aldermen together for an election, the majority are justifiable in assembling for that purpose without him. Several passages in the report of his speech show the extreme violence of the contending factions. In the case of the swearing of an Alderman by the express word of the charter, he says, “it cannot be done but before the Mayor and Recorder both. This Sir Richard Hart, was duly chosen an Alderman long ago, but not sworn until the last Gaol Delivery, when we were going to try the felons. I being present, they thought that sufficient to satisfy the Charter; and in a tumultuous manner, with a hideous noise, they cried out to swear him; and this was not the usual place neither for it. I opposed the swearing of him in, and I will justify it, that he was utterly unfit to be sworn, by *something that happened since his being elected an Alderman*. They would not hear me, but resolved to proceed to swear him, because I was present with the Mayor. Thereupon I withdrew, and in my absence they went on to swear him, and he now acts as an Alderman, and as a Justice of Peace, under this colour.” Sir Robert’s conclusion is remarkable. “I have been Recorder of Bristol these one-and-twenty years; longer I think than any man can be remembered.—I have sworn all the Aldermen that are now upon the Bench in my time, and many more who are now dead. I can say it without vanity,—till the time of this unhappy election of members to the Oxford Parliament, which I sought not,—I had the good will of all sides, even of this Mr. Mayor, who was Sir Richard Hart, for I never would join with any party; but did all I could when I came amongst them to join them together and unite them; *for ever since they grew rich and full of trade and knighthood, too much sail, and too little ballast, they have been miserably divided*. And unless this Court, to whom I think it properly belongs, upon complaint in such cases, will examine their disorders, and command peace and order to be observed in our proceedings, I cannot safely attend there any more, nor hold any Gaol Delivery.” Whereupon the Court arrested the judgment.

The Bristol merchants were at this epoch, truly an example of how oft prosperity changes the heart,—giving to humility the step of arrogance,—and to simplicity, ostentation and parade. They had seen many dark and anxious days.—Their resources had been successively drained by Royalists and Republicans. They had struggled hard with adversity,—and in all the convulsions

of faction which had distracted the City, had ever sought the peace and welfare of the community. Now, that riches had increased, and honours were thrust upon them,—instead of turning to the Giver of All, with thankful and grateful minds,—in idle disputes about trifles, inflated with pride, and burning with political hatred,—they banish peace and harmony from their councils, for disquietude of heart, and bitter strife. It is to this change that Sir Robert alludes.

Sir Robert was yet in the way.¹ The Tories desired one of their own party as Recorder. Nothing less than the removal of Sir Robert would satisfy them. No time was lost. Other charges were brought against him. Common Council, 15th of the following November. “Sir John Knight, Sheriff, preferred several articles against Sir Robert Atkins, the Recorder of the City.” The articles were ordered to be entered in the Council Books. Sir Robert is summoned to appear at the Council House, to answer the charges. Appointing the time, was left to the Mayor, Sir Thomas Earle, but “limited to within three months from the day of the meeting. A copy of the articles to be sent Sir Robert Atkins.”²

Sir Robert did not appear at the Council House “to answer the charges.” He resigned his Recordership before the year expired; all that his adversaries required by their indictment. Sir Richard Hart, and the Tories were triumphant. “Modern Reports” does not enter into the motives that actuated Sir Robert to this course. It merely states that he resigned by persuasion of his friends. Our annals inform us “that he was compelled by the King to resign his office, *having too much abetted with the fanatics.*” In his resignation, he does not say by whom, or what were the inducements that influenced him.

“To all to whom these presents shall come. Sir Robert Atkins, Knight, of the honourable order of the Bath, sendeth greeting. Know ye that the said Sir Robert

¹ After the dispute with Sir Robert Atkins, and while the Chamber was yet smarting under his reproof, a majority sought to touch him on what they considered a vulnerable point. It was carried August 12th, 1681. “That the City for the future [was] not to be at the expense of maintaining the Recorder at the Gaol Delivery.” February 6th, 1683, this order was repealed “in consideration of the great worth of Sir John Churchill.”

² 1683. “Paid Sir Richard Hart, Knight, £82 : 9., being so much expended by the Committee appointed by the House, to manage the prosecuting of Sir Robert Atkins, *for neglecting the duty of his offices.*”

“ Atkins, for divers considerations him thereunto moving ; hath surrendered, required, and yielded up unto the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty, of the City of Bristol, his office of Recorder of the said City ; and of the place of one of the Aldermen of the said City. In witness whereof, the said Sir Robert Atkins, hath hereunto set his hand and seal, dated the tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord God, 1682. ”

“ ROBERT ATKINS.”

Sir Robert has resigned. The Corporation are content. Sir John Churchill, of Lincoln's Inn, Attorney General to the Duke of York, occupies his place. Sir John, in 1676, had solicited the freedom of the City, through Aldermen Streamer, and Olliffe. It was presented him on the motion of the Mayor, Sir Robert Cann, “ as a testimony of their respect for so worthy a person.” The same year he was unanimously elected a member of the Society of Merchants. Such was the strong party feeling prevailing, that his appointment as Recorder was celebrated as a triumph. Bonfires were made on the occasion.

The execution of Stafford closed the dismal year 1680. Fearful for England's liberty were the following years until the Revolution. The Crown with its minions were prepared to do its worst towards establishing its prerogative. What would now be called gross corruption, was practised without disguise, and without reproach. There never was a period in this Christian land in which all the virtues of life were so little regarded. Tory Sheriffs were everywhere thrust into place. Packed Tory juries were organized. All the Corporations in the Kingdom were to be submerged and strangled by means of *Quo Warrantos*.¹ An exciting feature of the times, was the sham plots contrived by the Tories, and the Warrants issued against the leaders of the Whig party, for seditious language,—as in the case of Sir Robert Cann and Sir Robert Yeamans. The Presentments of the Grand Juries, especially embody the sentiments and tendency of the Government, and develope the persecuting spirit of the age. Some of these belonging to this important crisis, while they corroborate, add value to general history, and throw light on local events, which the shadow of Time has rendered faint and obscure. Persecution appeared to be synonymous with power, and the Whigs and Nonconformists, were now as much persecuted by the Tories, as in the wildest days of fanaticism the subdued Royalists, had been

¹ Macaulay, Hist. Pictorial England.

by the Puritans. Sir John Knight, with whose character the reader is acquainted,—irritated probably, by his late defeat in contesting the representation of the City in Parliament, gets into a passion with one of his opponents, Sir Richard Hart, and breaks the peace. In consequence, at the General Quarter Sessions, held the 12th April, 1681, the Grand Jury present him “for affronting and assaulting Mr. Mayor [Sir Richard Hart] in the execution of his office;” also “for stigmatizing and brandishing his Majesty’s subjects with odious and ignominious names of Papists, &c.” And the following members of the Corporation were presented for “publishing a writing under the title of a Petition, in which are contained divers reproachful untruths and falsehoods, &c.:—Sir Robert Atkins, Sir John Knight, John Lawford, Aldⁿ Henry Merret, Henry Gleson, W^m Dunning, Samuel Hale, Stephen Watts, John Hine, Hump^r Corsley, Charles Plomer.” Hale, Watts, and Hine were Nonconformists; it will be seen that in 1683, they are imprisoned for attending conventicles, and discharged on paying their fees.¹

About this period, the King published a declaration to his loving subjects, containing a recital of his Majesty’s condescensions, for the security of the Protestant religion; and ordered the same to be read in all churches and chapels throughout England. To support the credit of this declaration, the Court used all its interest among the people. Addresses² were sent from all

¹ “The Grand Jury of Bristol made a flaming presentment April 26, 1681. Sir J. Knight, figured in it, for having called those who voted at the last election, ‘Papists, Popish dogs, Jesuits, and Popish devils.’ Sir Robert Atkins, was presented for having drawn up a petition to Parliament. Sundry coffee houses and tippling houses are noticed, “which were commonly frequented, as well on the Lord’s days as other days, by many schismatical and seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons,—where, for their encouragement in tippling, they were usually entertained with false news, lying and scandalous libels, and pamphlets tending to the reproach and dishonour of the established religion, and of his Majesty’s Government, and divers of his great officers, and Ministers of State.” The desire to establish a censorship in the City merits attention.—The Jury recommended “that no printed or written news or pamphlet, be suffered to be read there, except such as had been first shown to Mr. Mayor, or the Aldⁿ of the ward for the time being, where such coffee house is situated.”—*State Paper Office*. SIR L. JENKINS’ *Domestic*, IV., 86. ROBERTS’ *Monmouth*, I., 119.

² Bristol Quarter Sessions, 20th February, 1682. The Grand Jury request the Court to join with them in presenting at his Majesty’s feet a declaration of their devoted attachment to himself and Government. To unite their prayers that God might bless his Majesty with a long and prosperous reign, and that they “may never want one of his Royal race to sway the sceptre of this kingdom till time shall be no more.” They thank the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop [Wm. Goulson],

parts, and from all classes, thanking his Majesty for his declaration,—and promising to protect his person and Government, with their lives and fortunes. In these addresses, the Nonconformists, who did not join, had all the hatred and malevolence of the Court-party directed against them. In a double character, as Whigs and Dissenters, they bore the badge of suffering, and were treated with indignity, contumely, and reproach. Prosecutions were directed against them in all the Courts of Justice in the nation. Many endured long imprisonments. Others, driven wanderers from their habitations, were forced into exile never to return. And numerous, able, and conscientious ministers, with their families, were reduced to penury and want. The moral world presented a living volcano, vomiting forth the flames of every evil passion, and every harmful thought,—to the destruction of social order, and the corruption and degradation of humanity. “It was a time,” says Clarendon, “when all license in discourse, and in actions was spread over the kingdom, to the heart-breaking of many good men, who had terrible apprehension of the consequence of it.”

Some benefit has been conferred upon the City, by the Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquis of Worcester. The Corporation are solicitous, by a public demonstration of respect, to show him how gratefully they appreciate his services. This was either to be done by presenting him with the freedom of the City,—by the usual offering of *wine and sugar*,—or, by inviting him to a dinner. The first would not cost much. The second would intrench somewhat upon their funds. The last would be extremely costly—but then the enjoyment of the feast would be participated by themselves. This thought was decisive, and a dinner it was to be:—

Common Council, September 3rd, 1681. “Mr. Mayor, laid a letter from the Lord Marquis of Worcester, which was read to the House, when it was resolved, that Alderman Hickes, Alderman Crump, and Mr. Knight should go to

for the influence of his usual presence; and also hope that all good subjects will pray “that God may bless the City, and defend it from all public calamities, and its government and privileges from the undermining designs of all men of what quality soever.” “The Court concurs with this declaration of abhorrence of all combinations, and associations, contrary to law and his Majesty’s consent and approbation. In testimony whereof we subscribe our names, this 28th February, 1681-2. Thomas Earle, Mayor; William Bristoll, Robert Cann, John Knight, Joseph Creswicke, Robert Yeamans, John Hickes, Ralph Olliffe, William Crabb, Richard Hart; Richard Lane, John Knight, Sheriffs; John Romsey, Town Clerk.”^a

^a “April 15, 1676. Chosen Town Clerk, vice Robert Aldworth, deceased. Freedom voted him, and to give security for the faithful discharge of the office.”

“Badminton, and invite to the City, the Lord Marquis, and Lord Herbert; and that the City not only shall be at the charge of the dinner, but that their Lordships’ whole expense during their stay, shall be borne by the City; and the Mayor and Aldermen to direct such reception and entertainment, as shall be suitable to their Honours and quality.”

The Marquis and his two sons, came across the Severn at Aust Passage. While at Bristol, a general muster of the City Militia took place in the Marsh, for three days, which they attended. The banqueting room in the Merchants’ Hall had been prepared, for the great ceremony of the feast. The entertainment was sumptuous. It took place September 8th. Among other items of expenditure, that reveal a remarkable difference in the customs of England, is one “for two pounds of tobacco,” and another for “a gross of pipes.” Too much attention and observance, could not be paid to a person of the exalted rank of the Marquis. Moreover, his services had been important to the City. He was high in authority, and had access to the royal ear. His influence had been beneficially exerted, was acknowledged and appreciated by the Corporation. They thus express themselves at a meeting of the House, September 15th:—

“Upon the motion of Mr. Mayor,—who, with due sentiments, remembered the many favours the Most Honourable Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert, Baron of Chepstow, Ragland, and Gower, Earl and Marquis of Worcester, Lord President and Lord Lieutenant of Wales, and the Marches, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Gloster, Hereford, and the City of Bristol, and County of the same, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesty’s most Honourable Privy Council, has been pleased, without intermission, to bestow upon this City, not only by his influence with his most Sacred Majesty, but also by his most happy counsel and conduct in our civil, as well as military affairs; do, as the best return we can make to his Lordship’s favours, for the future,—make his Lordship a partaker with us in all the immunities and privileges granted to this City by his most gracious Majesty, and his royal progenitors,—and do therefore order that his Lordship be admitted a Burgess of this City accordingly; which we most humbly beg his Lordship to honour us, the City in, by accepting of, to the intent this City might never want the favour and patronage of the most noble family of the Somersets, of which the most Honourable Henry Lord Marquis of Worcester, is now the root and spring,—and that they may also express their respect in that noble line, this House doth order that the Right Hon. Arthur Lord Somerset, second son of the most noble Marquis of Worcester, be admitted a Burgess of this City.”

With a similar stilted preamble, of which a wearying example has just been given, it is ordered, that the Right Hon. Charles Lord Herbert, son and heir of the Marquis, "who lately obliged this City with the honour of his presence, and in that space of time gave many instances of his good affection, and inclination to the welfare thereof," be also admitted a Burgess of the City.

Persecution for liberty of conscience, repugnant as it is to modern times, was still active in our City.

Common Council, January 12th, 1682. "Sir Richard Hart, communicated a letter from Sir Robert Sawyer, his Majesty's Attorney-General, which takes notice of *certioraries*, obtained upon indictments against several persons, for not coming to church according to the statutes,—and in the letter he had sent *precedendoes* upon all those indictments, and therein assures us of the like, in case any thing of that nature should happen. The opportune arrival whereof, was (besides the service of his sacred Majesty) so signal a favour and encouragement, to all good men and loyal subjects in this City, and discountenance to all sorts of recusants and separatists from the Church,¹ that this House do think themselves for ever obliged to this happy instrument thereof,—and do therefore order that their hearty and sincere thanks be returned for his care of us, and his undertaking to secure us in cases of like nature. The Town Clerk, by the next post, to acquaint him with our sentiments."

Gratified and grateful are the Council at the encouragement granted them to continue their work of persecution. It is their day of triumph. They can give full relief to their prejudices,—and pour forth their long restricted feelings of hatred and bigotry against all, who differ from themselves in the form of religious worship. They can track Dissenters to their secret congregations; get them within the clutches of the law; inflict pains and penalties; and drag them like felons to help choke the crowded gaols. The spiritual, also, lent its quickening aid to the civil power. The orthodox, issued instructions for searching inquiries to be made. No recusant, or person, neglecting attendance at church, could well escape the informer. Sectarianism was a crime that admitted of no palliative,—and liberty of conscience was incompatible with the safety of the Established Church and Government. The instructions of the Bishop (William Goulson, collated to the Diocese in 1678) are simple, concise, and positive.

¹ "1682. January 13th. The hearty and sincere thanks of the House voted Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney-General, for the great service and kindness he has done this City, in discountenancing all sorts of recusants and separatists from the Church."

“To all and singular, the Ministers and Churchwardens of the several parishes, within the City of Bristol,—William, by Divine permission Lord Bishop of Bristol, sendeth greeting. Whereas, we are credibly informed and have sufficient reason to believe, that there are divers Recusants and Dissenters to the Church of England, of all sorts, inhabiting within your several parishes, who resort not to their respective parish churches on Sundays, and holy days, in time of Divine service,—nor receive the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper there,—as by the laws, canons, and institutions of the Church of England they are obliged, whose names are unknown unto us,—we therefore require you, the said Ministers and Churchwardens, and every of you, to bring or cause to be brought to us under your hands, a true list of the names and surnames of all Recusants, and Dissenters as aforesaid; of what sort or kind soever they be,—inhabiting within your respective parishes, before the last day of this instant February, in order they may be proceeded against according to law; fail not herein upon pain of contempt of this our order. Given at our palace at Bristol, under our hands and Seal Manual, this 6th day of February, in the year of our Lord God, 1681-2, according to the computation of the Church of England, in the 3rd year of our consecration. You are likewise to bring in the names and surnames of all School-Masters, and School-Mistresses, within your respective parishes. The Minister to publish this order in his parish church, the first Sunday after the receipt hereof.”

What ensued on the reading of Sir Robert Sawyer’s letter, and that of the Bishop, may be fairly arrived at from the reports of the Sessions:—

“1682, March 13. Numbers of Quakers fined 5s. each, for unlawfully assembling; they all pleaded not guilty.—March 15. Sir Thomas Earle produced several sums of money arising from the above fines, which was ordered to be left with the Town Clerk until further orders.—March 16. Complaint made against the Constables for exorbitant distresses on the above,—and referred to the Mayor, Sir Richard Crumpe, and Sir Richard Hart, to report at the next Sessions several indictments against persons for not going to church for several months; they pleaded they were not Popish Recusants, which was overruled, and a verdict given for the King. Mr. Richard Vickris, fined 10s. for unlawfully assembling on 27th August, 1682, and 7th January, to be discharged on paying the fine and fees.”

Informers frequented the churches, and took the names of those parishioners who did not attend, and who were accordingly fined.¹ Not content with this, the informers, to increase the fines, in which they shared, frequently gave false information. Respectable church-goers, were summoned before the magis-

¹ The Statute of the first of Elizabeth, and third of King James, was put in execution for the levying twelve-pence per Sunday, upon such persons who repaired not to divine service and sermons, at their parish or some other public church.

trates, and compelled by the affirmation of credible witnesses, to prove their attendance and behaviour there, or failing this to pay the fine. As examples:—

“1683. April 17th. Mr. Robert Tate, and Mr. John Wallis, testify that Mrs. Martha Tate and Hester Tate have been several times to their parish church, St. Werburgh, since Christmas last, and particularly the said Martha, on 25th March last, and the said Hester, on the Sunday following, and behaved themselves decently.—April 17. Nathaniel Pinney swore he had seen Joseph Jackson, merchant, at church, within this half year. Mrs. Margaret Stokes and Mrs. Mary Grant, swore they had seen Mary Whitehead at Temple Church. Mr. Alderman Hickes swore his having seen Richard King, mercer, of All Saints at his parish church, where he behaved himself decently.—August 6th. Sir Thomas Earle brought into Court the monies levied on persons convicted for conventicles, the amount to be delivered the Sheriffs; a third part £20, to be paid out to the informers.—November 7th. Mr. Stephen Watts,* John Hine,* Thomas Scrope, Symon Hall, William Whitchard, Ichabod Channey, Samuel Hale* Samuel Clarke. These latter were discharged on paying their fees for attending Conventicles. Several women fined 1s. and 5s., for attending as above. Ann Redman having promised not to go to meeting, her fine to be remitted.”

Charles is possessed of arbitrary power. The Whigs are subdued, and the Tory party are fast increasing throughout the country. Laws against Non-conformists, dormant under the Whig Administration, are now to be effectually executed. The Presbyterians are to be humbled, however unjustifiable the means. All conventicles and unlawful meetings, both in City and country are to be suppressed at the express pleasure of his Majesty. Informers of the vilest description are countenanced and encouraged,—rewarded with money extorted from the industrious and conscientious. Worthy, blameless, men cast into gaols, already crowded with the vagrant and the felon, there to languish out their useful lives. Almost everywhere the King nominated the Sheriffs, and the Sheriffs nominated the juries. This must have been the case in our City, from the temper of the address delivered at the Easter Sessions, in 1682. With corrupt judges, with corrupt juries, what hope of justice—what chance of escape for any one prosecuted by the Government?¹

¹ “Charles’s Parliaments made him liberal concessions, yet he grasped at more, and endeavoured to set up a dispensing power. He sullied the Bench of Bishops, with a set of temporising sycophants; and filled the Courts of Justice, with men to serve his own purpose. He aimed at absolute power, and was suspected of inclining to Popery.”—MACAULAY’S *Hist.* * Members of Corporation.

Easter Sessions, 1682.—The attention of the Right Worshipful body is called to “several infamous, scandalous, and seditious libels published here,” one entitled “the Sad and Lamentable Cry of Oppression and Cruelty in the City of Bristol;”—another, “a More Sad and Lamentable Cry;”—another, the “Devouring Informers of Bristol;”—and others, amongst them, “the Protestant Courant,” “purporting itself, written by Richard Baldwyn.” These they present for the most part, as “utterly false,” and their few truths as “most maliciously represented.” They deem the libels “to be the contrivance of factious and disaffected persons to his Majesty * * * Church and State; “who have endeavoured by all means to calumniate among others, the Right Rev. Father in God, our Lord Bishop; the Right Worshipful Sir John Knight, one of our Sheriffs; John Romsey, Esq., our Town Clerk; John Hellier, Gent., Chief Constable of the Ward of St. James; and several others,” * * * “who have been active and industrious in putting the laws into execution.” They recommend that the “authors of the libels may be severely proceeded against and punished,”¹ and that “the libels themselves may pass under some public and exemplary mark of the displeasure and detestation of the Court.”

The Jurors are glad to observe, that executing the laws against Dissenters, have been productive of “*good fruits*, in order to the reconciling of his Majesty’s subjects here to the Government, both in Church and State. Especially they congratulate Erasmus Dole, a Quaker, for taking the oath of allegiance, which he had refused to take the previous Sessions.” They are so far from vaunting “any insolent triumph over him,” that they think themselves, and “all legal men, obliged, in Christian charity, to encourage and cherish him, and all others who return to their loyalty, and become reconciled to the Church.”

Baldwyn’s libel, charges partiality in the execution of the laws here towards Papists. This the Jury repudiate. In vindication, they affirm there has not been for seven years above *two families of Papists* within the City. One had removed, to escape persecution; the common sanctuary of recusants, the Castle Precincts, sheltered the other.² In conclusion, they say, “that although they are not so tame as to wear

¹ January 7th, 1676. “Proclamation was published, for discovering and punishing malicious and disaffected persons, who did daily devise and publish, * * * sundry false, infamous, and scandalous libels; endeavouring thereby not only to traduce and reproach the ecclesiastical and temporal government of this kingdom, and the public ministry of the same; but also to stir and dispose the minds of his Majesty’s subjects, to sedition and rebellion.” By an act, the 14th Charles II., “Offenders were, for the first offence, to be disabled from exercising their trades for the space of three years; and for the second, they were for ever incapacitated, and to be further punished by fine, imprisonment, &c.”—HARRIS’s *Charles II.*

² “We present the Castle, being extra parochial, to be a receptacle of Papists and Fanatics, and desire the Court to find expedients whereby to bring the inhabitants thereof, to be liable to the law as well as other parts of this City.”—*Grand Jury Presentment.*

“chains, or worship the Host, they are willing to bear the easy yoke of obedience, and subjection due to his Majesty, * * * and to the laws as now established. And shall account it to their interest as well as their duty, according to their sworn allegiance, to maintain and defend his Majesty, and the laws, against all damnable associations and confederacy whatsoever.”

From Erasmus Dole, mentioned in the Presentment, goods had been taken by the Magistrates, in 1681, worth £20; and in 1682, he was returned into the Exchequer, on the Statute,¹ of £20 per month, for absence from the national worship; making, for eleven months, the sum of £220. A pamphlet printed shortly after, contain a very scandalous reflection on the Magistrates of this City, particularly on the Mayor and the Court, in the case of Erasmus Dole. It states,—

“That their Worships, in giving him the Oath of Allegiance, did permit him to use his own words, and not those appointed by the Statute; that he did not take the said Oath, or kiss the book, though it is entered in the record of this Court that he did so. Whether he did take it or not, the aspersion that lays against your Worships is the same. Now if he did not take it, then it is still necessary that he take it; the law had obliged him to. But if he did take it, he can then, if called to it, take it again, which is a necessary expedient, to give satisfaction, and remove the said scandal; and when this is done, we humbly desire it may be made public in the Gazette, or otherwise, for the just vindication of this Court, and consequently of this City. Not but that we ourselves, and all others that are acquainted with the method of judicial proceedings within this City, are so well satisfied of your Worships great care in the due and rightful administration of justice, that we can challenge all the world to produce one instance of the contrary thereof; yet this cannot be supposed sufficient to obviate the above said reflection, no more than it can put a stop to the clamour of such, whose frequent offences render them obnoxious to this Court,—and who, instead of reformation, are wont, with the wolf, to bark at the moon, for laying restraint on their disorderly practices.”²

It appears, from a narrative of the Quakers, published by them of their sufferings since the Restoration, that great numbers had been fined by the Bishop's courts, robbed of their substance, and perished in prison. Many had been so beaten and wounded for attending meetings, that it was no unusual thing for them to die of their wounds. An account was also published of the unjust proceedings of the informers, shewing that at their

¹ 23rd Elizabeth.

² Grand Jury Presentment, September, 1682.

instance, many of the Quakers had been plundered without a judicial process, and that seven hundred of them were in prison in several parts of England, especially about Bristol. These outrages were enacted by a civilised people, who called themselves Christians, and professed to be guided by a Christian spirit, and therefore remonstrances and complaints, were unavailing. William Penn, in his preface [addressed to the higher powers] to a treatise, entitled "England's Present Interest Considered," exhibits a pathetic representation of the severities of the times, when he says "to see the imprisoned, was crime enough for a jail; to visit the sick, to make a conventicle; when whole barns of corn were seized, thrashed, and carried away,—parents left without their children,—children without their parents; and both without subsistence. But that [he adds] which aggravates the cruelty is, the widow's mite hath not escaped their hands; they have made her cow the forfeiture of her conscience; not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her; and what is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, the poor orphans' milk, boiling over the fire, hath been flung to the dogs; and the skillet made part of the prize: so that had not nature in neighbours, been stronger than cruelty in such informers, to open their bowels for their relief and subsistence, they must have utterly perished."

In September, Charles Harford,¹ Senior, is presented "for being the Author and dispenser of a libel entitled, "The Distressed Cause of the People called Quakers, in the City of Bristol, and their Inhuman Usage for their Religious Peaceable Assemblies."² Charles Harford was a soap-maker; his case is

¹ "August 1679. Forasmuch as Charles Harford, William Taylor, and John Hale,—being formerly, severally indicted at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, held for this City and County; for keeping open their shops, and exercising their trades, on the 30th day of January last past, being an anniversary day of fasting and humiliation, to be observed and kept in detestation and abhorrence of the most villanous and abominable fact, of the execrable murder committed upon his most serene Majesty, King Charles I., the 30th January, 1648-9, contrary to the statute in that case made and provided. The which indictment the said persons having thereto severally pleaded not guilty, and put themselves upon the trial of their country, who have found them guilty,—This Court doth therefore lay and impose on the said Charles Harford, Wm. Taylor, and John Hale,—the several fines of five marks a piece, for their respective offences, and doth order that they stand committed, and remain in the common gaol of Newgate, in this City, till they shall severally pay their respective fines, together with the usual Court fees and charges, in defence of the said several indictments.—And until they shall be severally thence discharged by due course of law."

² See Appendix C.

another example of the severity with which the laws against Nonconformists were administered in this City. In 1681, goods for fines, valued at £25 : 15, were taken from him. The following year he was sent to Newgate. He was again fined in 1683, for absence from the National Worship, the sum of £60, being at the rate of £20, a month for three months: and although added to this extortion, he was compelled to pay £220, for eleven months, yet neither imprisonment, nor the loss of his worldly substance, could induce him to act contrary to his avowed principles; and take the oath of allegiance, or attend the Established Church. The Grand Jury present in October "that want of holding a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and general Gaol Delivery within this City, *for near two years last past*, the gaol being now filled with more than the usual number of criminals; is a great grievance to the inhabitants,—a failure of justice in those that occasion it;—and a manifest encouragement unto notorious offenders,—and do therefore entreat their Worships that the best and speediest course may be taken for redressing this, and preventing the like occasion of complaint for the future."¹ At the same time, they state "there is *no conventicle publicly frequented within this City*, and they hope that their Worships' care will continue to be such, that for the future there shall be none; and if at any time it should happen to be otherwise, their Worships' late proceedings drawn into precedent, is an approved remedy always at hand to reduce them [the Dissenters] to obedience."²⁻³

Two actual plots now aghast the nation. One, concocted by unscrupulous and hot-headed nobles. Their object, a simultaneous insurrection. The other, by an inferior order of conspirators,—men, fierce, unrestrained by principle, maddened by fanaticism. Their object, butchering the King and his Royal brother, as the shortest way of vindicating the liberties of England. The premature return of his Majesty to London, by the accidental burning of his palace at Newmarket, prevented the butchering. "This," says Burnet,

¹ October 19. "A petition from the prisoners in Newgate, who have lain in gaol for two years, for want of a Gaol Delivery—referred to a Committee to prepare an address to his Majesty, to seek redress by all ways in the particular complained of. The Committee consisted of the Mayor, Thomas Eston, Sir Richard Crumpe, Sir Richard Hart, and Sir John Knight, all three or two of them, who were directed to go with the Mayor to London, and present the same to his Majesty."

² "The Dissenters of Bristol, were met 20th April, 1683, in the bottom of a Common, when their *field conventicle* was disturbed. The Avon had to be crossed. In the frightful confusion, the preacher was nearly drowned,—a fate which one poor man did not escape."—ROBERTS' *Monmouth*.

³ See Appendix D.

"seemed to be so eminent a providence, that the whole nation was struck with it, and both preachers and poets, had a noble subject to enlarge on; and to show how much the King and the Duke, were under the watchful care of Providence." Both plots were soon discovered. The lesser, or Rye-House¹ plot, extended its ramifications to this City. A party of these desperate conspirators, are said to have held their meetings in a summer house of a garden in Baldwin Street. The names of three only are distinguishable. Nathaniel Wade,² a lawyer,—Holloway, a linen manufacturer,—and Roe,³ the Sword Bearer. Wade and Roe, purchased their lives with infamy. We shall shortly see Wade again. Roger North, "a vigilant observer of all those minute circumstances, which throw light on the dispositions of men,"⁴ attending the Sessions at Bristol, 1680, with his brother, Lord Guildford North, writes:—"There was one Row, in office of Sword Bearer; which in that town, is pronounced *sorberer*. I thought it sounded like Cerberus; and not amiss, for the fellow was deep in the Rye-plot, for which he fled. He was strangely saucy and impertinent in his office. And once the Judge looked back for one of his servants, and he comes forward, and "I'll wait on your lordship," said he. "You wait on my lord, sirrah?" said the Mayor,— "you shall wait upon me, and I'll wait upon my lord."

Holloway had been an apprentice of Walter Stephens, one of the fanatical leaders of the Puritans in this City,—who headed the mob that destroyed the Virgin-Mary Chapel, on the Bridge. From his connection with Stephens, Holloway probably imbibed those extreme opinions, which led him to embark in the desperate enterprise, which eventually brought him to a violent and ignominious death. In 1679.—He made proposals to the House for keeping five hundred poor of the City at work, by the establishment of a linen

¹ "The Rye House is situated on one of the pleasantest parts of the pleasant river Lea [so dear to Isaac Walton and London anglers] a little above Broxbourn Bridge, and Hoddesdon. It is now an inn and fishing house."—*Pictorial England*.

² It appears from the evidence of Josiah Keeling, the informer, that Wade kept £200, or £300, in town towards the purchase of arms.—*Pictorial England*.

³ "Roe, being asked concerning the design of assassinating the King,—said, that measures were taken for killing the King and the Duke of York; and that Rumsey was for killing the Duke of Monmouth also, and for leaving no branch of the family alive."—*Ibid.*

⁴ Macaulay, Hist. Pict. England. Hume. Evans.

manufactory.¹ The proposals were accepted. But before the project was carried into execution, it came to the ear of Sir John Knight, who was attending Parliament at Westminster. Sir John, takes another view of the matter. In his letter of the 24th May, 1679, he judiciously writes—"That as the Chamber is already in a very deplorable condition, and the linen manufactory project must come to nothing,—for that the act against French linens will expire in March, come twelvemonth; and then, the French trade will be open again as ever." He therefore begs them to delay the execution of the City seals, "till it shall please God to send Sir Robert Cann, and himself home to Bristol to be heard." Sir John's representations had the effect he desired, and the scheme was abandoned.

Hume says, "Holloway, merchant of Bristol, one of the conspirators, fled to the West Indies, and was now [December] brought over. He had been outlawed,—but the year allowed him for surrendering himself had not expired. A trial was therefore offered him; but, as he had at first confessed having been engaged in a conspiracy for an insurrection, and even allowed that he had heard some discourse of an assassination, though he had not approved of it; he thought it more expedient to throw himself on the King's mercy. He was executed, persisting in the same confession." Holloway² and others, were to have surprised Bristol, on which account his body was sent here, and his head and quarters affixed on the gates.

¹ May 8th. It was agreed to lend £2000, for the purpose to the Company of Linen Drapers; £1000, to a Mr. John King, to remain in his hands three years, interest free; and £1000, for ten years. Security to be given for the repayment, and if the undertaking be not proceeded with, the money to be returned in nine months. The east end of Bridewell, was to be fitted up as a work-house at the Chambers' expense, under Mr. King's direction. The conditions were, that five hundred spinners, inhabitants of the City, and none other, should be employed,—2½d. to be paid to every person spinning 600 yards, and never less than 2d. The spinning and weaving, to be taught by 12 men and 12 women, to be brought into the City. £1000, was to be lent by the Chamber, and £1000, to be borrowed on City Seals. May 25th. It was agreed the £800, of the gift money, now in the custody of the Chamberlain, be deposited as part of the £2000 "It being the opinion of the House that the appropriating it to the use aforesaid, would be consistent with the intention of the pious donors."

² "Two others of the Rye-House plotters, Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, were condemned to death by Jeffreys, in defiance, not of one, but of many laws, and were executed."—*Pict. England*.

"CHARLES R.

"Whereas, we have directed that the head and quarters of James Holloway, lately executed for high treason, should be carried to that our City, and delivered to you.

"Our will and pleasure is that, upon receipt hereof, you forthwith cause the said head and quarters to be affixed upon poles, on the gates of our said City, for which this shall be your warrant.

"Given at our Court, at Windsor, the 5th day of May, 1684, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, by his Majesty's command. "SUNDERLAND.

"To our trusty and well-beloved, the Mayor of our City of Bristol, and to the Sheriffs of the same."

The odium and hatred the Papists suffered from the contrivance of the "sham plots," was now extended to the Dissenters. Great was the indignation of the Court. Great its apprehension on the discovery of an actual plot. The Dissenters must be crushed. They were not only branded as "express rebels and villains," in multitudes of congratulatory addresses from all parts of the kingdom;¹ but were severely arraigned by the King himself; in a "declaration to all his loving subjects, read in all churches, Sunday, September 9th, 1682. This day was also appointed for a general thanksgiving; which was solemnised after an extraordinary manner, with unwonted pomp and magnificence." September 18th, the Corporation agreed to an address, which was presented to his Majesty, at Winchester, by the Mayor² (Thomas Eston), Sir Richard Crumpe, Sir Richard Hart, and Mr. Sheriff Hart.³

"To the King's most excellent Majesty, the humble Petition and Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of your Majesty's Loyal City of Bristol.

"In all humility we present this testimony of our exceeding great joy and satisfaction, for the deliverance of the persons of your sacred Majesty, and your royal brother; and the whole Government in general, from the ruin and confusion which was caused by the late wicked and damnable conspiracy; in the discovery whereof,

¹ "The Middlesex Justices calculated that his Majesty's life was worth just a *hundred million of theirs*. London and Middlesex had the honour of taking the lead; but almost every Corporation in the kingdom took their turn to manifest the extravagance of their loyalty, and to heap reproaches on all the enemies of the Court."—*Pict. Eng.*, note, 756, III.

² In this Mayoralty, occurs the first notice of the piscatory amusements of the Corporation. Turning from the distractions of Government, they became quiet disciples of Izaak Walton, and annually angled in Earl's Mead. The fish (if any) were presented to the Mayor.

³ Cost of the journey, £27.

“ the favour and protection of Divine Providence was so conspicuous, that we doubt not but the hands and hearts of those who durst be, and appear loyal, when in doubtful times, will be thereby greatly strengthened,—your mistaken subjects, reduced to an unalterable obedience and submission to your Government,—and that all stubborn malcontents may be either curbed by the awe of your laws, or fall under the stroke of your justice.¹

“ We are well satisfied, that we can no more merit by any acts of loyalty towards our Sovereign, than we can by acts of religion towards God,—both being our bounden duty; and we humbly hope that your Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept our constant care, of preserving the government of this City in loyal hands, in these doubtful and dangerous times; by not depending upon our own judgment, but taking the measures of electing our Mayor the last year, by the intimation of His Grace the Duke of Beaufort (Lord Lieutenant of the City,) and this year, of our Mayor and Sheriffs, from your sacred Majesty’s directions by your royal letter under your sign manual. And though there has happened several disputes amongst us, upon occasion of the *Quo Warranto*, issued against our Charter, by your Majesty’s Attorney General, yet all our debates thereupon are untiring in loyalty. We therefore in all humble manner, do beg your gracious Majesty, to confirm to this your loyal City, all the rights, privileges, and customs, in such manner as we now do, have, or might enjoy them; and so to order the governing part of this City, as may be most agreeable to your royal inclinations, which will encourage us in the faithful discharge of our respective trusts.—And we shall ever pray.”

“ September 25th. The Mayor reported to the House his Majesty’s gracious reception of the address, *and read the very words uttered by his Majesty.*”

Complete subservience and devotion to the Crown is expressed by the Corporation. This might proceed from the forlorn hope, that by their ready acquiescence in his Majesty’s commands, they might yet save the few privileges that remained to them. The *Quo Warranto*, or enquiring into the

¹ As a pendant, we will extract the sentiment of the Tory Jury, in their Presentment, September, 1682. While they are proclaiming his Majesty’s clemency, there were 120 Quakers in Newgate, with the small-pox and spotted fever raging amongst them. “ For it is very creditable, that this is one of the first instances that ever was, that a yoke must be broke, because it is easy,—or a Government disturbed, because it is good,—or a Prince privately conspired against, or publicly affronted, because he is bountiful, and gracious. And it must needs seem strange, that all nations, how barbarous soever in manners, and how differing soever in religion from us, among themselves, should be conquered by his Majesty’s goodness and clemency,—and his own subjects dissenting, at least, six manner of ways from him, and from one another,—should all agree, as if inspired by the same principle of ingratitude, to reject his authority, and to return his favour (in which they live) with disloyalty and contempt.”

validity of their Charter, had been brought against the City, in the Court of King's Bench, by Sir Robert Sawyer,¹ Attorney-General,—about the same time that the Corporation of London had been frightened into submission, and into a voluntary surrender of their Charter.² Common Council, April 28th, 1683. Notice was given that a *Quo Warranto*, had been brought against the Corporation. It was agreed that an appearance should be entered by the Town Clerk, who was to appoint an Attorney for that purpose, and during his stay in London, to give an account of all proceedings in the business. From the following letter, which was read to the House, we learn the ostensible cause of the issuing of the writ. The real cause was the desire of Charles to govern absolutely by dint of prerogative:—

“MR. ROMSEY,

“When you were with me about the business of the *Quo Warranto*, I told you I should not be over hasty in proceeding therein; and it seems something to that purpose hath been signified to your citizens by Sir John Churchill; but instead of taking it to be an act of grace of his Majesty to your City,—I am told it is become matter of triumph, as if the writ had unwarily issued, or that *I was afraid* to proceed therein, and would enter a *nolle prosequi*. Deceive not yourselves, for this return is so unsuitable, that I entertain no other thought but of proceeding according to a strict course of law; and that you may not be surprized in your defence, I give you notice that you prepare for your plea the next term; and it will concern your City, to consider the consequence of being called to an account for their supernumerary Common Council,³—*for the omission of keeping Gaol Delivery*,—and divers other miscarriages and forfeitures, which I am ready to charge them with, whereby it will

¹ Sir Robert Sawyer is described as one of the apostate patriots “bought off.” Marvel, speaks of him as “a lawyer as of ill reputation as his father, has had for his attendance this Sessions, [1678] £1000, and is promised (as he insinuates) to be Attorney General, and Speaker of the House of Commons.”

² “In Trinity term, when the Court was making as much of the Rye-house Plot, as ever its opponents had made of the Popish Plot,—judgment was given against the City of London on the *Quo Warranto*; and, in the following month of September, the King was allowed to regulate the government of the City; changing the old Aldermen and officers, and appointing new ones at his pleasure. Eight Aldermen, were deprived at once of the honours they had received by election of their fellow citizens; and ‘were all turned out for lying under the horrid suspicion, of loving their country better than their King.’”—*Pict. England*, 751.

³ The Common Council, which, according to their Charter, should have been composed of forty-two members only, at this time consisted of fifty.

"appear that the issuing fourth of the Quo Warranto was upon good grounds, and considerations first had. "I rest, your loving Friend and Servant,

"For John Romsey, Esq., Town Clerk of Bristol,
at his house there."

"R. SAWYER.

The Chamber's reply:—

"Sir,—I yesterday received your letter, which I did immediately communicate to Mr. Mayor, who thought fit to call a Common Council thereupon; and I have commands from them to return you thanks for your letter in general, and particularly for the intimation that some should make ill use of the King's favour, and
• make it matter of triumph which was utterly denied by them; and hope that the indiscretion of some, (if any such were,) shall not be laid to their charge. They also have directed me, in their name, to beg your good opinion; and that you would not hasten proceedings in the Quo Warranto, it being impossible for them to make a just defence, in so short a time as this term.

"To Sir Robert Sawyer, His Majesty's Attorney General."

The *Quo Warranto*, was proceeded with. September 25th, the House appointed a Committee, to correspond with the Attorney General. "No member of the House, to presume to meddle with them, without order and having the authority of the House. All letters to be entered in the Council books." After much debating, the Common Council agreed to surrender their charter, as far as related to the election of officers, and to throw themselves on the King's mercy. October 31st, an instrument of surrender,¹ with a letter from the Attorney General, was read to the House. Whereupon it was agreed, that the surrender be sealed, and a committee be appointed to attend the King with it.² His Majesty retained the liberties of the City till June 2nd, 1684, when he granted another Charter.³ In this he reserves to the Crown "the right of removing any member of the Common Council, or other officers of the Corporation."

¹ The instrument is dated 9th November, 1683; but the Corporation had resigned their power before Michaelmas. The Mayor, Ralph Olliffe, and Sheriffs Nathaniel Driver, and John Arundle, were particularly nominated by the King.

² "The Common Council, in consequence, surrendered the offices. The persons who presented the same to the King, were,—Sir Wm. Clutterbuck, Mayor; Sir John Churchill, Recorder; Sir Richard Hart, Alderman; Mr. John Knight, Jun.; Sir Robert Cann, Alderman; Sir Richard Crump, Alderman; Mr Thomas Eston, Alderman; John Romsey, Esq., Town Clerk."—SEYER'S *Charters*, 243.

³ Paid towards perfecting the new Grant by the King, £544 : 13 : 6. The Town Clerk's balance of account, for expenses of the new Charter, amounted to £172. He was ordered to be paid £200, "as a token of the House's thanks for his services."

While these transactions were pending, Ralph Olliffe, nominated by his Majesty; recommended, we suppose, for his active persecutions of the Nonconformists; was, for the second time, chosen Mayor. Our annals say, he "was carried in a sedan to the Guildhall, to be sworn, being sick,—and the next morning, *being Sunday*, he died; and no other Mayor was sworn till the 10th October, when the King named Sir William Clutterbuck." Ralph Olliffe, possessed many valuable qualities,—which, as often occurs, were not discovered till after his decease. "In him," thus eulogises our annals, "the King lost a steady loyal subject; the City, the best of Magistrates; his son, a very good father and *relation*; and all his acquaintances, an excellent neighbour; and the Church, a true son." The letter containing the King's commands, to elect a successor to the vacant municipal chair, will serve to show that his Majesty took the Corporation at their word.

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, having understood that Alderman Oliffe, late Mayor of that our City, is deceased,—whereby that City lost a worthy Magistrate, and ourself a dutiful subject; and having advised with our right trusty, right entirely beloved Cousin, Henry Duke of Beaufort, our Lieutenant of that our City, of a fit person to succeed the deceased, we have thought fit to recommend unto you, our trusty and well beloved William Clutterbuck, Esq., as and every way qualified for the discharge of that Trust; and we therefore interpose the rather, because we would prevent the heats that may happen at this time in such an election; and that *you yourselves in your late address delivered to us at Winchester, did express a desire, that we should so order the governing part of that our City for the future, as might be most agreeable to our Royal inclination*, and so not doubting of your ready compliance with this our recommendation, we bid you farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 6th day of October, 1683, in the five and thirtieth year of our reign.

"By his Majesty's command,

"L. JENKINS."¹

Grateful were the citizens to the Duke of Beaufort, who had been instrumental in obtaining the new Charter. He had had several interviews with the King on the subject. The Duke seemed, indeed, interested in the welfare

¹ 1683. "Sir Lyonel Jenkins presented with wine, cost £37:9:11; 40 doz. of marked quart bottles, and 4 large crates, £6:4:0." Sir Lyonel, Secretary of State, "affirmed in the House of Commons, that upon necessity, the King might raise moneys without Act of Parliament. He was a great asserter of the Divine right of Monarchy, and was for carrying the prerogative high."—BURNET.

of the City. His opinions influenced the proceedings of the Corporation; and they seldom acted in any business of moment, without previously obtaining his advice, and ascertaining his inclinations. The Council are now deliberating. They decide that a letter be written to the Duke for "his services in the new Charter." The oaths of allegiance and supremacy, are to be taken by the forty-two members of the Corporation. An entertainment will be given to the noble administrators. A Committee is formed. While its members are discussing as to *treating* the Duke, they think it necessary to treat themselves. Refreshment is sent for,—and its cost is formally entered in the audits. "Paid Mr. Stringer for two quarts of sack, sent for by the Committee to the Council House Chambers, when they were together, concerning *treating* the Duke of Beaufort to Bristol, 2s." July 10th, the oaths of allegiance were administered in the Guildhall to the Corporation,¹—by Charles, Marquis of Worcester, Sir John Smythe, Bart., Sir James Herbert, Knt., and John Fitzherbert, Esq. They were afterwards entertained by Sir Robert Cann, at the cost of the Chamber.²

¹ "Paid Joseph Mason, for reading the Charter, and swearing the Corporation, for the Lord Marquis, £2. The Judges dined with the Town-Clerk."

² The Corporation were, in 1680, directed by the Privy Council, to be strictly regardful that the oaths should be taken. Their reply may appropriately be introduced, while the subject is before us.

"May it please your Lordships,

"Bristol, March 27th, 1680.

"Your Lordships of the 24th inst., came to us, and immediately on the receipt thereof, in obedience to your Honours' commands, as much as the shortness of the time would permit, we have examined the books of our Town Clerks,—and, for several years past, do not find any person admitted into any office of Magistracy, place of trust, or other employment relating to, or concerning the government of this City, who hath not taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy,—and the oath believing and declaring it unlawful to take arms against the King; and who have not publicly subscribed the declaration against the solemn league and covenant,^a according to the Act of Parliament, entitled, an Act for well-governing and regulating Cities and Corporations.*** Nor have we heard of any relating to the government of this City, who had not, within the space of twelve months before their election, received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rights of the Church of England. But in obedience to your Lordships' commands shall make a more strict scrutiny, &c. &c., which, with the tender of our most humble duty to your Honours, is from

"My Lords, your Lordships' most humble and most obedient Servants,

"JOS. CRESWICKE, Mayor,
ROBT. CANN,

JNO. LAWFORD,
RICH. CRUMPE."

^a "I doe declare that I hold, that there lyes noe obligation upon mee, or any other person, from the oath called the solemn league and covenant,—as the same was in it selfe an unlawfull oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realme against the knowne lawes and libertye of the kingdome."

Meanwhile, the Government had made the most of the Rye-House Plot. The King triumphed, and pursued unrestricted his arbitrary career. The Whigs were discomfited, and the persecutions against Dissenters, were maintained with increased rigour and severity. A profitable harvest was obtained by the informers. Dissenters were numerous,—and the fines were most rigidly exacted. When the informers traced a conventicle, they came upon the members in full congregation, and fined or imprisoned all present. The proceeds of a single conventicle will be read in the following statement:—“August 23rd, the Mayor (Sir William Clutterbuck) paid into Court £42 : 10, in a bag sealed, being moneys lately levied on Mr. Michael Pope, and others, upon the conviction of a conventicle on the 4th of May last, at John Tucker’s house, in Lewin’s Mead. The money was counted in the Court. A third part, £14 : 3 : 4, was paid to the Sheriffs, for the use of the King,—and the remainder returned to the Mayor, to be disposed of as the Act directs.”

A few words, ere we part with an intolerant personage whose actions have much engaged our attention. For more than twenty years, he has made himself conspicuous, as a “conventicle detector.” Those years have brought Sir John Knight from the prime of life, to the sere and yellow leaf,—when the hopes and prospects of this world recede, and those of another advance. Whether this was the case with Sir John, we are not prepared to say. Our thoughts have been directed to this end, through glancing at a letter from the Corporation. We can only afford space to give the reader the substance. It is addressed to Mr. George Daggett, Sion College, London, September 18th, 1680; they communicate “that Sir John Knight, by reason of his infirmity has desired the City, to nominate some other persons to take care of *that affaire* for the future.” Rich. Hart and Thomas Earle, Esqs., are recommended. A few words in a letter from John Romsey, November 23rd, 1681, to “Thomas Earle, Esq., Mayor,” and we pass on. The Town Clerk informs the Mayor, that there has been no business of moment,—except that on Sunday, the constables disturbed three conventicles, and have given information upon which convictions are made. That Sir John Knight, came to him and taxed him “with *quashing* that presentment which was against him,*** and according to *his usual method of talk was very high*, and told me I should answer it at the King’s Bench, and at the Parliament.” The next letter in which Sir John is the theme we give entire, although the noble writer, like poor Mr. Crabb, appears to revel in redundancy of words.

"MR. MAYOR,

"Chelsea, 27th December, 1684.

"The relation to, and kindness I have for the City, makes one always mindful of your concerns, and therefore there being a vacancy in the Common Council, by the dismissal of Sir John Knight, by order of his Majesty in Council, upon his earnest request—the King declaring himself at the same time extremely well satisfied with him—I thought it not improper, to put you in mind of choosing another in his room, and though it need not, I am sure, with you and a great many more, nor I hope with any, yet out of my zeal to his Majesty's service, and concern for your City, to exhort you all to take care to fill his place as near as may be, with one as full of zeal for his Majesty's service, and the established Government in Church and State as he was, that so neither his Majesty nor you, may find amiss of him in that station, and so I bid you heartily farewell, remaining your affectionate friend,

"BEAUFORT.

"For William Hayman, Esq., Mayor of the City of Bristol."

In pursuance of the Duke's directions, the House proceeded to the election of a member in the place of Sir John Knight. This was the first election since the new Charter. Mr. Brookhouse, a mercer, was elected, and sworn; "but," says the record, "it being suspected that he intends to avoid it; it was ordered that the fine of £200, be laid upon him; and that he be imprisoned, and all other courses be taken until that fine be satisfied." Such is the copiousness, and such the felicity of diction, used by our chronicler, that it would appear Mr. Brookhouse was fined, not for actually avoiding to serve the office, but merely for "being suspected" that he intended to resign. August 21st, Mr. Brookhouse petitioned the House to be allowed to relinquish the honour, which was complied with on his paying £100.

Neither age nor infirmity could subdue the ruling passion of the pragmatical Sir John. He has vanished from our official page,—but, from another quarter,¹ we find that he has been meddling, and laying information as usual. We give the extract, and leave Sir John unto his rest. Sunderland, "the *subtillest*, *workinest* villain that is on the face of the earth,"² wrote to the Duke of Beaufort, May 1st, 1686, "to let the Mayor and Magistrates of Bristol know that he is displeased at their having committed a Priest, who was officiating with seven others, and that Sir John Knight was the informer, with

¹ State Paper Office. Roberts' Monmouth.

² Letter from the Princess Ann, to the Princess of Orange, dated, Cock Pit, March 20th, 1687. Blencoe's Correspondence of the Times of James II., and William III., ii. 265.

whose carriage he has been displeased on many occasions; and to beg them not to let Sir John Knight, draw them into these inconveniences."

There is nothing more in Charles's reign of sufficient interest, to stay the turning of our local page, or to add to our brief record of an æra when corruption walked in the broad light of day,—bidding defiance to honour, virtue, and the common decencies and well being of society,—when the standard of honour and virtue among public men was very low, and the example of the Sovereign had infected all. Probably there was no Monarch, who more despised, or was more insensible to, those higher qualities of human nature, in which he was himself, so lamentably deficient.

Charles is dead, and James reigns.¹ The public voice eulogised the Monarch while living. Before his body is laid in the dust, the eulogy is transferred to his successor. James's address at the first meeting of the Privy Council augured well for civil and religious liberty. He said, "as he would never depart from any branch of the prerogative; so, he would not evade any man's property, but would preserve the Government as by law established in Church and State." This was hopeful. The pulpits throughout the land resounded with thanksgivings. Numerous flattering addresses were offered to the Throne.² "Even the capital was profoundly obsequious,—and Bristol, the second City in the island, echoed the voice of London." February 7th,

¹ "He was proclaimed in Bristol by Giles Merrick, the Sheriff, the trumpets sounding; and every place in Bristol, where he was proclaimed, was hung with Scarlet."—*MS. Cal. SEYER*, 523.

² There is one attributed to the "Society of Friends," very curious, if genuine:—"We are come," (say they) "to testify our *sorrow* for the death of *our good friend Charles*, and our *joy* for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the Church of England, no more than we, therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty, which thou allowest thyself; which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness." This is blunt and honest certainly. But considering that the Quakers were not in the habit of making complimentary, or flattering addresses to any one, however exalted his position; considering their strict regard to truth, we have little faith in the authenticity of this document. As a body, their consistency would not admit of their styling Charles their "*good friend*," who had ever been their evil enemy—who had never heeded their petitions; who had never, by a merciful exercise of his prerogative, pretended a claim to their affections; and when he died, left nearly fifteen hundred of their Society in bondage, on various prosecutions. Admitting the address as genuine, they probably rested upon the hope, that therein was a mutual bond of interest between themselves and James, both differing from the Church of England; and naturally looking to the Monarch, to protect them from public antipathies, departed from their rigid and lofty principle, in their endeavour to obtain his favour.

the Corporation agreed that "An address be presented the King, on the death of his brother Charles II., by the Mayor, Sir Wm. Hayman; and that he joins with the Recorder, Sir John Churchill, and to apply themselves to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort." The address intended for such a character as James, is a choice specimen of the time-serving temper of the King-selected Corporation. After the usual stereotyped preliminary, it says,—

"We cannot approach your sacred Majesty, without expressing our sorrow for the decease of our late most gracious Sovereign, and your Majesty's most entirely beloved brother, King Charles the Second; which had been *insupportable*, had not yo^r Maties eminent virtues, and undoubted title to the Crown, alleviated our griefs, and secured us from all danger; by having one of the same blood, endued with admirable sagacity in government, with entire affection to the welfare of all yo^r good subjects, and the happy state of y^r Kingdom, succeeded in his Throne, which is most plain by your Maties adventuring yo^r Royall blood to defend those heretofore, you are now by right to govern; and by those gracious expressions of yo^r Matie to yo^r Hon^{ble} Privy Council, at the first sitting amongst them, and many other instances that give us entire confidence of happiness under your Maties government. Nor is this a new opinion taken up by us, upon yo^r Maties ascending the Throne, but was our former sentiment declared in many addresses from us, to his late sacred Matie of Blessed Memory. We do therefore, in confirmation of our Loyalty, and as farther demonstration of affection, duty, and allegiance, assure yo^r Matie that we will stand by, and assist yo^r Matie in the support of yo^r Crown and Government, in all honour and safety, with our lives and fortunes; and shall duly pray for your Maties long and happy reign.

"Given under the Corporation Seal of the City, by full and free consent, this 17th day of February, in the first year of your Majesty's reign."

March 27th. The Mayor reported the King's gracious reception of the address,¹ and of the Duke of Beaufort's letter, particularly recommending the Recorder: whereupon "the House, considering the great honour and regard for the Master of the Rolls, resolved to improve their interest to elect him M.P. for the City in the ensuing Parliament, a thing that will be both for the honour and security of the City." The Chamberlain was ordered to take care to have the King's picture put up in the Council House. This he

¹ 1685. Paid the Mayor's [Sir W. Hayman] expenses to London, to present an address to the King, £30.

did as directed, and April 7th, 1686, John Hoskins, was paid for the "King's picture" £11 : 5. ; "and for gilding frame, 13s."¹

April 18th. Meeting of the Corporation. "Mr. Mayor proposed the method of celebrating the day of the coronation of our King, that the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Comon Councell attend at the Tolzey, *at nine of the clocke in scarlett.* That all the Companies of the Citty doe alsoe attend at that tyme, and goe wth Mr. Mayor to the Colledge to hear a sermon. Mr. Mayor to appoint the Preacher, and that all the solemnity that can be performed, be used in the procession.

"That the Chamberlaine provide powder sufficient to fire 114 greate gunnes, to be fir'd in such manner as Mr. Mayor shall direct."

"That two hoggsheads of clarrett be bought by Mr. Sherriffe Merricke, to cause the four Conduits to run wth wyne.² Two greate bonfires, one att the High Crosse, and the other att Mr. Mayor's door. That as many of this House as can, are desired to attend Mr. Mayor, to dine at the Three Tunnes, and there to expresse those other demonstrations of joy, as may be suitable to the day.

"That all the Churchwardens, cause the bells to ringe, and that all inhabitants in the Citty *shutt* theyre shoppes, and show *other* expressions of joy. The cost of the dinner to be borne by the persons dining."

One might have supposed from the general demonstrations of joy, and thanksgivings on the accession of James,—that a wise, merciful, and beneficent, Sovereign had been given the nation,—and that an evil and corrupt administration would no longer exercise its baneful influence upon the moral and social condition of the people. One might have supposed that a new era, new prospects,—prosperity, freedom, glory, and happiness, were about to dawn upon the country, that had so long pined, and prayed, and waited for the "good time ;" and that now at last it had come !

While the enmities of faction were dividing the City ; and before the delusion that James would perform his promises had been dispelled,—before his arbitrary disposition, and his unconstitutional measures, had alienated from him the affections of the great body of the people, a most momentous event occurred. Another crisis in this unhappy monarch's life.—The Duke of Monmouth was in arms.³ When the report reached this City,

¹ 1685. Paid for painting the King's arms over Froom Gate, £2.

² 1685-6. Abraham Saunders, for 2 Hhds. of claret, put into the Conduits, at coronation of James II., £12 : 5.

³ The Duke landed at Lyme Regis, in the County of Dorset, June 11th. He fell on his knees on the sand ; an act of devotion which all his followers imitated.—ROBERTS' *Monmouth*.

all was confusion. Hope, fear, anxiety, and alarm, agitated every breast.—There were no regular troops here, and it was known that amongst the disaffected, Monmouth had many friends. The authorities immediately assembled. The militia were ordered to watch; two companies each night, one at the Guildhall, and the other in Thomas Street. The King, who had been informed that Monmouth's views were directed towards this City, of whose importance he thought much, ordered Lord Churchill to post himself between it and the rebels.—Directions were sent to the Duke of Beaufort,¹ Lord-Lieutenant of the City, to secure its allegiance with "such part of the Gloucester, Monmouth, and Hereford militia, as he shall think fit." His Grace marched into the City the 16th June,² and taking the supreme command, placed it in an attitude of defence.—Two ships were ordered to be prepared to apprehend vessels coming into the Severn; and with the consent of Sir John Bury, and the rest of the owners, it was determined to employ the "Mediterranean," Captain Barnaby, then lying at Bristol, in readiness to sail for Newfoundland; and another, to be commanded by Sir William Poole, and Captain Matthew Aylmer. Several Dissenters, and suspected persons had their houses searched for arms; and several others, whom it was supposed were devoted to Monmouth, were sent for up to the Guildhall, and ordered to be kept in custody. To the forces already assembled, were joined those under the command of the Duke of Somerset, who arrived here on the 20th, with six companies of foot and a troop of horse; they drew up in the Marsh, and on the same day were reviewed by the Duke of Beaufort.³

Zealously supporting the best interests of Bristol; the Duke of Beaufort was held in high estimation by the civic authorities. Known as generous, judicious, and self-possessed, they were unwilling, without having recourse to his superior judgment, to take any decisive measure. On this occasion, when the enmities of faction divided the City,—when rebellion strove to usurp the throne,—when the property and lives of the citizens depended on the wisdom of his counsels, he distinguished himself by the admirable preparations he made for its defence, and the calm dispassionate manner in which he exercised his important command.

¹ Late Marquis of Worcester, created Duke of Beaufort in 1682. ² The Duke lodged at Sir Wm. Hayman's house, in Small Street. ³ Seyer. MS. Calendars. State Papers. Roberts' Monmouth.

It is the Sabbath—the day ensuing the review,—the Dukes of Beaufort and Somerset, with their officers, attended by the Mayor and Corporation, in their civic liveries, go to the Cathedral. The procession is imposing. There is all the splendour of military parade. There is all the ancient municipal pomp and regalia. Since the day when the first Charles, and his two sons had knelt beneath the hallowed roof, its walls had not beheld so goodly a spectacle. A sermon on “passive obedience” was preached by the Very Rev. the Dean (Dr. Thompson) who had been Chaplain in Ordinary to his late Majesty. The sermon was published, with a dedicatory epistle, addressed to the Duke of Beaufort, wherein the Doctor asks the question:—

“What is in this discourse,” referring to the sermon, “that should move your Grace to order its being thus publick?”—and continues in answer, “that it was designed to promote loyalty; the same loyalty which now stands the top and comble of your Grace’s most illustrious titles and characters;—in short, the same loyalty which brought your Grace now down to Bristol, by your vigilance and resolution to secure this City for his Majesty’s service, at a time when the *Mock-King of Lyme*, had assured his adherents, that the City was most certainly his own.”

In the remainder of the epistle, the Doctor magnifies and lauds the services of the Duke.

“But your Grace hath so effectually succeeded in your undertaking, that the daring rebels had only so much courage as to look upon the City, at four miles, *and wish it theirs*. The only assault which they made upon your Grace, *was a volley of lyes*. (For having scarce laid it, they raised the siege, with many bitter cursings and execrations of your wise conduct,—at midnight cowardly running away.”)

“No wonder, then, that all honest and loyal hearts within this City, are now blessing God for your Grace, and celebrating your deserved praises, as the only visible means under him, that hath secured to them their estates, their liberties, and their very lives.” In conclusion, the Rev. Doctor says, that the “remembrance of his own escape will always live fresh in his mind,—and that he will not fail to tell the Duke so on all occasions.”

The whole sermon was addressed to the military, and was well adapted to the circumstances of the times. Its singular feature is, that the pedigree of the King, showing his most undoubted right of blood to the possession of the throne,—and his lawful descent, both by father and mother, from King Henry VII. and the “Great Elizabeth,” is traced with genealogical accuracy, and emphatically insisted upon.

But from the grateful solemnities, and tranquillising influence of Divine worship, we must turn to scenes that far differently affect the mind. The 24th of June, the Duke ordered twenty-one companies of foot, to be mustered in Redcliff Mead, and six companies of horse at the Lamb Ground, at Lawford's Gate; on the same day, a troop of horse voluntarily appeared, composed of several citizens and country gentlemen. Although there was a party in the City, composed of some of the most bigoted of the Whigs, who secretly favoured Monmouth,—yet the Duke of Beaufort, by his military discipline,—keeping his troops constantly on guard, maintained the allegiance of the wavering. All whom he suspected of disaffection to the Government, and plotters in the conspiracy, were arrested. Meanwhile, the Duke of Monmouth, advised by Wade and Rowe,¹ and other Bristol men,—who had taken up arms for the Duke; marched over the Mendip to Keynsham, where he arrived on the evening of the 25th, with the intention of attacking Bristol the next morning. The bridge had been broken, to prevent Monmouth from crossing over to the Gloucester side of Bristol,—and Capt. Tyley, a mercer of the City, who had joined Monmouth at Exeter,—was sent at night with a troop of horse, to seize Keynsham, and repair the bridge. Here the Captain “engaged a troop of the Gloucester militia horse, and caused them to retire, leaving behind two horses and a prisoner.”²

Intelligence of Monmouth's near approach has been received. Fear, palpitation, and tremulous expectation have entered the hearts of the people. The more active and accredited citizens are assembled in the Council House. It is evening. A storm, that has been agitating the sky all day is still raging. Night approaches blackly,—and a cold dreary wind moans through the troubled streets. The agitating and deep gravity of the emergency is felt by all. No where more so, than in the old apartment of the Tolzey, where the magnates of the place deliberate. Amongst them, free, chivalrous, and high spirited,—firm, earnest, and self-possessed, is the noble Duke of Beaufort. Of great power, influence, and judgment,—he speaks gravely and temperately, and the loyally-disposed gain hope and courage, from his words. He had marshalled his soldiers round the far-famed church of Redcliffe. He had manned the walls,

¹ Both proscribed on account of the Rye-House conspiracy. Wade was afterwards appointed Town-Clerk of Bristol, by James II. Rowe was the dismissed Sword Bearer.

² Wade's Confession. Roberts' Monmouth.

—had prepared for the anticipated danger. He had done his duty to the King he revered. But he could not conceal from the Council, that he apprehended more from sedition within,¹—than from the attack of the foe without. Bristol abounded in riches, arms and stores,—should these fall into the possession of the insurgents, it would be fatal to the King's cause, and lead to all the horrors of a protracted civil war. Rather than such a calamity should ensue, the Duke expressed his solemn determination to fire the City, on the least symptoms of disloyalty. While he yet spake, a dull red light glowed in the heavens towards the quay. It increased, and quickened with lurid flames, that reflected and sparkled on the diamond-shaped panes, of the casemented windows. The greatest commotion prevailed. The streets were crowded with excited people, mouthing seditious cries, "A Monmouth! A Monmouth! The Protestant Religion." And over all, the muttering of the elemental warfare sounded audibly. It was an anxious time for citizen and Duke, who feared the riot had grown into a rebellion,—that Monmouth and his army had arrived. Wherefore the fire soon appeared,²⁻³ and the Duke's resolution was not put to the test. The lurid light that now reddens the walls of the Council Chamber, is seen by Monmouth and his army at Pensford. He had heard of Beaufort's menace, and considered it was put into execution. With neither

¹ Judge Jeffreys, in his celebrated charge to the jury, alludes to encouragement given to Monmouth, from his friends, within the City.

² A manuscript calendar says, "but a sad accident happened this evening, viz., a ship, (the William and Mary) at the Kay, took fire, (which way, unknown) which put the City in great consternation: but, by God's blessing it was soon quenched, doing no other damage; for it happened to be high water at the Kay, by which means the other ships sailed off." Tradition tells us, that the Duke of Beaufort's menace was carried to Monmouth, at the instant the ship was fired in the river; upon which, taking it for certain that the experiment was already making on those who were deemed most devoted to his cause, and being touched with a quicker sense of compassion than is consistent with the purposes of ambition, and the trade of war; he said, "God forbid that I should be necessary to the ruin of my friends, or that for any consideration I should subject so great a City, to the double calamity of sword and fire! and gave immediate orders for his troops to face about and take the road to Bath."—SEYER, p. 526.

³ "It was afterwards asserted both by Whigs and by Tories, that the fire had been kindled by the friends of Monmouth, in the hope that the trainbands would be busied in preventing the conflagration from spreading, and that in the meantime the rebel army would make a bold push, and enter the City on the Somersetshire side."—MACAULAY'S *History*. Jeffreys also lays to the citizens' disloyalty, the burning of the ship, which he says "was a signal to the rebels, and accuses them as willing to believe it an accident."

vigour of mind, nor capacity requisite for his perilous undertaking, Monmouth falsely advised, and willing to spare the City, retreated, and sealed his doom.¹

Monmouth's feebly conducted enterprise was approaching its close.—The City maintained its military discipline. About sixty persons, who had been secured in the "Marshalsea," were conveyed in a vessel to Gloucester. They were taken on board at Rownham, and sent prisoners to and from Newgate, without any mittimus, or having been taken before a Justice of the Peace. Amongst them were Tyley's mother and sisters.² A proclamation was issued July 2nd, "That all who were gone after Monmouth, should be pardoned, provided they left him in four days; and came and surrendered themselves to a Justice of the Peace, and took a certificate; in which proclamation some were excepted." The same day, the Duke of Beaufort's eldest son came here, and the 4th "a drum was beat, to enlist soldiers under the Duke."

Mighty demonstrations of gladness took place on the arrival of the news of the defeat of Monmouth at Sedgemoor, July 5th. The before-quoted manuscript says, "The news came, while the greatest part of the militia were in Redcliff Mead; upon which they marched back again, and the bells rung, and great rejoicings were made; several horses were brought hither, *and some men committed to gaol.*" The latter is frequently the result of a tumult, but certainly a novel contribution to the general joy.—Further demonstrations followed on the 8th of August, when the news arrived that Monmouth was captured. The rejoicings were repeated, "but the stable at the White Lion, (in Broad Street,) taking fire, *spoiled the mirth.* The Duke of Beaufort had two horses burnt in it; but by God's providence it went not much further, and the next morning the Duke went to London."³ The fire was supposed the act of an incendiary, and to have originated from the "malice and envy of the fanatics." It may not be uninteresting to notice, that for many years previously to this period, the White Lion had been, as it still continues to be, patronised by the Beaufort family. The same day, at a meeting of the Society of Merchants, it was ordered "that his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, and his son the Marquis of Worcester, members of this society,

¹ City Records. Seyer. Roberts' Monmouth. Macaulay's History.

² MS. Cal. Seyer, II., 526.

³ Ibid., II., 529.

now here with the militia of the adjacent counties, for our defence against the late Duke of Monmouth, *and the rebels in arms with and for him*, be invited to, and *treated* with a dinner in our common Hall; and the management to be left to the Master Wardens, Assistants, and Treasurer, or the major part of them." Our chronicler is not happy in his diction. He has left it dubious whether the rebels in arms were to be invited to the dinner also.

The Duke has left the City. The Mayor is again the important personage. But Mr. Mayor is nothing without the Lord-Lieutenant. He has received information which he considers of moment. And away goes a letter to the Duke. Then he had a quantity of gunpowder, that he did not know how to dispose of. Then there were sixty persons who had been sent prisoners to Gloucester, without a mittimus or examination before a Justice of the Peace. These naturally desired to be emancipated. What could the Mayor do? He wrote again to the Duke for instructions, and his Grace thus replies from Beaufort House,¹ July 17th,—

"MR. MAYOR,

"I thank you for your letters by the two last posts, the information I have shewed the King, and given to Lord Sunderland. The powder I desire you would keep safe till farther orders, with the rest which was sent down. The prisoners you writ about, I moved the King for, as soon as I came up,—and yesterday had a letter empowering me to release them; but it came not time enough for me to write by the post. I now do, and because it is not a night for Gloucester; desire you would do your townsmen the kindness to send it to Gloucester, and if any remain with you, against whom there is no particular accusation, I desire you would release them. And for *Mr. Henley*,² and *Mr. Clerk*, *against whom there is*, I desire you would let them out upon bail.

"I am, your very loving friend,

"BEAUFORT.

"For Sir Wm. Hayman, Mayor of the City of Bristol."

¹ "About the year 1520, Sir Thomas More purchased an estate at Chelsea, and built himself a house, as Erasmus describes it, neither mean, nor subject to envy, yet magnificent, and commodious enough. This House was afterwards in the possession of George Digby, Earl of Bristol, who bequeathed it to his widow; who, in January 1682, sold it to Henry, Marquis of Worcester, created Duke of Beaufort. From 1683, it was known by the appellation of Beaufort House, and continued to be the occasional residence of that noble family till about the year 1720."

² Mr. Henley the would-be member for Bristol, has already been visible to us. Mr. Clerk is probably Romsey, the Town Clerk, of whom more hereafter.

Martial law followed the rebellion,—and the darkest and most hideous passions of mankind,—born of ignorance, cruelty, and hate, were let loose to pillage and destroy. Revolting were the summary executions, committed without compunction by Colonel Kirke, one of the savage instruments of the Government.¹ But greater far were the atrocities, committed by Jeffreys, the most sanguinary monster, on whom the execration of humanity has ever affixed the brand of enduring infamy. And yet this relentless and inhuman judge, was not only sanctioned by James, but approved and honoured; and his abhorrent butcheries, were even made the subject of jest and pleasantry, by this most Christian monarch. In Somersetshire, the centre of the late insurrection, the fierce nature of the Lord Chief Justice, revelled in his lust for blood. Executions took place with frightful rapidity. “The dripping heads and limbs of the dead were affixed in the most conspicuous places. In the streets,—by the highways,—over the town-halls,—and over the very churches devoted to a merciful God. All the high-roads of the country were no longer to be travelled, while the horrors of so many quarters of men, and the offensive stench of them lasted.”² “Nothing could be liker hell than these parts; cauldrons hissing, carcasses boiling, pitch and tar sparkling and glowing, bloody limbs boiling, and tearing, and mangling.”³ The preceding descriptions of scenic horrors are from the pens of eye-witnesses,—prone, perhaps, to exaggeration,—though too nearly approaching the truth, to be altogether excluded as authority. Another writer says, “England was now an Aeldama; the country for sixty miles together, from Bristol to Exeter, had a new and terrible sort of sign-posts and signs,—gibbets, and heads, and quarters, of its slaughtered inhabitants. Every soul was sunk in anguish and terror,—sighing by day and night for deliverance, but shut out of all hope by despair.”⁴ Any attempt to enlarge on this awful subject, would betray a morbid taste, and but weaken the powerful pictures contemporary writers have drawn.

Not less merciful was the treatment of those, whom the avarice of Jeffreys saved from sudden execution. Their sufferings were protracted in the West India Islands, or terminated in premature death. The King wished to

¹ Kirke was censured by Sunderland, for setting some rebels at liberty, but never for putting innocent persons to death.

² Pictorial England, III., 782. Lord Lonsdale's Memoirs.

³ Shirley.

⁴ Oldmixon.

present some of his courtiers with a thousand of them ; and a hundred or two, to one of his mistresses. Jeffreys remonstrates with his Majesty on this costly liberality, and writes him they are worth fifteen pounds a piece ; but after acquainting him with their marketable value, yields to his Majesty's pleasure.

Never, from royal commission, had death reaped so great a harvest ; for never had one, so callous to pity, so unmoved to mercy, been intrusted with so solemn an authority. Suitable servant for a Monarch, who could gloat over torments that would scare the most hardened. Jeffreys' gory progress, heralded by fear, marked by gibbets, by corrupting fragments of mortality, and closed by mourning, lamentations, and woe, brought him to Bristol. He entered the City on the 23rd of September ; and after *refreshing* himself at the house of the Town Clerk, in the Marsh,¹ went to the Tolzey, and from thence to the Guildhall. Here, he made an extraordinary coarse and vindictive speech, so commonly known, that we forbear transcribing it. Habitually intemperate, he probably had indulged too freely, in the choice wine of the Corporation, with which he had *refreshed* himself at the Town Clerk's. Excited, inflamed, and maddened, he could not check the passionate torrent of abuse, to which he gave rageful utterance against the Mayor and Magistrates. He accused them of kidnapping,² and working himself into a frenzy, was guilty of the most extravagant and outrageous behaviour. He knew there were many suspected Whigs among the Aldermen, and the charge of kidnapping, was but the pretended cause of his fiery animosity. The Town Clerk, who laid the information, was, as is supposed, actuated more by subserviency to the Court, than by a love of justice. It was at his house, Jeffreys was entertained ; and it may be assumed, that in the hope of advancement from the Court, he availed himself of the opportunity, to whisper his impressions to the great man ; and, that to Romsey's suggestions, the Mayor and Aldermen, were

¹ There is no charge upon the City fund for entertaining Jeffreys, the cost was probably paid by the Town Clerk. The Chamberlain's accounts have only the following items:—"Paid, 22nd Sept., 1685, for fruit this day, when the Judges dined with the Town Clerk, £0 : 17 : 6. Sept. 28th, Paid Lord Chief Justice Jeffries his Serjt, by a verbal order of the Mayor and Aldermen, £4 : 0 : 0."

² "Roger North has assisted to disseminate the calumny. He writes that a poor shopkeeper will have a bale of stockings, or a piece of stuff, ready for Nevis or Virginia, &c. &c. ; and rather than fail, they *trade in men* ; as when they sentence small rogues, taught to prey, and who, accordingly received actual transportation, even before any indictment found against them ; for which my Lord Jefferies scoured them."—*Lives of the Three Norths*.

indebted for the humiliating scene, in which they were the astonished performers. The Lord Chief Justice, in a letter from Bristol, triumphantly relates this exploit,—boasts of his victory over this most factious City,—“and pledges his life, and that which was dearer to him, his loyalty; that ‘Taunton and Bristol, and the County of Somerset too, should know their duty both to God and their King, before he leaves them.’ ”¹

Our search among the archives, has not brought to light any instance of the kidnapping propensities of the Corporation. Perhaps the offence was rare; perhaps the recording pen unfaithful; perhaps concealed beneath the specious clothing of “suffering” and “permitting,” there might be flagrant crimes,—to check which, were a merciful and gracious act. The only cases that have come under our observation, rather relate to the endeavour on the part of the Magistrates to prevent such outrages,—unless we may suppose they desired to keep the trade entirely to themselves.²

However slight the evidence on which the Town Clerk had laid his information, it was sufficient for Jeffreys, who ordered the Mayor and Aldermen concerned, to go from the Bench to the Bar, and plead to the indictment. In a word, Sir William Hayman, Mayor, was fined £1000, for “*suffering* a boy committed to Bridewell to go beyond the sea.” The mild expression by which

¹ Pict. England.

² September 29th. “Whereas many complaints have been oftentimes made to the Mayor and Aldermen, of the inveigling, purloining, carrying, and stealing away boyes, maides, and other persons, and transporting them beyond seas; and there selling them, or otherwise disposing of them, for private gain and profit; and it being a time of much *villanomy*, to have children and others in such a barbarous and wicked manner, to be so carried, stolen, and sold, without any knowledge of the parents or others that have the care and oversight of them,—it was ordained, for the prevention of such ‘mischiefs,’ that all persons for the future, who should be leaving as servants, should, before going on board ship, ‘have their covenants or indentures of apprenticeship enrolled in the Tolzey Book;’—and that any master of any ship or vessel acting contrary to this enactment, were to be fined for ‘every such offence twenty pounds.’ And further it was decreed that the Water-bayliffe should, from time to time, make diligent search in all ships and vessels ‘transporting persons as servants beyond the seas,’—and should find any on board who had not enrolled their names in the Tolzey Book, notice was to be given to the Mayor.” The 21st March, 1661,—“Information having been given by one Thos. Durban and his father, against one Thos. Povy, for assaulting the said Thos. Durban in the highway, taking money from him, and stealing of him away, without the consent of his father, to go to the West Indies, and he being known to be a common manstealer, and *spirit* that enticeth away people; it is therefore ordered that he find security to appear at the next Guildhall Session, on the year to be holden for the City and County.—NATH. CALK, Mayor.”

a heinous crime is softened. Sir William, was also with Sir Robert Cann, Mr. Alderman Lawford, Mr. John Napper, Mr. William Swymmer, and Mr. Robert Kirke, to enter into recognizances "with sufficient sureties, the principal in £10,000, and the sureties in £5,000 each, to appear to answer an indictment in the King's Bench, for kidnapping." This extraordinary scene is described by an amusing writer:—¹

"His Lordship came upon the bench, and examined this matter,—he found all the Aldermen and Justices, concerned in this kidnapping trade, more or less, and the Mayor himself as bad as any. He thereupon turns to the Mayor, accoutred with his scarlet and furs, and gave him all the ill names, that scolding eloquence could supply; and so, with rating and staring, as his way was, never left till he made him quit the bench and go down to the criminals' post at the bar; and there he pleaded for himself, as a common rogue or thief must have done; and when the Mayor hesitated a little, or slackened his pace,—he bawled at him, and stamping, called for his guards, for he was general by commission. Thus the citizens saw their *scarlet* chief Magistrate at the bar, to their infinite terror and amazement. He then took security of them to answer informations; and so left them to ponder their cases amongst themselves. At London Sir Robert Cann, applied by friends, to appease him,—and to get from under the prosecution, and at last he granted it, saying, 'go thy way, sin no more lest a worse thing come unto thee.' The prosecutions depended till the Revolution, which made an amnesty; and the fright only, which was no small one, was all the punishment these juridical kidnappers underwent, and the gains acquired by so wicked a trade, rested peacefully in their pockets."

Six men were condemned for high treason by Jeffreys, on the occasion of this dreaded visit; three only suffered death.—Edward Tippet, a shoe-maker of this City; one Philip Cambridge, of Sodbury, a fish-monger; and some countryman said to be a grocer. They were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Bedminster, on November 6th. Three persons were also executed at the village of Wrington,—and about two hundred concerned in the rebellion, were brought here in order to be transported. Wade,—one of the chiefs of the rebellion, who had no right to expect clemency,—fled from the field of Sedgemoor, and reached the coast in safety; but before he could embark in a frigate, by which he hoped to escape,—was discovered and taken to London. Deeply as he had been implicated in the Rye-House plot,—conspicuous as he had been among the chiefs of the western insurrection, he was suffered to live,

¹ Roger North.

He had it in his power to give information, which enabled the King to slaughter and plunder some persons whom he hated, but whom he otherwise could not criminate.¹

Meanwhile one of the ramifications of the Whig plot, having extended to this City; and from the fact that many of its chief inhabitants were Whigs, the Government deemed it advisable to hold the City to its allegiance by the awe of a military force. At the close of this year, and commencement of the next; a regiment of soldiers, under the command of Col. Charles Trelawney, the Bishop's brother, was quartered here. They were loose, disorderly, overbearing,—and committed many excesses from which the people severely suffered. The subject was brought before the Chamber, when upon consideration it was resolved that the following address, “shewing the grievances of the citizens from the insolence of the soldiers,” should be presented to the Duke of Beaufort, who was, if he thought fit, to present it to his Majesty.—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

“October 23rd, 1685.

“There are so many complaints daily crowded in upon us, of the extravagancy of the soldiers here; that we are under great apprehension of the consequence thereof,—and therefore do make our humble address to your Grace, laying before you some of the most criminal facts that they have committed,—beseeching your Grace to direct us in this great exigent. All the inhabitants groan under their oppression. We have ordered our Town-Clerk to attend with the information, and pray your Grace to take your own measures, either by presenting them before the King and Council, or any other way that may preserve our peace; that our burgesses may not be in danger of their persons, and discouraged in prosecuting their trades. The accustomed care of us in this extremity is implored by,

“Your Grace's most obedient Servants,

“ABRAHAM SANDERS, Mayor,

RICHARD CRUMPE,

ROBERT YEAMANS,

JOSEPH CRESWICKE,

JOHN HICKES,

RICHARD HART.

WILLIAM CRABB,

“To his Grace the Duke of Beaufort.”

Hitherto the Duke had been so gracious in all his replies to the Corporation, when soliciting his interest or counsel,—that they must have been rather mortified at the result of their address; at which we shall arrive, after hastily glancing at the intervening transactions. It may have been noticed, that most

¹ Pictorial England. Seyer.

of the parties whose names are subscribed to this letter, were suspected to be tainted with "Whigism,"—and that, at a time when the enthusiasm of the Tory party had just reached its meridian, was rather unfavourable to their cause.¹ However, before the answer came, they had sent another little commission to the Duke. They had heard that an Act of Parliament, had provided a supply to his Majesty, for payment of the expenses incurred in the suppression of the late rebellion; and at a meeting of the Corporation, the 6th November, "The House being made acquainted that £470, or thereabouts, was lately disbursed on that account; it was then put to the vote whether a letter should be written to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, desiring him to procure an allowance thereof from his Majesty." Carried in the affirmative. "And therefore the House desired Richard Hart, and the two Sheriffs, to pen a letter accordingly." The letter was penned, and inclosed in another to Sir Richard Crumpe, one of their representatives in Parliament. In it, the Corporation evince a desire to make Sir Richard feel duly sensible of the honour conferred upon him by his election. They tell him what they expect, and wherefore they do so,—and are rather unreasonable in their expectations, as is proved in the sequel.

"Sir,

"7th November, 1685.

"Inclosed is a letter to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, and we desire you to present it to him, and *as you are posted in an eminent station by the City*, so we cannot but expect you make it your business, to discharge that trust reposed in you, by a sedulous care of its concerns. And therefore, we more particularly recommend to you *the soliciting this affair, until you have obtained an order for the £470 to be paid*, which will satisfy the persons, and ease us of those daily clamours which assail us. We likewise recommend to you *the order for restoring the keys of the City to Mr. Mayor*,—for that, by woeful experience, we find evil consequences have attended the want of our City watch, you are sensible thereof; so we refer it to your prudent management, and subscribe,

"Your affectionate friends,

"ABRAHAM SAUNDERS, Mayor,	JOSEPH CRESWICKE,
JOHN LAWFORD,	RICHARD HART.
JOHN HICKES,	

"To Sir Richard Crumpe."

¹ "The Tories were loud in profession of attachment to their new master. The hatred of the Whigs was kept down by fear. The reaction which had followed the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, had not yet spent its force. The mass of the people were on the Tory side."—MACAULAY'S *Hist.*

In the letter that was inclosed to his Grace, the Corporation beg the Duke will exert himself in obtaining the money, they had expended in the late rebellion. But the Duke was angry. His Grace wished to have been consulted in filling the seat in Parliament, vacant by the death of Sir John Churchill, soon after he was chosen. He had written on the subject, declaring for the Town-Clerk. No attention had been paid to his desire. No acknowledgment had been made, on the receipt of his letter, which excited the anger of the Duke, and therefore did he order his Secretary to write thus to the Mayor.

Beaufort House, 17th November, 1685.

"I am commanded by my Lord, to acquaint you that he has received the two letters you sent him, signed by yourself and some of the Aldermen; the first of which he showed his Majesty, together with the informations concerning the soldiers at Bristol. As to the second, he is not so much a stranger to transactions at Bristol, as not to know who they are that drove it on; who penned the letter, and what use is intended to be made of my Lord's favour in it,—who, as he hath been always ready to shew his kindness to the City in general, *so he is not for serving particular men's terms*, especially such as have not had that deference for him; nor that compliance with his just desires, that he might have expected; nor so much as owned the receipt of a letter I writ by his command relating to your election. I mean Sir Richard Hart,—to whom, upon his application to his Grace, my Lord bid me write word he had already declared himself for Mr. Town Clerk: and I must tell you in general, that my Lord wonders he should be put upon all your commands, when any favour is to be obtained for you; and that he is not thought fit to be consulted, when you are to do a thing of that consequence, as choosing a member to serve you in Parliament. He being a freeman of your town, and one that ventured himself so frankly for the preservation of it at the time of need, and who have procured so considerable advantages to your City; and one who by his so much kindness, and indeed, partiality to you, hath rendered himself the less proper to intercede, at least to prevail for you, being liable to be answered as he was in the business of the soldiers. *That he not having checked you enough (though some of you thought it too much) in the business of his officer, encouraged you to make such frivolous complaints, and now to ask the keys of the Town, when the King has forces in it, a thing not asked in any other quarter.*

"I am, Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"To the Worshipful Abraham Saunders, Esq.,

"H. CROW.

"Mayor of the City of Bristol."¹

¹ On the death of Sir John Churchill, the Recorder, the Corporation immediately consulted with the Duke of Beaufort, as to the appointment of a successor. The Duke recommended the Hon.

James's first act of regal authority affecting our Corporation, was exhibited in his arbitrary dismissal of a Whig member. A letter dated Whitehall, June 17th, 1686, addressed to the Mayor, enclosed the following order. The receipt of which he is desired to acknowledge, and to write "what is done in the matter that the King may have an account thereof."

"At the Court at Windsor, the 13th June, 1686.

"By the King's most excellent Ma^{ty} and the Lords of his most hon^{ble} Privy Counsell, whereas, by the Charter lately granted to the City of Bristol, a power is reserved to his Majesty, by his order in Council, to remove from his employment any Officer in the said Corporation, and his Majesty having rec^d information of the misbehaviour of Sir R^d Hart, Kn^t one of the Ald^{en} of the said City, hath thought fit this day in Council, to declare his pleasure, and doth accordingly order that the said Sir R^d Hart be, and he is hereby displaced from his said office of Ald^{en}, and that the said City proceed to the election of another Alderman in his room, according to the method prescribed in their said Charter, whereof they are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

"WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN.

"For his Majesty's service, to Mr. Mayor of Bristol, at Bristol."

In consequence of the above order, a meeting of the Corporation took place the 21st, when "the Court proceeded to the election of an Alderman, in the place of Sir Richard Hart, removed by order of his Majesty in Council." Mr. John Combes, and Mr. John Moore, were "put into election, whereupon it was put to the vote, and Mr. Moore was chosen by the majority."

At this time James's intentions were believed to be conformable to his expressions. He had commenced his administration with a view to the public good. The current of public favour inclined towards his Court. His arbitrary disposition, and the bigotry of his principles, had yet to become manifest. His violent and unconstitutional exercise of the Royal authority, had yet to alarm the nation.—Strike terror into the church,—and fill the minds of his Protestant subjects with dismay. While yet his weak and intolerant character was undeveloped; although his affection for Popery had been openly declared, he made a tour through the country, to ingratiate himself with his people. In expectation that he would honour this City with a visit, the subservient

Roger North, son of Dudley Lord North, who was unanimously chosen a freeman in November 1685, and subsequently Recorder, which was confirmed by the King, in June 1686, who stated his being "well satisfied with the loyalty of the said Roger North, and of his ability to discharge the said office of Recorder of that our City."

Corporation, whom he had appointed,—met August 20th, for the purpose of making the preliminary arrangements, when it was agreed “that Sir William Hayman’s house [in Small Street,] be for the King’s reception, *by reason of the conveniency of the Street for entertaining the nobility.*”

All was prepared. The King duly arrived. Seyer shall inform us the manner of his reception.—“On Wednesday the 25th August, 1686, King James came hither accompanied by George, Prince of Denmark,—the Dukes of Beaufort, Somerset, and Grafton,—Lord Peterborough, and many other nobles and great persons of this realm.¹ The King was received at Lawford’s Gate by the Mayor and Aldermen, with the usual ceremonies,—and conducted to the house of Sir William Hayman, in Small Street; when he was honourably entertained at the charge of the City. Next day, the King went on horseback into the Marsh, and reviewed the soldiers who had pitched their tents. From thence, he went along the Key, up St. Michael’s Hill, and rode along the hill to Prior’s Hill, thence down to the Barton, into St. James’s, up Newgate, and so to his lodgings. He touched several for the evil. After dinner he went to Redcliff Gate, and thence to Portshead Point, attended by several nobles. And in the evening Mr. William Merrick, one of the Sheriffs, was knighted, and also Mr. Charles Winter, High Sheriff for the County of Gloucester. Next morning early, the King went to Bridgewater, and thence to Sedgemoor, to view the place where his army overthrew the Duke of Monmouth.”²

His Majesty again visits the City. Late in the summer, accompanied by his Queen, he set out on a splendid progress, attended by a great train of his nobility. He left Windsor the 16th of August; and after visiting Portsmouth and Southampton, arrived at Bath, where he remained a few days, and where he left the Queen. “When he departed, he was attended by the High Sheriff of Somersetshire, and by a large body of gentlemen, to the frontier of the County;

¹ “It might have been at this time, that the King turned out of the direct road from Bath, and paid a visit to Hanham Court. Mr. Creswicke, the owner of that house, in 1817, showed a spot, where once stood a tree, under which his grandfather, entertained King James II., as he was informed by Hugh Brain, who lately died, at the age of 102, whose father was then present.”

² The cost of this entertainment, we learn from the accounts of the Chamberlain, was “£573 : 0 : 1; Cooks, £77 : 9; Confectioners, £63; Vintners, Stephen Stringer, and John Olliffe, £146; Butchers, £27 : 17; the Chamberlain, for sundries, £119 : 8 : 3; paid the Mayor, for the loss of a silver fork, 10s., and for diaper napkins, 10s.,” &c., &c.

where the High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, with a not less splendid retinue, was in attendance. The Duke of Beaufort soon met the royal coaches, and conducted them to Badminton; where a banquet worthy of the fame which his splendid housekeeping had won for him, was prepared."¹ The civic authorities at Bristol, hearing of the Queen's intention to remain at Bath, during the King's progress,—held a meeting, for the purpose of consulting on the propriety of showing her Majesty some little attention. Although they neither respected James nor his Queen; yet they deemed it necessary for their interest, to conduct themselves as though they did. Accordingly, says the report, "It being then put to the question, whether the *Queen Regnant*, now at the Bath, shall be invited here, and entertained at the City charge or no, it was carried in the affirmative by the *majority*." They were therefore not unanimous; probably consideration of the expense, and an exhausted treasury, influenced the dissentients. Experience had taught them, that to entertain a Sovereign in a manner becoming a large, loyal, and important City,—would make a considerable inroad on their diminished resources.

It was "ordered, that Sir Richard Crumpe, Sir William Clutterbuck, and the two Sheriffs, go to Bath and invite her." The latter, with "Mr. Richard Lane, Mr. George Hart, and the Chamberlain, are appointed a Committee, to consider of and manage the entertainment." From our finding no charge, we conclude her Majesty did not accept the compliment. Neither has the scribe informed us of the result of the deputation,—or we may have read that "the invitation was graciously acknowledged; but that her Majesty could not think of visiting without the King."

When the infatuated Monarch rejoined his Queen at Bath, he had just been defeated and mortified by the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. He had placed himself in an embarrassing condition, from which he could see no retreat, but by the sacrifice of his dignity. Rage, at the opposition offered to his commands,—regret, for his own violence,—and a fierce, vindictive desire for revenge, swayed and governed him alternately. While in this mood, the deputation from the Corporation of Bristol arrived, "to congratulate him on his return from his new progress," and to convey to him the wish of the Chamber, that he would honour the City with his presence. Had they known the passions that were gnawing and tearing the heart of James, they might have been suspected of irony in their congratulations. In happy ignorance,

¹ Macaulay's Hist. Eng., II., 295.

they approached with the utmost humility the exasperated Monarch; who, appeased for the time, it may be, by their urbanity, suffered his passion against the Magdalen College to have a brief repose; and to relieve his mind, accepted the proffered courtesy.

Then the deputation returned to the City; and the next day, August 9th, a meeting was held, to consider the manner of receiving their Majesties. When it was "ordered, that his Majesty and Queen be received at Lawford's Gate, by the Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet gowns, and by the Council in black, all on horseback. And that the several companies of the City be ordered to attend in their formalities. That a present of one hundred broad pieces be made to her Majesty, by Mr. Mayor, at Lawford's Gate."¹

On the King's return from his progress, he began to change the magistracy of the several Corporations in England, according to the powers reserved to the Crown in the new charters. He had found the Tory Corporations unmanageable. They did not enter into his policy as he expected they would have done. They did not partake of his infatuation, and lend their aid to his frantic endeavours to render the Pope dominant in the kingdom. He had reserved to himself the right of dismissing any objectionable member, and replacing him by another. He exercised this right in the case of Sir Richard Hart. He would now make a more effectual use of his prerogative, by a wholesale removal of the Tories; and fill their places with Dissenters; who owed him a great debt of gratitude for his late indulgence. These, he fondly hoped would be subservient to his interest. The worthy instrument he employed to effect his purpose in Bristol, was none other than Nathaniel Wade; whom we have seen engaged in the Rye-House Plot; and subsequently in arms for Monmouth. This "crafty, and intriguing man,"² had not only received a pardon, but had also obtained a reward for his infamy; and had so far ingratiated himself into the favour of James, that he was made the bearer of the "Corporation purge,"—and was given the office of Town-Clerk; which, the execution of the Special Commission he produced, rendered vacant.

¹ "Their Majesties were received with the accustomed ceremonies, and had a splendid entertainment provided for them and their retinue, at Mr. Lane's great house, on St. Augustine's Back. They returned to Bath the same evening."—SEYER. *Entertaining King James, and his Queen, September 1687, £703 : 1 : 5.* No particulars rendered, as to the items of the banquet.

² Seyer.

Great was the excitement, and expectation of the Chamber. February 4th, 1687-8.

"The House being this day met, Mr. Nathaniel Wade [who had previously acquainted Mr. Mayor that he had something to communicate to him from the 'King's Majesty'] was called in, who then delivered to Richard Lane, Esq., Mayor, the order of his Majesty in Council, under seal of the Privy Council; for displacing the several persons therein mentioned; which order being read, the persons present were thereby displaced; delivered up their authority in submission to his said Majesty's order in Council, and withdrew.¹ Then the said Mr. Wade, delivered to John Lawford, Esq., Senior Alderman, the mandate under his said Majesty's Privy Seal, for electing and admitting the several persons therein mentioned to their respective offices therein specified; which election, was by the remaining Aldermen, and Common Councilmen then present, accordingly made, and the said mandate obeyed and executed."²

Another letter followed from the "King's Ma^y for removal of certain members, and adding others," which was done. "It was then, after debate, ordered that this House do address the King." Whereupon the annexed choice specimen of fulsome adulation, struggled into form. And the record assures us it was considered so good, as to be incapable of amendment:—

"To the King's most excellent Majesty.

"DREAD SOVEREIGNE,

"Wee, your Ma^{ty} Loyall Subjects,—the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of your City of Bristoll, doe, in all humility, lay ourselves att yo^r Ma^{ty} feett, and make the offering of our humble and hearty thanks for the *great blessings and happinesse* wee enjoy under your Ma^{ty} wise and prudent Governem^t; and particularly seeing yo^r Ma^{ty} *have* been pleased to intrust us with the Governem^t of this your City; that you have, by your gracious declaration for liberty of conscience, suspended the means of contention, and instruments of trouble and disturbance; whereby you have made the exercise of Governement *pleasant to your Ministers* and easy to your people; our buisnesse now being only to punish evildoers, and to shelter and support those that doe well—being not lyable to the summons of every Informer,—whose Loyalty, and Religion, consists only in vexing and tormenting his peaceable neighbours for their Religion and conscience. Wee already find the happy effects of your Ma^{ty} most benign Governem^t, a blessed peace, and tranquillitie,—and doe think it our duty, on all occasions, to the utmost of our power, to be further-

¹ The Mayor, Sheriffs, six Aldermen, the Town-Clerk, and eighteen Common-Councilmen, were displaced.

² See Seyer, II., 534.

"inge your Mat^s gracious intentions of liberty to all your Subjects, by promoting the repeal of all laws contrary thereunto; and unanimously beseech Almighty God to prolong yo^r Mat^s reigne over us, that you may be the protection of your people,—and that they may all make yo^r Mat^e the just returns of duty and obedience as Loyall Subjects. And that when it shall please Him by whome Kings reigne, to take yo^r Mat^e from this earthly to a Heavenly crowne in Glory,—Wee may be blessed with a Successor to reigne over us, descending from yo^r Mat^e, whoe may inheritt as well your princely vertues and goodness, as your Kingdomes and Dominions.

"In Witnes whereof, wee have caused the Common Seale of our Corporation, to be hereunto affixed, this 20th day of April, in the fowerth yeare of yo^r Mat^s most *happy* reigne."

We may almost imagine a tone of sarcasm pervading the above address; and if written in that spirit, it would have been a successful composition. The idea is however, dispelled by the commencement,—wherein we learn the awe James had inspired by the exercise of his prerogative, which had filled the minds of the Corporation with wonder and dismay. They were, in fact, mere ciphers, shifted about at the dictates of his arbitrary will. A stroke of his pen, and where was their authority? The peculiar "blessings" and "happiness" the country enjoyed, was a wild stretch of the imagination. In their own experience,—continued dissensions, plottings, and conspiracies, had produced cares and anxieties that must have eaten into a considerable share of that happiness. And very pleasant, certainly, must James's Ministers have found the task of following his policy, and very permanent the "blessed peace and tranquillity." Especially blessed to the Corporation of Bristol, who were so charmed with the "happy effects" of James's wise and prudent administration, that they made no efforts for the preservation of their hereditary King; but surrendered their City without a struggle.

Never was England more agitated than before the Revolution of 1688. James had broken through all the laws at once, to make his way to Popery and tyranny; and the discontent of the people was great and increasing.¹

¹ "At Bristol, the rabble, countenanced it was said, by the Magistrates,—performed a profane and indecent pageant, in which the Virgin Mary was represented by a buffoon, and in which a mock host was carried in procession. The garrison was called out to disperse the mob. The mob, then and ever since one of the fiercest in the kingdom, resisted. Blows were exchanged, and serious hurts inflicted."—MACAULAY'S *Hist.*, II., 101.

Gloomy was the political horizon, and fearful to contemplate was the dread calamities of a religious warfare.—In this desperate conjuncture of affairs, when men in great perturbation began to look around for help,—the name of the Prince of Orange was heard. A formidable party had invited him to rescue the country from the raging abuse of the power and authority of James. Of this, we may suppose our Corporation were not ignorant, though at present our annalists have not ventured to touch upon the subject. At this crisis, if we turn to their records, we shall find our Corporation, (no unusual thing) in serious deliberation, on making a present, and giving a dinner invitation.¹

This was not all. Anne might one day be Queen.—The Corporation would show her additional attention; were it only to uphold the fair name for hospitality, the City had so long maintained. Accordingly they sent her in addition, 20 doz. of sack, the same quantity of claret, and of white wine; a highly suitable present for a Princess. The expense of forwarding which to Bath for presentation, was £3 : 8. The sugar was forgotten till Anne had left for London,—whither she went in a great hurry, on the news of the premature birth of the infant;² who subsequently made so melancholy a figure as the “Pretender.” But the Corporation did not neglect to forward it.—An entry informs us that one “Tobias Luton, for carriage of a Hhd. of sugar to London, which was a present to the Prince and Princess of Denmark,” was paid 16s.

James was at this time endeavouring to obtain a Parliament,³ that would sanction his unscrupulous measures. The manner in which he set about it,

¹ 1688, May 23rd. The Mayor acquainted the House, of the arrival of the Princess Anne of Denmark, at Bath. Resolved that—“The Mayor, (Thos. Day,) Sir R. Crumpe, Sir Wm. Hayman, Alderman Jackson, Alderman Browne, two Sheriffs, Mr. Dinning, Mr. Tate, Mr. White, Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Pope, do proceed on Friday next to Bath, to congratulate her on her arrival; and either to invite her Highness and the Prince hither,—or make them some present in the name of the City. The Committee report they had met with a gracious reception, but their Highnesses intended not to stir abroad, and cannot visit the City. It was thereupon “ordered that a butt of sack, a Hhd. of claret, ditto of white wine, be presented to them.”

² “Guns fired on the 17th inst., (June, 1688) on the occasion of the birth of a Prince of Wales. July 1. Day of thanksgiving for the same. Trumpeters and Wait Players, were paid for their services, £2 : 4. Bonfires made, cost 2s.”

³ “After proroguing the [preceding] Parliament, the King fell immediately to the supporting the dispensing power, the most chimerical thing that ever was thought of, and must be so, till the Government here is as absolute as in Turkey; all power being included in that one.”—*BLENCOWE'S Diary of the Times of Charles II.*, II. Appendix C. 372.

will be seen, in the extraordinary and violent exercise of his power, in his dealings with the Corporation of Bristol. They had addressed him so obsequiously; they had obeyed him so promptly, he felt he could rely upon them at this exigency. The 10th October, he sends a mandamus, which was read to the House, wherein he says, "having received a good character of the loyalty of our well-beloved subjects" [whose names follow to the number of sixty eight,] "we have thought fit hereby to require you forthwith to make all and every the persons mentioned, freemen of the City of Bristol,—with all the rights and privileges thereunto belonging, *without administering unto them any oath, or oaths whatsoever, with which we are graciously pleased to dispense in their behalf.*"

This was rather a startling assumption of the prerogative. Such a wholesale proceeding took the Corporation by surprise. The report states they did not act immediately upon the order. "It being debated whether the persons mentioned in the said mandamus, be made free according to the said mandamus, it was deferred until the next House." Before the next House met, events had arisen, whereby all further considerations on the subject was rendered nugatory. James had become sensible of the threatened danger of the coming of the Prince of Orange;¹ and when the House was again convened, it was to read the proclamation of his Majesty, for restoring the ancient Charter, and the mandamus was thrust aside.

James did not find the present Corporations more manageable than the past; and although many of the old Puritans were as much astonished, as the public at their return to office; they were not composed of that plastic material requisite for their Sovereign's purpose. Men who had taken up arms against royalty, and been staunch supporters of the Commonwealth,—were not to be moved by any concessions, or acts of indulgence, to support the policy of a despot. Their official career was brief. Indiscreet and unpopular measures,

¹ The Earl of Sunderland in a letter to a friend, upon the first thought of his [the Prince's] coming, writes "I laid hold of the opportunity to press the King to do several things which I would have had done sooner, the chief of which were to restore Magdalen College, and all other ecclesiastical preferments, which had been diverted from what they were intended for; to take off my Lord Bishop of London's suspension; to put the counties into the same hands they were in some time before; to annul the Ecclesiastical Court; and to restore entirely all Corporations of England."—*Diary of the Times of Charles II.*, Appendix.

followed each other in rapid succession. Discontent steadily increased till the whole Protestant nation was prepared to rise in one mass, to repel the aggression. Still James, impelled and blinded by religious zeal, persisted in his rash and violent measures. Unheeding of warnings, unsuspecting of danger, till it was too late. The civil concessions he made, when the truth broke in upon him, could no longer conciliate the estranged affections of his people. The Corporation Charters were restored, and the deposed members replaced. The third of October, another change was effected in the Chamber, that rendered the intrigues and manœuvres of Wade, of none effect. On that day an anxious meeting of the Chamber was held,—when, “his most gracious Majesty’s proclamation, for restoring Corporations to their ancient Charters, liberties, rights and franchises,—and the several orders of Privy Seal, and Privy Council, thereupon being read, it was proposed whether the House should proceed to elect officers for the remainder of this year to Michaelmas next, which was carried in the affirmative *nemine contradicente*.”

Shortly after, the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and all England was in commotion.¹ The 22nd October, the Duke of Beaufort arrived,—probably sent here with the proclamation for restoring the Charter, and to maintain the allegiance of the City to James, to whom his Grace was most devoted. Sir John Guise, of Gloucestershire,—who had been exiled in Holland, for defamation of the Duke of Beaufort,—was sent with Charles, Earl of Shrewsbury, who came over with the Prince, to secure Bristol. His regiment marched into the City, December 1st, together with two troops of dragoons; one Dutch, the other English. They were favourably received. The inclination of the inhabitants was adverse to the cause of James; and the Duke of Beaufort, hearing of their coming, and finding resistance hopeless,—departed with all speed, “not staying,” says the calendar, “to dine.”

William is on the Throne,—the Protestant religion is secured,—bigotry is powerless,—persecution checked. And now, when freedom of conscience,—when liberty of worship,—when all for which magnificent minds have lived, and noble martyrs died,—have been attained, we pause in our narrative of local transactions. Though the jarring enmities of Whig and Tory, still agitate our City and the land; yet the peaceful proceedings, and calm employments of

¹ “1688-9. Cost of keep guard in the City, when the Prince of Orange landed in the West Country, £9 : 15 : 0.”

civilised society are pursued with a quiet and uninterrupted security, unknown since the days when Elizabeth's wise Counsellors discreetly governed the happy and prosperous realm. The good time has come,—the dawning of those many blessings that descend upon us now. It is a favourable æra for resuming the simple story of one, whose later years upon life's stage, may be comprised in the few words, "he went about doing good."

CHAPTER VIII.

Colston's first Public Benefaction to this City—His Correspondence—Proposes to maintain Six Sailors in the Merchants' Almshouse—His Conscientiousness—Purchase of the Sugar House in St. Peter's Churchyard by the Corporation of the Poor—His Donations—Decease of his Mother—His Gift of £1000 to Whitechapel Church—His residence in Bristol—Works dedicated to Colston—His proposal to Increase the number of Boys in the Hospital of Queen Elizabeth, and Donation towards Re-building the School-house—His Letter to the Society of Merchants, containing a munificent offer—Proceedings thereupon—Purchase of the Great House on St. Augustine's Back—Colston's Endowment for One Hundred Boys—The Merchants accept the Trust—Nominees appointed by Colston—He superintends the Progress of the Alterations at the Great House—Incidental Anecdotes—Opening of the School—Summary of Local Transactions.—Colston M.P. for Bristol.

ASCEND St. Michael's Hill, and notice on the right, a quaint building, extending three sides of a quadrangle; with mullioned and transomed windows,—and a little chapel in the centre, over which is a small bell-turret. The area is divided into formal grass plots, planted with cypress trees,—as the times fashioned it, so it is. The whole is preserved with a neatness and order, which can scarcely fail to arrest the attention of the passer-by. Through each varying season of the year, it retains the same verdant aspect,—the same method,—the same repose; and thankful should be the aged, and the destitute, who here find an asylum in the winter of their days. Here, after the storms and tempests of the sea of life, free from care and solicitude,—free from all anxious thought for the morrow's sustenance, they can dedicate their lives to God, and prepare their souls for an immortal rest. It is a quiet and pleasing spot in the midst of a great City. It has no visible change. The discords and revolutions of the world affect it not; empires may have fallen,—new dynasties arisen,—but here is no note of the mighty burthen of events,—the same soothing, uninterrupted calm exists,—the ever-reviving freshness of the grass,—the ever-enduring verdure of the shrubs. There are many such tranquillising spots, devoted to benevolence in this highly favoured land,—and it is pleasing to behold it thus. But this has its peculiar charm; and greater becomes its interest, and more gratifying its contemplation, when we know it to be the *first* of the many institutions founded by the venerated Colston.¹

¹ "September 2nd, 1690, Colston made application to the Corporation to purchase two acres, three quarters, and thirty-seven perches of pasture ground, on St. Michael's Hill, just above the site

And here, watching the progress of this future asylum for aged poverty, prescribing rules for its government, and settling its endowment, had Colston been employed since we beheld him last. He is now engaged in seeking deserving objects on whom to bestow shelter and support;—not unmindful, when relieving them from the harsh necessities of this transitory world,—of providing for their path to that holy land, where life will be permanent and eternal.¹ This was the happiness Colston had pictured.—This was the pleasure for which he had toiled.—For this was his wealth valued. And when his purpose had assumed a reality, and the almshouses were erected and occupied,—fancy strives to conceive him, conducting his aged parent to view the good work her son had done,—and in the little chapel unite with the humble objects of his bounty, in an offering of praise and thanksgiving to the God, for whose glory and honour he had laboured.

In his proceedings against the Corporation, for the recovery of the money he had lent them,—Colston must have been influenced by circumstances to which our knowledge does not extend. It was probably while under this influence, that he was induced to make the Society of Merchants the

“of St. Mary Magdalene’s Nunnery, called the Turtles, or Jonas Leaze, to erect thereon an almshouse and chapel, and three other messuages. The application was referred to the Surveyors of City Lands to contract with him. The 10th September following, the Corporation agreed to sell him the same for £100, which he paid on the ensuing November. The charge of building and finishing this house amounted to about £2500.” “January 24th, 1696. He conveyed to Sir Richard Hart, and twenty-seven other persons of the City of Bristol, a piece of land, called the Turtles, or Jonas Leaze, which he had purchased of the Corporation, on part of which he had built an almshouse, and that the same should be called Colston’s Almshouse, and be for ever employed for an almshouse, or abiding place for twenty-four poor persons, (twelve men, and twelve women), the said Edward Colston to appoint during his life, and afterwards by the Master Wardens, Assistants, and Commonalty of the Merchant Adventurers.”—*Merchants’ Hall Proceedings*.

¹ “His exalted love of the beauty of holiness in the established Liturgy of the Church of England, and the zealous care for the glory of God, soon engaged him to provide, that the daily service of the Church and catechizing should be performed in his hospitals and almshouses.”—DR. HARCOURT’S *Funeral Sermon*.

* Rules “for the better government and ordering of the almshouse on St. Michael’s Hill.” 1. “That Common Prayer, as it is now established by law, be read in the chapel-room of the almshouse, *every morning and evening* in the year, by one in holy orders, lawfully ordained; except only Sundays, and Wednesday mornings, and Friday mornings; when there are prayers read at the parish church of St. Michael, in Bristol.” 4. “That all the almsmen and almswomen shall constantly come to the said prayers, at the aforesaid times, and shall behave themselves decently and reverently at them, by kneeling when the prayers are read, and answer to the several responses.”—COLSTON’S *Settlements*.

administrators of his charity on St. Michael's Hill. To them he consigned the sacred trust; which has ever been religiously, and faithfully discharged by the honourable successors of that ancient body.¹ The report of the proceedings of the Merchants' Hall, will therefore be our authority for the remaining notices of this almshouse. At a meeting September 17th, 1695, Colston's proposal for its endowment was read, and a committee, consisting of the Master Wardens, Sir John Knight, Mr. Arthur Hart, Mr. Robert Tate, and Mr. Edward Tocknell were appointed to consult him upon the subject, and conclude the arrangements; which they did on the 20th instant, and the next day delivered their sentiments to him. At the date of this assembly, Colston was in Bristol, but on the 20th of the following month, we find him at Mortlake, attending a vestry.

We now arrive at an important period in our Memoir,—when, from the correspondence of Colston, we can more immediately place his character before the reader. Here the spirit of charity may be truly said to have its record; and it is remarkable, that of the letters of Colston preserved in our archives, all appertain to the same subject,—and are all written with the one single, earnest, philanthropic end. Simple, concise, expressed with judgment and knowledge of the world; they exhibit more forcibly the heart and mind of the man, than aught bequeathed by contemporary biographers. The precise habits of the man of business are perceptible throughout; and the direct manner in which he enters into the details of his subject, without any prefatory observations, cannot escape notice; nor can the care, forethought, and anxiety he evinces to check every unnecessary expenditure, and to render the property he had parted from as productive as possible,—feeling as much interest in its economic management, as though he himself were selfishly concerned in its prosperity. The letters have clearness of expression, and are good of their kind. Without eloquence, without elegance,—they are written because indispensable for the just administration of his affairs. They are written with far higher than literary aims. They are written with the pen of one, occupied only in the

¹ The Society of Merchants, was incorporated by Edward VI., 18th December, in the first year of his reign. Edward Prynne, Master,—Thomas Hicke and Robert Butler, Wardens; and was confirmed by Elizabeth, 8th July, in the eighth year of her reign. Their arms was granted them by Robert Cooke, King of Arms, dated 24th August, 11th Elizabeth, Dominyk Chester, Master, Thomas Rowland and John Carr, Wardens.

great business he had to perform, as a faithful steward of his Divine Lord and Master. The earliest we possess, discloses many of the characteristics we have briefly indicated. Without courteous prelude or formal wordiness, it commences direct upon the purpose for which it was written:—

✓ “December 5th, 1695. The almshouse on St. Michael’s Hill wants some men to fill it; if you, or any of your body, know of any persons that are fit to go into it, I would gladly have them put in. I would willingly, that they should be such that have lived in some sort of decency; but that a more especial regard should be had that none be admitted that are drunkards,¹ nor of a vicious life, or turbulent spirit,—least the quiet and order of the inhabitants at present live in, be thereby interrupted. If a fit man could be found out that should succeed Mr. Ham, he might be presently admitted, and his allowance should be 12*d.* per week more than the rest, till he comes into his station; for in truth, when he [Mr. Ham] dyeth, the house will be under a very great want of a prudent overseer, to preserve the good order that is among them. One of those houses which I built, adjoining to the almshouse, and is made over as part of its maintenance, wants a tenant,—I recommend it to the care of all the gentlemen of the Merchants’ Hall to find out one, and when that is done I make it my request to them, that he may be put in at such rent and terms, as they shall think fit; and further, that they would please to appoint a committee to visit the house once every three or six months at longest, for I leave it wholly under their care and management, and shall in a little time send them down all the writings relating to it.

“I am, Sir,

“Your humble Servant,

“EDWARD COLSTON.”

The above may be considered as a type of the general tenour of his correspondence. Not one word tending to a desire of his own glorification is to be found throughout. In no instance does he take merit to himself for his labours; but in a plain though earnest manner, he does what he considers a paramount duty, and writes as though he desired not the commendation of his fellow-men. What a marked contrast is revealed at this period,—then, population did not press so heavily upon the means of subsistence, or we should not find Colston anxious about obtaining recipients of his bounty;—

¹ In his rules for the governance of the almshouse, he “dothe heartily recommend it to the care of the governors, that they will choose none that are known to be vicious persons, or drunkards, or of turbulent spirit. And that they would always endeavour to find out such as have lived well, and in good fashion, and always give preference to such, if their other qualifications be answerable.”—*Colston’s Settlements.*

then vacancies were waiting for applicants; not as now, applicants waiting in vain for vacancies.

A continuation of the correspondence on the management of this almshouse, is before us. From the following letter it will appear that Colston, after his retirement from business, could have led no idle life,—the affairs of this and subsequent charities, must have fully occupied that leisure, which is frequently dissipated by the affluent, in the little pursuits of fashion. We see how thoroughly he is acquainted with every minute particular of the subject on which he writes; and at the same time with what tender cautiousness he offers his advice. The foresight and judgment exercised in the rules he drew up for the government of the almshouse, have been made manifest by the continued prosperous condition of the object of his solicitude. This letter is long. Many readers, perhaps, may think it heavy, and pass on.—But we cannot excuse ourselves, where so little permanent record is left, for omitting the most minute fact, especially if authentic, regarding Colston. We give the letter, therefore, as it left his pen, although it is impossible to render it generally interesting—

“ Mortlake, the 6th October, 1696.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I think in this month or the ensuing, you constantly hold a general Court, for the stating your yearly accounts; at which time I make it my request unto you, that the account relating to my almshouse, on St. Michael's Hill, may likewise be audited, to prevent a farther meeting thereabouts. The trouble, thereof, I cannot apprehend, can be so much as to obstruct your other affairs that are appointed for that day, because it will not consist of many articles. As for the debtor part, the weekly allowances may be all comprised in one sum. The coal money in another, which is £12, being for twenty-four sacks to each inhabitant, half to be delivered before, and the other after Christmas; the soap and candle money being £12 more, namely, 10s. to each of them. In a third article, the reading of prayers. In a fourth, which comprehends all the charges of the House, when there shall be any casual ones, as repairs, they may be also added, and for the creditor side of the account, the fee farm rents (when they are received by you, which I intended should have been this year, but that the scarcity of money hath obstructed the regular payment of them,) may be made good in one article; the rent of Lansdown's House, in a second; John Short in a third, and the rest of the ground behind the almshouse, in a fourth; and the forfeitures for any omissions about prayers (if any shall be) in a fifth. Although I have mentioned this method, yet I shall submit to such an one as you shall judge more proper to be used, whatsoever it be that you shall agree

"upon. I desire that it may be made up once in a year, and that the balance that shall be due thereupon, may be brought to the account for the year following, which balance is designed shall be kept as a stock for repairs, against such time as they shall be needful. The rents appropriated for the maintenance of the House, exceeding the constant charge, by about £10, per annum; since you have not received this year the fee-farm rents (which God willing shall be paid you this next, please to credit the House for such sums as have been paid to your Treasurer by Mr. Thomas Hort, and Mr. Richard Baily, which last, hath my directions to pay you any further sum that shall be needful to defray the expenses till Michaelmas); and likewise for £15, due from Walter Lansdown, for one year's rent of his house, to Michaelmas last; and also for £2 : 5, for six months' rent of ground he held to our Lady-day last; and likewise for £2 : 5, due from John Short, for the other half-year, for said ground; and farther, for £7, one year's rent of his house he now lives in, due at Michaelmas. I desire the said rent may be demanded and received from them before your audit; because I would willingly then have them made good in account,—forasmuch as it would be more facile and clear, if all the income of the year could be received before, and made good at that time; but notwithstanding, this account is not to be audited before your general Court sit; I judge it convenient, that the yearly expense be not carried beyond Michaelmas, and from that time a new account to commence. Towards the carrying on of this new charge, I have further desired Mr. Richard Baily, to pay your Treasurer £50; I am forced to pay it in by such small sums, because I find money with you at Bristol, is also received with a great deal of difficulty. One of the houses adjoining to the two above-named, is yet unlet. I should be glad if a tenant could be procured for it, by any of the members of your Society; but if that cannot be done, then to encourage the present reader of the prayers to live therein. I shall be willing that he be for the future allowed £10, per annum,—whereas he hath hitherto been paid but £8, for reading the prayers; neither shall I give more, unless it be upon the said condition; for the rent of the house, he shall pay but £8 per year, which I judge to be moderate; however, if it should be thought too much you may please to do therein as you find convenient. Herewith, I inclose you a scheme of the rules,¹ which I would have observed in the almshouse; if after perusal you shall find it needful to have a further addition, pray favor me with sentiments thereabouts, and you will oblige,

"Your humble Servant,

"EDWARD COLSTON.

"When your Court is over, pray favor me with a copy of the account as it stands in the book, and likewise with the names of such Feoffees that are dead, since the particulars I had from Mr. Yeamans, which may be two years past.

"To Captain Samuel Price, Master of the Merchants' Hall, in Bristol."

¹ Rules for the government of the almshouse.

Displaying a thorough acquaintance with the expenditure and receipts of the almshouse, Colston expresses with clearness his purposed arrangements. He does not consider the mere act of giving; careless whether the gift be misapplied, as constituting Charity. To make his wealth the instrument of alleviating the bitterness of human misery, and of increasing the glory of God in the highest,—it was accompanied with actual exertion for its faithful dissemination. He laboured that his “talent” might be productive. He endeavoured to place the almshouse in such order and condition, that at his decease there might be no interruption to its regularity. Can we imagine a more exalted state of earthly happiness, than the reflections of Colston, when gazing on this his work,—the first great purpose—perhaps the hopes and desires of years, thus substantially realized. He had in the most effectual manner shown his love to his fellow creatures, and at the same time endeavoured to promote the Divine glory. In connexion with this letter, we have the following entry “October 8th, 1696. The letter from Mr. Colston, and his heads of rules, for governing of his almshouse being read, the Hall nominates the Master (Samuel Price) Sir William Hayman, Mr. Hart, Mr. Tate, Sir John Duddlestone, and Mr. Tocknell, to consider the same, and correspond with Mr. Colston about it.” They did consider of it, and after four days’ deliberation, their combined efforts produced the following acknowledgment:—

“Bristol, 12th October, 1696.

“Worthy Sir,

“On Thursday last, your letter of the 6th current, and Schedule of rules and directions for ordering of your almshouse were read in our Hall,—and ’twas unanimously approved of by them; and I am ordered to give you their reports and thanks, and to acquaint you that they are of opinion, there needs no alteration nor addition to them,—only that the person to come in, give Bond to save St. Michael’s Parish harmless before admission. At our audit, which will be sometime the next month, or the beginning of December,—we shall, as you desire, examine the accounts till Michaelmas last, as we do the Halls, and so continue that course *de anno in annum* afterwards.

“I am, sir, your humble servant,

“SAMUEL PRICE.

“To Mr. Edward Colston, Merchant, at his house in Mortlake, near London.”

Incidental to this almshouse, occurred a circumstance of no moment in itself, but as developing Colston’s strict and rigid sense of justice, it finds

place here. J. Jenkins, Esq., who was the receiver of the rents in Northumberland, appropriated to St. Michael's almshouse, became a defaulter, to the amount of £486 : 19 : 5., of which £400, was secured by a mortgage. For the purpose of coming to some arrangement, it was necessary that a journey to York should be performed,—an undertaking at that period of no ordinary consideration. On this subject, a letter from Colston, was read to the Hall, March 16th, 1704, and another March 28th, including one, addressed to him from Mr. John Douglas, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. When it was resolved that a letter of attorney be made under the Seal of the Hall, to empower Mr. Douglas, to receive the rents,—that the Committee write to Mr. Colston, and advise him to agree with Mr. Douglas, *but to take care and have his security*, for his due accounting with the Hall. The great caution habitually evinced by Colston, as is further evident in the letter occasioning the preceding resolution, would render the advice of the Committee somewhat presumptuous.

“GENTLEMEN,

“Mortlake, the 25th March, 1704.

“My not going to London this week, hath retarded my receipt of yours of the 13th past, which came not to my hands till Thursday, in the Evening, when it was brought me by the Waterman,¹ who I sent to my Lodgings to enquire after it. Had it come directed to me at this place, in Surry, I should have received it on Tuesday Morning, but could not have given answer to it till the last post, because Mr. John Douglas' letter (the copy whereof I herewith send you²) came not to me till Thursday Morning. You will find that he will undertake the recovery of the Rents, and attend the receipt of your letter of Attorney, to enable him so to do. I wish it had come in your above Letter; as I desired it might, to prevent Mr. Jenkins from receiving any of the Lady-day Rents—but since it did not, I have answered him, that he may depend to have it by this day, or Monday, come *seavennight*, and therefore have encouraged him in the mean time to send out his summons to all the Tenants to bring in their Rents; and have also desired him, that when he rec^d any,

¹ At this time the river was the principal communication with London—the main high-way.

² “Sir,—Yours of the 11th inst., with a copy of your Rental, I rec^d and shall undertake the receipt of your Rents on the same terms I do Mr. Noel's and others, and make you due payment in London, and clear the whole every year. You may therefore write to your friends at Bristol, to send in their letter of attorney; the sooner it comes the better, in respect of the Lady-day Rents. *I know your rents are not subject to taxes, and so, with the tender of my humble service, I rest,*

“To Mr. Edward Colston,

“Your most humble Ser^t,

“then at Mortlake, Surrey.”

“JOHN DOUGLAS.

“that he would first take a view of Mr. Jenkins’ last receipt, that so he may not give any of them his discharge, before he be entirely satisfied that there is none of their Rents in arrear. And where he finds there is any, that he receive it from them, keeping a distinct acct what each man is behind,—the better to enable your Society to settle their acct^s with Mr. Jenkins; all which, if you think it convenient, you may please to confirm to him; and also, by your letter of Attorney, to give him power, as well to recover all such arrears, as to sue Mr. Jenkins (if needs shall require) for what he shall be owing of you,—do not suddenly receive his acct^s, and likewise the money that is owing. I believe you will judge it necessary not only to put him in mind of it; but if you find him dilatory therein, to recommend it to Mr. Douglas to hasten him in both. I suppose the several sums which, in his last letter, he mentioned to be remitted to Mr. Clarke, have been by him made good to Mr. Mayor, your Treasurer; to whom, with the rest of the Society, I tender my service, and do assure you that I am,

“Your loving Friend to serve,

“EDWARD COLSTON.”

The locality of Colston’s lodgings is one of those obscure points, upon which neither his correspondence, nor the great discoverer, Time, has yet thrown any light. Here his letters, not directed Mortlake, appear to have remained until he came to London, or sent for them, which—as in the above instance—occasioned a delay of some importance. This uncertain communication would seem inconsistent with Colston’s business habits; but from his noticing the delay, and wherefore it occurred, it must have been unusual,—and may be taken rather as the exception than the rule. Colston was not only a cautious, but also a strict man,—one who would exact the fulfilment of his bond to the uttermost farthing. This caution is here exemplified, in his desiring Mr. Douglas to take a view of Mr. Jenkins’ last receipts, before he himself signed any. His strictness, in directing proceedings to be promptly taken against Mr. Jenkins, in case he fail in the punctual discharge of his obligation.¹

Before the necessary business concerning the endowment for the maintenance of the almshouse was completed; before the settlement was confirmed; before the property had passed from Colston into the hands of the trustees, to whom he had

¹ The Seal of the Hall was affixed to the Power of Attorney, on the 28th March. They also wrote Mr. Douglas, requesting him to receive the rents, and pay the same to Mr. Thos. Clarke, Merchant, in Mincing Lane, London; and also desired Mr. Douglas, to be in earnest with Mr. Jenkins. At the same time they apprised the latter of Mr. Douglas’ appointment, furthermore demanding the prompt payment of the £486 : 3 : 5, in arrear, or proceedings would be immediately commenced. Whether the Hall recovered from Mr. Jenkins, beyond the £400, the extent of his

confided the sacred charge,—his active and benevolent mind, ever intent upon the faithful performance of his stewardship; ever conscious of the fearful responsibility attached to his position; ever desirous to contribute to the honour and glory of God, by administering to the necessities of the distressed; had entertained another charitable disposition of his wealth! To Colston, who meditated deeply and compassionately on the destitution of the improvident,—when the strong arm failed, and the bent frame gave token of waning health, and declining years,—the homeless seafarer, as a worn-out bark stranded on the last sands of life,—would rise appealingly before his mental vision. The experience and observation of his early life,—and his extensive mercantile transactions, must have made him acquainted with the careless habits of this class; and for years he may have cherished the idea he eventually perfected. He had now the power to perform his good design; and with the power, had not, alas! as too often happens, departed the will to execute. Again the Society of Merchants are made the distributors of his bounty. How his merciful acts shone forth, will be manifest from the report of the proceedings of the Hall, and subsequent correspondence:—"October 24th, 1695. That at this Court and Hall, the Master reporting that *Mr. Edward Colston, hath proposed to maintain six poor sailors* in our Almshouse, in case we will build convenient rooms to receive them. It is voted that his proposal be thankfully accepted, and the Master desired to write him a letter of thanks."

"Worthy Sir,

"I this day communicated to our Hall your charitable proposal of providing 6 poor sailors for ever, if we would build additional rooms to our present almshouse, for their reception,—the which was unanimously accepted of, and a Committee is chosen to prepare fit buildings accordingly; and they are agreeing with workmen forthwith to sett about it, as well for their six, as for six persons more, intended to be settled there by the ex^m of M^r R^d Jones, dec^d who *resolve to follow your good example*. And by order of the said Society, their thanks are by these, rendered you by,

"Sir, your humble Serv^t

"To M^r Edw^d Colston, Merchant, London.

"SAMUEL PRICE,

"Merchants' Hall, Bristol, 24th Oct., 1695."

"Master.

bond, does not transpire, neither is it material to our purpose. No further notice in reference to the Almshouse occurs until January 16th, 1698. When, "at the Quarter Sessions, it was ordered that the houses of Mr. Colston, adjoining to his Hospital, on St. Michael's Hill, in St. Michael's parish, being appointed for the use of the Hospital, and being charged to the poor in that parish, be discharged from farther payment to the poor in that parish."

Gratifying to Colston as must have been the information conveyed in the preceding letter, that his "good example" had induced others to follow in his path of usefulness, his humility forbears to give any expression. He does not pretend to any superior virtue, or arrogate to himself any merit for his donation. To write is obligatory,—but he writes not one word more than the occasion demands.

"I received yours of the 24th of Oct. in due time, whereby I perceive that the Merchants' Hall had resolved upon the building of a new apartment, not only for the reception of the six poor sailors proposed by myself, but for double that number; I return you my hearty thanks for imparting this said overture unto them, and to request you to render them, in my behalf, to the whole Society, at their first meeting, for their unanimous consenting thereto. When I understand the house is finished, I shall make provision for the maintenance of my quota."¹

It was not long before the Society fulfilled the condition, on which they had accepted Colston's endowment. In 1699, the eastern wing of the almshouse was built, the old centre re-built, and both angles united. On the left of the entrance, facing King Street, are the City Arms, with the date 1696, and on the right, the date 1699, with the Arms of the Society of Merchants. The part on the left, was built with the monies of Colston and Jones. Placed against the centre almshouse, in the great quadrangle, painted on a board are these homely, truthful lines:—

"Freed from all Storms, the 'Tempest and the rage
Of Billows, here secure we spend our age—
Our Weather-beaten Vessels here repair
And from the Merchants' kind and generous care
Find Harbour here, no more we put to Sea,
Until we launch into Eternity.
And lest our Widows whom we leave behind,
Should want relief, they too a shelter find.

¹ The conveyance for this purpose, is thus noticed, 24th January, 1696. Merchants' Almshouse. "By Indenture of settlement between himself, Sir Richard Hart, and others, of Bristol, Merchants,—he conveyed to them certain lands in the county of Somerset, for the maintaining from time to time of six old poor decayed seamen, in the almshouse adjoining the Merchants' Hall, Bristol, to every of which should be allowed 2s. per week during his life—the said six seamen to be nominated by the said Edward Colston, during his life, and afterwards by the Society of Merchants."

Thus all our anxious cares and sorrows cease,
 Whilst our kind guardians turn our toils to ease;
 May they be with an endless Sabbath blest,
 Who have afforded unto us this Rest."

This donation of Colston, for the support of the six seamen, of which the Hall takes the trust; is said to have arisen from an incident, which Silas Told shall relate:—"One of his (Colston's) ships having been missing for upwards of three years, and having been given up as lost, arrived deeply laden. He said, as he had given her up as totally lost, he would claim no right to her, and ordered the ship and cargo to be sold, and the produce to be applied towards the relief of the needy, which was immediately carried into execution." Colston, doubtless considered, that as he had resigned himself to the loss, and surrendered it to Him who giveth and taketh away; he could not conscientiously accept the recovered treasure. It belonged by the will of providence to the homeless and destitute. For them he deemed that the good ship was carried in safety over the stormy seas—for them, had the Almighty Word stilled the raging waves, and smoothed its passage to its destined port. A portion of the property thus unexpectedly regained,—it is said, was applied to the maintenance of the six seamen; and the remainder distributed in the various channels, Colston's ever active benevolence would dictate. It is traditionally related that Colston "never insured a ship, nor ever lost one."¹ Such was his implicit reliance upon providence—such the true unwavering lamp of faith that shone on all his ways.

Could we place confidence in the incident related by Silas Told,—and advance the benefaction to the Merchants' Almshouse as confirmatory of the result; we might imagine, on the same unstable foundation, that we can trace further evidence of the disposal of another portion of the recovered property, in the following record.—At a meeting of the Common Council, November 13th, 1695, it was "ordered that the thanks of this House be returned to Mr. Edward Colston for his gift, in *having added six boys* unto Queen Elizabeth's²

¹ Barrett.

² "Queen Elizabeth's Hospital was founded by John Carr, and in 1586 was opened, in the mansion house of the late Hospital of St. Mark, including the site of the cloisters in Orchard Street. The house had been the mansion of the Master of the Gaunt's Hospital, and was purchased by William Bird, Mayor in 1589, and given by him to form an Hospital for Carr's boys, in addition to

Hospital; and that the Mayor [Samuel Wallis,] and the Aldermen are desired to write him a letter to that purpose."¹

An act of Parliament passed in 1697,² "for supplying some defects in the Laws for the Relief of the Poor of this Kingdom," led to the entire purchase of Aldworth's fine mansion in St. Peter's Churchyard; commonly known as the Mint. Colston had a share in the house. He was the principal proprietor of the sugar-refining business, which in 1689 is described as there carried on by "Edward Colston and Co-partners." The partners were, Richard Beachim, Esq., of London, Sir Thomas Day, and Capt. Nathaniel Wade, of Rye-House celebrity. They sold the property the 7th June, 1697,³ for £800. In the conveyance it is styled "A mansion house behind St. Peter's Church, heretofore a sugar house."⁴ To aid in effecting this purchase, money was advanced by Colston and by Richard Beachim. At a meeting of the Court, held at St. Peter's Hospital, November 22nd, the Mayor, Sir Robert Yate presiding, they were paid £200, each, "in part of the money due for the purchase of the Mint Workhouse for the Corporation."

which he gave the sum of £500. In one of the windows of the chapel are the names of the benefactors and their arms. The management of the Hospital was formerly entrusted to the Corporation; but it is now in the hands of the Charity Trustees. The original number of the boys was twenty-eight."

¹ Colston, before he purchased the land for the endowment of the additional boys, that his benevolent purpose might not be delayed; paid in the interval the sum of £70 per annum, as the allowance for the six boys. In 1697-8, he conveyed to the Governors of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, a house and sixty-eight acres of land, at Yatton, in the County of Somerset; which he had purchased of William Dale; and another messuage, and about thirty-five acres of land, at Congresbury, for the purpose of maintaining and educating the said six boys. The boys to be the sons of free burgesses, —and each boy to receive £10, as an apprentice fee: the same boys to be over and above the thirty belonging to the said Hospital. And he further expressly provides, that in case the Governors should at any time lessen the number of thirty-six boys, —and should not fill up that number within three months, after a request in writing by him or the Society of Merchants; it should be lawful for him or the said Society, to possess themselves of the premises granted; and apply the profits thereof to the use of his Hospital in the parish of St. Michael, or for the benefit of the Merchants' Almshouse.

² Same year, a Committee to report their opinion of the house called Whitehall, for a workhouse for the poor, pursuant to the late act of Parliament.

³ "10th February, 1697. It was agreed to purchase the fourth-part of the sugar house, [then used as a Mint,] of Mr. Nath. Day, at the price of £230, to be paid at the end of three, and six months from this day, without any interest in the mean time."

⁴ "Value about £55, per annum, in fee farm; that is to say, to chief rent, —£6, per annum to St. Peter's Church, —and £3 : 8, to the Chamber of Bristol."

From the reports of the Corporation of the Poor, we ascertain that Colston frequently attended the Court, in the years 1700, and 1701. As a Philanthropist, he would take a deep interest in the economy and management of an asylum, in which the houseless were to be sheltered, and the hungry fed. He would be anxious that something like humanity should be its governing principle,—that the hard lot of the afflicted should not be made the harder,—and their bread the more bitter,—by the harsh bearing of officials, who coarsely supplied the recipients of his care with their daily crust. On all subjects connected with management, Colston could give useful and judicious advice. This is proved by the admirable rules he laid down for the government of his various charities. Thus much may be surmised. Colston's name is not often visible in the books of this Corporation. He is discernible at times as present in Court; and once, twice, as bestowing a donation. August 8th, 1700, at a meeting of the Court it was ordered he should have the thanks of the Corporate body, “and that his name be put up in the Table of Benefactions; and that he be elected an honorary Guardian of the Poor of this City.” The record beareth testimony why he was thus distinguished.

“Mr. Treasurer maketh report, that Edward Colston, of London, Esq., present in Court, have paid him one hundred pounds, as his gift to the poor of this City, under the care of the Corporation. Ordered, that he have the thanks of the Court for the same, and that his name be put up in the Table of Benefactors.—(Signed) JOHN DUDDLESTONE, Governor.”

The last notice we have of Colston's attending the Court in 1701, is October 9th.

And what was the attraction that now called Colston so frequently to this City; what the motive that induced him to prolong his visits? That he was established¹ here, after his admission as a burgess, and after he was enrolled a member of the Merchants' Hall, is authenticated from the fact of his possessing a share in the sugar manufactory, in St. Peter's Churchyard. And yet till now, that we find him present in this very house, and read of his attendance at the meetings of the Corporation of the Poor, we have no clue to his visits to our City. But though these be unrecorded, the natural promptings of filial love, must have called him often here. An affection, blended with the

¹ 1691, he took for an apprentice, Lewis Andrew, son of Charles Andrews, tailor, in the County of Monmouth, who in right thereof was admitted to his freedom in 1701.

associations of his early years,—an affection the first and best,—the dearest and tenderest, now detained him by the couch of his aged parent,—blessing by his watchful solicitude, the wasting hours of her protracted life. There were hallowed memories of the loved, and lost, that accompanied him in his solemn duty. Fathers, sisters, brothers, had bade adieu to time,—and left him almost alone, of all the objects of affection that had surrounded the household hearth. Her sand of life has run! The 22nd December, “in the nightfall of her years, she lay down in her last sleep.”

The ancestral sepulchre of the Colstons is in All Saints' Church,—where, for many successive generations, their mortal remains have been consigned. And now the dreary portals are once more opened to receive another tenant,—and by the side of her husband was Mrs. Colston lain.¹ Husband, children, had all preceded her to that dark receptacle,—and he that now stood chief mourner in the impressive scene—had to set his house in order,—and to do “his long day's work.” Not till then would the silence of that tomb be broken. Not till then would the stone which closed over its forbidding entrance be removed.—Not till then, when he had performed his Christian pilgrimage, and fulfilled his mission, would the sepulchre be unsealed; and the earthly remains of the pious mourner, midst the tributary tears of the gathered City, be surrendered to their rest.

It is related that Colston attended a funeral sermon preached on the occasion of his mother's decease, by the Rev. George Keith, in Temple Church; to which parish herself and family had been benefactors.² While there, it is probable, the dilapidated state of the roof did not escape his observation, from his subsequently offering to assist the parish with £100, in “ceiling and beautifying” the church. This was done effectually by adding to his donation £300, out of the parish stock, to which he further contributed £60, for a portal and altar piece.³

¹ In the Churchwardens' accounts is a receipt “for breaking the ground for Madam Colston, 6s. 8d.”

² She bequeathed £50, to Temple parish, the interest of which she directed should be given to six poor housekeepers not receiving alms. The above sum of £50, was paid to the parish the 12th February, 1704, by Mr. Ezekiel Longman.—The interest is annually distributed.—*MANCHESTER'S Charities.*

³ The Minister, Churchwardens, [Thomas Sperring and Thomas Hollister] and Overseers petitioned the Corporation for assistance in the reparation, and the sum of £30, was voted them; they stated in their petition that Colston had given £100. “The four pictures at the altar, Moses and Aaron,

There are several monuments in All Saints' Church, which we cannot regard without interest from their belonging to the family of Colston; but our attention is now more especially directed to the one, dedicated by himself to the memory of his parents,—which on the decease of his mother, he caused to be erected, with this inscription:—

“*To the Dear Memory*
OF HIS FATHER, WILLIAM COLSTON, AND OF HIS MOTHER, SARAH COLSTON,
INTERRED NEAR THIS PLACE,
IN THE SEPULCHRE OF HIS ANCESTORS;
ALSO,
THEIR FOUR SONS, WILLIAM, THOMAS, ROBERT, AND WILLIAM.
FURTHER,
THEIR TWO DAUGHTERS, MARTHA, AND MARTHA,
WHO WERE ALL NATIVES, AND INHABITANTS OF THIS CITY.
WILLIAM, HIS FATHER, DIED THE 21st NOV., 1681, AGED 73; AND SARAH, HIS MOTHER, 22nd DEC., 1701,
AGED 93 YEARS.
EDWARD COLSTON, THEIR ELDEST SON,
BORN LIKEWISE IN THIS CITY, BUT AN INHABITANT OF LONDON,
HATH DEDICATED THIS MONUMENT.”

There is, on a “Benefaction Table,” in a dark corner of Whitechapel Church, London, a beautiful evidence of one who did good, not to find it famed, but for the glory of the Great Bestower.

“1701. A Worthy Benefactor, unknown, gave £1000, towards the further maintenance of the Poor Children, educated at the School House at Whitechapel, Town End,—erected and built at the proper cost and charge of Mr. Ralph Davenant, late Rector of this Parish; which £1000, purchased £55, per year, at East Tilbury, in the County of Essex, being managed and completed by Mr. Richard Welton, Rector.”

This unknown benefactor, was Edward Colston. He called the poor his brethren, and divided amongst them his inheritance; the £1000, bequeathed him by his father at the decease of his mother. Of the large sums he gave

Peter and Paul, were painted by Edward Boucher, a native of Bristol, and *educated at Colston's School*, being injured, they were restored by Mr. John Milton, a native of this City, and *a descendant of the poet of that name*. The vestry allowed him for his labours, £12 : 12.” The screen in the south aisle, separating it from the vestry, was erected by Colston's grandfather, Mr. Batten, who was Churchwarden; it is dated 1620, and has this inscription:—“Anno. Remember thy Creator in the Days of thy Youth. 1620.”

annually to the poor of all sorts, as from an unknown hand, the certain knowledge is for ever buried with those who received them. Expunged from the tablets of Time, they have their permanent record in Eternity—this is one, out of the few instances that have escaped oblivion. It is pleasing to read, and still more to trace the source from whence the gift was derived. His biographers have made one or two other examples of his princely generosity familiar. Such as his sending £1000, to relieve the poor at Whitechapel; and at one time by a private hand £3000, to relieve, and free, poor debtors in Ludgate. His yearly releasing those who were confined for small debts in Whitechapel prison, and the Marshalsea—and above all his transmitting by a private hand, during a time of scarcity [1708-9] to the London Committee, the munificent sum of £20,000.¹

From the death of his mother, until the August following, Colston's name does not occur in our records—neither do we find that he attended the Easter meeting of the Vestry at Mortlake. The interval was probably passed in this City; partly, in transacting the necessary business consequent upon his withdrawing from commercial pursuits; partly, in administering to the estate of his departed parent. In all matters requiring legal advice, Colston had the assistance of Mr. Thomas Edwards, an esteemed and valued friend; now, by the recent marriage of his son with Colston's niece, become a member of the family. It will be remembered our first introduction of Mr. Edwards, was in 1686, on the occasion of Colston's proceedings against the Corporation, for the recovery of his loan. Mr. Edwards was a solicitor,—his Chambers, in Broad Street. His residence was at Redland,—in a historical old house² still standing, lately occupied by Oliver Coathupe, Esq. To this dwelling we add an amount of interest to the tale of its years, when we associate its memories and occupy its chambers, with the shadow,—vague, indistinct, and vapourous, as it may be, of the venerated form of the benevolent Colston. Mr. Edwards was a staunch supporter of the Church of England,—and this in itself was a

¹ Dr. Harcourt's Funeral Sermon. Barrett. Chalmers. Phelps' Hist. of Somersetshire.

² During the national contention of Charles I., it was the residence of Captain Hill. While partaking of whose hospitality, Colonel Essex was taken prisoner by Fiennes. Subsequently Prince Rupert awaited here the night, for the sound of the bells of St. John and St. Michael's Churches, that were to announce the rising of the King's friends, headed by the unfortunate Yeamans and Boucher.

bond of union between himself and Colston. Besides, his character stood high for integrity, and honesty of purpose ; he was humane and charitable, and entered with spirit into the plans of the Philanthropist. Upon this basis was founded a lasting friendship. He became the agent for the distribution of Colston's bounties,—and Colston became his visitor and guest, on all occasions that required his presence in this City.

Looking over the reports of the meetings of the Corporation of the poor, we learn that Colston attended the Court the 13th of August, 1702. Sept. 24th, the report states that—

“The Governor having given an account to Edward Colston of London, Esq., of the disposing of the one hundred pounds, according to his direction, Mr. Thomas Edwards, doe report that the said Edward Colston, Esq., hath paid into his hands one hundred pounds more, as his gift to the poor of this City, under the care of this Corporation. Ordered that he have the thanks of this Court for the same, and that the one hundred, in the Table of Benefactions, be made two hundred pounds.—Peter Saunders, Deputy Chairman.”

“The Governor also reported that the said Thomas Edwards, had increased his gift from £50, to £100. The thanks of the Court *was* voted to him, and that his name be placed on the Table of Benefactors, and that he be elected an honorary guardian.”

Colston had returned to Mortlake. We find him present there at a meeting of the Vestry, held the 26th and 27th of September, this year. In his subsequent visits to Bristol, he does not appear to have again attended the Court,—nor does his name occur in the reports,—otherwise, than in reference to the disposal of a portion of his gift; the manner whereof it comes not within our purpose to transcribe.

But a few years, had Colston been known as the Philanthropist ; but a few years, had his character been made manifest in his offered support of six sailors, in the Merchants' Almshouse ; but more especially, in the peaceful dwellings that rose at his command on St. Michael's Hill. Here, while the laws of humanity endure, and the solemn testaments of the dead are sacred,—these walls will ever echo his name, and proclaim his work ; and the daily voice of the chapel-bell, ever summon the thoughts from the creature to the Creator,—for whose honour he laboured,—to whom he gave the glory,—and to whom he willed the praise. Although Colston was directed by a higher and purer hope than the world's applause, yet it is gladdening to know that even while living, his worth was felt and acknowledged, and reverence and homage

paid to his virtues. This is exhibited in the numerous sermons and tracts which at this period, and for years after, were dedicated to him;—in these respect and veneration for his character is the predominant sentiment.¹ Indeed, so great was the desire to introduce his name, that it was sometimes strangely associated, and the compliment at the best ambiguous. We may take as an instance, that of the Rev. Charles Brett, Rector of Christ Church,—who published, in 1701, a sermon “concerning the nature and guilt of *lying*,” which he gravely dedicates to Colston.

We have seen that Colston was in Bristol, the 13th August, 1702, when he attended a meeting of the Corporation of the Poor; and received the thanks of the Court for a second donation. He had given two £100, and his name was to be enrolled on the Table of Benefactions. Simultaneously with these donations, he gave £500, towards rebuilding of the school-house of Queen Elizabeth’s Hospital, for the accommodation of one hundred and twenty boys. Colston had an interview with the civic authorities, who were the trustees of this charity. What he purposed for their consideration, and how his advances were received, will be best related in the words of the Minutes of the Common Council, 8th August. “Mr. Edward Colston, being a very great benefactor to this City, by several charities and bounties; and this day, having made proposal of adding a farther number of boys, to those already settled in the Hospital of Queen Elizabeth, of Bristol; it is ordered that Sir Thos. Day, Aldermen Jackson, Yate, Lane, and Wallis, attend him, with the thanks of the House.” His proposal was probably to add another four boys,² so as to increase the number to forty-four; and also to rebuild the school house, to make it capable of containing one hundred and twenty boys. We are led to suppose this, from reading the heading of the subscription list.

¹ In a Treatise published in 1720, entitled “Charity, the only Certain Infallible Note of a True Church, &c. &c., by Robert Griffiths, Rector of Woolaston, in Gloucestershire,” dedicated to “The honoured Edward Colston, Esq.,” the Rev. gentleman says, “The *end* thereof, of this dedication is, to propose you to the world as the most perfect pattern of Charity, that these later ages of the Church have produced.”

² Colston had, from 1702-1703, allowed the charity to receive the annual rent of £51, payable by John Porter, for premises at Wick Saint Lawrence, for the maintenance of four boys,—making in the whole forty-four in the Hospital; but he had never conveyed these premises to the governors. The 24th June, 1710, having himself established an independent foundation, the following July the boys were reduced to forty.

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do promise to pay towards the pulling down the Hospital, and rebuilding it convenient for the accommodation of one hundred and twenty poor boys, the several sums following our respective names. Witness our hands, this 26th day of August, 1702." "I, Edward Colston promise to give £500, for this purpose," &c.¹

Steadfast, and ardent, must have been Colston's attachment to the City of his birth. It was associated with the season of his youth,—with early memories,—lost relatives and friends,—with reverence for the dead,—with affection for the living. All that could quicken his sympathy, and fasten his regard to one locality, was here. His race was identified with the City. Many generations of his ancestors mouldered in the sepulchre where his parents had been lain; and in whose silent chamber he willed his own repose. But above all, there still remained a sister, and her family, to welcome his coming with tenderness and love. No wonder that the heart of his domestic life was here,—and that he often departed from his lonely house, at Mortlake, to grasp the hand of friendship, and receive the embrace of sisterly affection. No wonder that, from the ties of kindred, and of home, Bristol should be especially distinguished by the bestowal of his charity.

Society at this period was not remarkable for its intelligence. It was still begirt with ancient prejudices. Education had made but little advance amongst the many,—and by the many was unappreciated,—by some, perhaps, despised. Men of substance, accredited men, boasting in the multitude of their riches; whose autographs were crosses, or unsightly blotches,²—would not regard with a favourable eye, any endeavour to afford that instruction to others, the benefit of which they themselves had had no experience. Such men would have confused ideas as to the utility of a printing press.³ Such

¹ The subscription list received additional names up to the month of March, 1704-5, when it amounted to £2155, of which twenty members of the Corporation contributed £1400,—£150, of which was never paid. The rebuilding commenced in the early part of 1703. Another house had been taken for the temporary occupation of the boys, till March, 1704-5, when they were removed to the Mint, where they remained till their return to the new Hospital, in College Green, Sept., 1706. The entire cost of the building of the "Free Grammar School" was £2471 : 14, of which £2005, was raised by subscription, and the remaining £466 : 14 : 0 was paid out of the Hospital funds.

² "August, 1702. Several members of the Common Council are deprived of their places, for not subscribing their names or *marks* to the record,—nor taking the prescribed oath, as directed in the act of Parliament, in the 13th of William III."

³ 1695. William Bonny petitioned the House for liberty to have a printing-house in this City. After a long debate, and consideration of the petition, it was the opinion of the House that, "the setting up of a printing-house within this City, *might be useful in several respects.*"

men would have no idea at all as to the utility of schools; and would shrink with ancestral antipathy, from encouraging any proposal for educating the rising generation. It was owing to the ignorance of such men, that this City nearly lost the establishment of the school, by which Colston's name is so widely known; and his fame extended beyond the limits of his birth-place, and the scene of his munificence. Yes! the simple condition on which Colston offered his princely gift, was eagerly seized upon by the men, who could not write, as an excuse for not acceding to his terms. Enriched by the accidents of fortune, they could see no utility in a school; some, perhaps, had never been to one, therefore they turned aside the helping hand, therefore they rejected the noble offer,—and self-satisfied, complacently considered they had benefited the City.

When the rebuilding of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital was commenced, Colston, who had not only contributed largely, but had increased the endowment also, further proposed to give an additional sum; so that one hundred boys, instead of the forty-four there maintained, and taught, might be admitted,—requiring only, that the City should erect a suitable fabric for their accommodation. This great advantage, to be purchased at so comparatively small an outlay, was ungratefully declined. The poverty of the Chamber was brought forward as the ostensible reason; the *real*, that of the inability of the members to appreciate the advantages to society, from the dissemination of religious and moral instruction. Or, perhaps, the citizens, knowing how Colston's heart was fixed upon the establishment of the school,—considered their indifference to accede to his proposal, might induce him to offer the building also. If so, they were deceived. The result proves how little they understood the character of the man, the execution of whose noble and benevolent design they retarded, and nearly directed to another quarter,—to which he alludes in his calm and dignified reproof. The coldness and indifference with which his magnificent offer had been rejected,—delayed, but did not prevent its fulfilment. Striving to do his duty to his Master, as a steward accounting to his Lord, he did not relinquish his lofty purpose. Affection towards mankind, and love towards God, impelled him to complete his appointed task; that the tender years of the young might be trained to a knowledge of all good, and to walk in the paths of holiness and truth. Strong in his benign intent, he determined, without assistance, to proceed with the establishment of his school. That he did not act immediately, is in accordance with his usual

caution and deliberation. It was not till three years after his proposal to the Corporation, that he repeated his munificent offer. This time it was made to the Society of Merchants.

“Gentlemen,—

“Mortlake, March, 1705-6.

“Altho’ my intention of making provision for 50 poor boys have been *hardly censured* by some of the inhabitants of your City, nay, *even by some of the Magistrates*, if I have not been wrong informed; yet, the sense of that hath not extinguished those thoughts, but I still retain them; and I make no doubt but they will meet with far different returns from the Magistrates of the city of London, would I make the offer for the benefit of Christ’s Hospital there, than they have from your’s. But altho’ I have had my education, and spent good part of my days there,—*yet since I drew my first breath in your City, I rather incline that the poor children born there should partake thereof*; therefore, if your society will please to undertake the trust, (and are not of the opinion that gifts of that nature are only *a nursery for beggars and sloths, and rather a burthen than a benefit, to the place* where they are bestowed) upon the conditions mentioned on the other side, which is a paragraph taken out of my late will; then it’s my desire that you would take it into consideration, whether the place may be proper and convenient; as also if there be a likelihood of finding of stone upon the premises,—if not, if it may now be had from the field, that was formerly Mr. Seward’s, that lieth on the other side of the road, and from which I was furnished for the building of my Almshouse. When you shall favor me with your sentiments therein, then we will enter more into the further thoughts of the time of beginning the structure, and of the endowments it ought to have. My present ones, are ten pounds per annum for each boy; which, since I found, was as much as was expended at Queen Elizabeth’s Hospital, by the particulars given me out of their books, for ten years following; and I suppose, may be more than will now cost them at the Mint,—to which, if £100, per annum were added for the master, &c., and for placing them out apprentices at £5, each, which will not be done but once in seven years, and therefore will not come to above £36, per annum; the whole provision by these propositions, will come to £600, per annum for fifty boys, which is the least number I think of; and the upper part of the field, belonging to my almshouse, fronting to the road, for the building the house if there be room enough for that purpose; there will be no need of orchard nor garden; neither will they there want for air; provided a court be assigned them to play in, which is what occurs to my thoughts at present. I shall attend yours thereabouts if, Sirs, you will oblige your humble servant,

“EDWARD COLSTON.”

Almost the only instance in which Colston gives us any information concerning himself, occurs in this letter,—wherein he says, “he had his education,

and spent a good part of his days in London." This fact will account for the silence of our records, and why our research was so unproductive. With the charity and meekness of a true Christian,—calmly and dispassionately, he expresses his sentiments on the rejection of his proffered gift, which had been stigmatized [he is evidently quoting what he had heard] as "*only creating a nursery for beggars, and sloths, and as rather a burthen than a benefit, to the place*"¹—and rising above the prejudices of the age—above the weaknesses of humanity, as one who had placed his hopes beyond mortality,—he allowed no thought of self, to interfere with his service to his Maker; but with a just perception of the benefit he intended to confer, he perseveres in his efforts to accomplish his beneficent purpose. Colston's solid understanding is also more plainly developed in this letter, than in any previously given. His ardent attachment to his native City, and his desire to do it good service, is strikingly manifest. The merchants appreciate Colston's intention, and the confidence he places in their honourable body, and they write him the following reply; judiciously avoiding any comment on the discouragement, with which his offer had elsewhere been received.

"Sir,

"Merchants' Hall, Bristol, 30th March, 1706.

"We received yours of the 21st instant,—and yesterday, being as soon after as with conveniency it could be, a Hall was called, and your letter being then read; it was voted and ordered *nemine contradicente*, that the thanks of this Hall should be returned to you for your kind offer in your letter, and the Hall agreed to accept of

¹ His provocations are made the subject of comment by Dr. Harcourt in his funeral sermon. He furnishes the only contemporaneous account we possess of Colston's character. As a Christian divine, performing his sacred functions, on so solemn an occasion in God's holy temple, his words would have the immortality of Truth. He says, "that Colston was not exempt from the reproaches of evil tongues, from the difficulties wherewith designing and wicked men are apt to delay and frustrate generous and noble purposes." He complains that those from whom it is expected, both by God and man, that they should assist to support the *Charity Schools*, have of a sudden withdrawn their subscriptions, which had been continued for a course of years. Colston proposed, for their promotion,—that he would largely contribute to every one, provided that a sum should be raised to make every or any of the schools perpetual. But the offer was in no way responded to. The Rev. Doctor, draws a shade over other provocations, as "reproaches too low for the notice of the place, and improper for the time;—reproaches which made no other impression on Colston's soul than to grieve that men should so much delight in evil;—reproaches that have always wanted truth, and have consequently been of short continuance;—reproaches that have descended to such meanness, as to be the impious attempts of the lowest sense, as well as malice."

"the trust offered to be reposed in them,—and we were appointed a Committee to return the thanks of the Hall accordingly ; and further, to correspond with you thereabouts.

"We do, therefore, in pursuance of such order, return you the hearty thanks of this Hall, for your good and charitable proposals ; and as to the place you mentioned for building the House, some of our members have viewed it, and do find it very convenient, and large enough for the purposes. We are informed that there is not stone on your own ground,—but Mr. Holmes, who owns that ground which was Mr. Seward's, having been spoken to, hath offered that we shall have stone there, at the same rate, as we paid for your almshouse. As to the £10, per annum, you propose for the maintenance of the boys, we are of opinion that that sum will be very sufficient ; but as to the £5, for binding them out apprentices, we doubt that a boy in this time cannot be placed out to any good master for that sum ; at present we shall not give you any further trouble, but shall attend your further directions, and with all give our utmost assistance to put forward so good a design, who are, sir, your most humble servants,

" WILLIAM CLARKE, Master,	" JAMES HOLLIDGE,
" JOHN DUDDLESTONE,	" THOMAS HORT,
" ABRAHAM ELTON,	" ABRAHAM BIRKEN."

There are few now so blinded by prejudice, as to be unable to perceive or comprehend, that consideration for the moral and religious culture of the young,—combining all needful and useful instruction, must tend to exalt a nation, and to increase the happiness of a people. On this generally acknowledged truism, and on the extensive and re-productive benefit resulting from the establishment of this school, it is unnecessary to enlarge. We shall therefore enter at once upon the preliminaries consequent upon so vast an undertaking. It is difficult to make these particulars interesting. It is difficult to reconcile our minds to discard them. They inform us how a convenient house was selected,—the particulars of its purchase,—its preparation for the reception of the boys,—and of transactions indispensable, for the due and secure investment of the property for its enduring maintenance. In this there may be little to tempt the eye, or to invite general perusal. Some, may fondly love to linger over the traces of our great Philanthropist, and may find a quiet pleasure in reading how he has marked his place in our Calendars, and left so bright a track. Some, concerned to benefit mankind, may feel pleasure in learning how this noble project was begun and ended ; and become encouraged, and more hopeful, as their thoughts travel to that great

meeting at the Merchants' Hall, when was deliberated Colston's grand proposal. On the decision of that meeting, the earthly,—the eternal weal of thousands then unborn, would probably depend. Uninfluenced by the narrow perceptions of the age, the Merchants accept the offer. And be it remembered to their enduring fame,—their decision, contributed to the advancement of society, by opening wide the gates of knowledge to the young and ignorant. By their decision, the tender years of youth are guarded, improved, and provided for, and their minds formed to early habits of usefulness and holiness. By their decision, was secured these blessings for the wants of future generations,—even to the most remote posterity.

The members of the Merchants' Hall, fully awakened to the importance of the trust about to be committed to them, and instigated by a due sense of their responsibility, zealously exerted themselves to the utmost of their judgment, to bring into speedy operation, the project of their exalted citizen. Colston was desirous of investing his money, intended for the support of his school, in land. Accordingly, March 17th, surveys of several estates were brought to the Master of the Hall; when, the standing Committee were ordered to survey the same; ascertain their value, and report on the most advantageous purchase. October 8th, two letters from Colston were read, relating to the maintenance and education of fifty boys, for which he offers £627, per annum. The members agree with him that it would be sufficient, but desire a little more for contingencies; and *resolve* that if he would settle £640, per annum, "they would with all gratitude and thankfulness undertake the same, and enter into such covenants as shall be advised for the due performance thereof."

In the mean time, the Committee had been engaged in ascertaining the most available situation for the erection of the school. November 1st, it was consulted, as to which would be the most favourable? "Mrs. Lane's house on St. Augustine's Back, Colston's ground, on St. Michael's Hill, or the house and garden, late Manning, in Temple Street?" The Hall decided upon Mrs. Lane's house, if it could be purchased; and appointed a committee to view the same. November 6th, they reported, that the house was found substantial, and with some alterations, would be well adapted for the purpose. That exclusive of the materials of the sugar trade, still-house, and the hangings of the dwelling-house,—they did not consider £1500, the sum demanded, was unreasonable, which they were desired to communicate to Colston; who, the

following August, 1707, purchased the house, for £1300, and its conversion and adaptation for the purposes of the school, were immediately proceeded with.

This stately mansion, designated as the "Great House on St. Augustine's Back," has frequently been noticed in the preceding pages, in connexion with our local records. Afar-off days, an extensive Friary stood on its site,—but so entirely is the natural mutability of all mortal works, here displayed,—so entirely has the moth of Time consumed, day and night, with no Sabbath for its rest,—that, of this sacred fane there "remaineth not one stone upon another," the verity of its history to attest. The lofty tower, and the lowly crypt, have each alike disappeared. The tower has crumbled to the dust, and been scattered with the ashes of the crypt. The monuments have ceased to record,—and of the labours of pious artificers in the dark old time,—there is left us but the parchment story. And now, where the good friar with book and bell,—with prayers and tears, filled up the measure of his days,—a noble mansion rises to the view; and the peaceful vision of the cloistered cell fades before the warlike Barons' hall,—before Sovereigns and Princes,—before the pride and pomp of earth,—that inflate with rank and state the dignity of history. In one continuous round the ghosts of its departed years before us pass. Births, marriages, and deaths,—rejoicings, sorrowings,—the banquet and the dance,—the feast and the revel,—darkened chambers,—the mourner's sob,—the funereal wail. Incidents, common to all abodes where the voice of humanity has been heard, make up its narrative from generation to generation. Anon the sleeping echoes of the old house are awakened, by strange noises hurtling on the quiet of domestic life. There is wild confusion, and hot haste,—the hurried tramp of many feet,—the clank and clash of arms,—the cannons' roar,—the cries of the wounded,—the groans of the dying. Then in peaceful sequence glide its years,—until the hour that we have seen it purchased for a noble purpose; an hour from which it has been regarded with an importance and attention, to which its proudest historic fortune can furnish us no parallel. And now, for the confused pictures of the past,—the shifting, shadowy, changing scenes visioned before the mental eye,—we have the certain truthful present; full of hope, and full of comfort,—heard and felt in the cheerful voices and merry laughter of young hearts, happy, joyous, light,—that glad the chambers of the old house, and make its walls all sunshine, and all its echoes life!

Prior to the Reformation, there were numerous religious houses founded in this City,—of which, some scattered and mutilated relics, preserved 'midst the

buildings of to-day, attract our attention as a black letter, or olden character, arrests the eye when mingled with modern typography. They recal a period of ecclesiastical supremacy, and are associated with hooded friars, perambulating our streets,—the parade of gorgeous processions,—and with all the garniture of a wealthy and sumptuous priesthood. We connect them with the matin and the vesper,—with prayer and praise,—with superstition and debasement,—with much that charms and haunts the poetic fancy,—with much that enslaves and trammels the enraptured spirit! Then, at every turn, hallowed institutions met the eye;—some massy, grave, and sober;—some, profuse in decoration, with all the beauty of form, and elaborateness of detail, belonging to the most vaunted period of a proud architectural era. Of these, Leland says—“The Priory of the Carmelites was the fairest of all the houses of the frieries in Bristol, and stood on the right ripe of Froom, over against the Key.” That he indicates the site subsequently occupied by the “Great House,” was conjectured from the discovery here of several ancient arches; and is confirmed by irrefragable proof from old deeds in the custody of the Merchants’ Hall.

William Wyrcestre gives us the dimensions of the priory, which he took with his usual exactitude, in the year 1480. These, our readers will thank us for omitting. To convey an idea of its extent, it is sufficient to state that it occupied all the ground from the Red Lodge, down the hill to St. Augustine’s Back; and was bounded by Pipe Lane on the west, and Steep Street on the east. In addition to the house and lodgings of the friars, their church was most spacious and elegant, with numerous chapels, containing the ashes of many noble and wealthy families. Amongst its Priors, and belonging to the House, rank several professors and Doctors of Divinity; men whose piety and learning have obtained for them a more than local reputation.¹ To return to the “Great House,”—which strangers, ignorant of the high object to which it is applied, cannot pass without a notice. Its architectural appearance recalls vanished generations,—and no eye regardful of the past, can behold it without a desire to know the history of so noble and commanding a mansion, thus inclosed within a great City; conveying at once an impression of wealth,

¹ “John Milverton, the author of many excellent works, was a Prior here. He was committed prisoner for three years to the Castle of St. Angelo, at Rome, for opposing the Bishops. This arose from the quarrel of the Regulars and Seculars, on which point investigation would be interesting.”
—BARRETT.

comfort, and security. Not to interrupt our narrative, we have thrown together our gleanings in a note.¹

Though prudent and careful in his expenditure, Colston never withheld what was necessary. He desired to be guided by the knowledge and experience of others, in the carrying out and maturing his benevolent intentions. In answer to his enquiries as to the amount requisite for giving full development to the projected School,—he is informed by the Hall, that it would require an estate of not less than £850, per annum, to maintain, educate, and apprentice, fifty boys; and that they supposed such an estate would cost £18,000.²

¹ The site of this house was granted 6th May, the 33rd of Henry VIII., by the name and title of "all that house, or site of the late dissolved house of Friars Carmelites, commonly called the White Friars, within the said town of Bristol; and the messuage and house called the Hoopers' Hall, within the said site, &c. &c." It was purchased at the Dissolution, together with the Gaunts', by the Corporation, who afterwards, in the 10th of Elizabeth, sold the site of the Friary to Thomas Chester, Esq. "The lodge, gardens, orchards, &c., on Stony Hill, belonging to it, were sold to Thomas Rowland, Merchant,—who, for the sum of £26 : 13 : 1, conveyed it in fee the 7th of April, the 20th of Elizabeth, to Sir John Young, whose son and heir, Robt. Young, of Hazelborough, in the county of Wilts, built the house." After the demise of Sir John, the house was sold by Dame Joan, his widow, to Nicholas Strangeways, Esq., of Bradley, in the county of Gloucester. Queen Elizabeth, on coming to Bristol, held her Court and Council here; and it was the usual residence of the nobility when visiting the City. We will not tire the reader by naming the various parties into whose possession the property successively passed. In 1642, it was inhabited by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. From Lady Gorges, who held possession of the mansion, on the decease of her husband, it passed to John Knight, a sugar-baker. He resided there in 1671, and had done so for some time previously. The house was subject to a fee-farm rent of 13s. 4d., which he purchased of the Corporation, 1671, by payment of £12. It next became the property of Rich. Lane, Merchant and Sugar-broker, whose widow, as before stated, sold it to Colston in 1707.

² "The 10th June, the Hall agreed to purchase as part of the endowment, an estate of Edward Browyer, Esq., at Beare, in the County of Somerset, for the sum of £9000, and 150 guineas. And the 19th, as another portion of the endowment, accepted Colston's proposed settlement of his manor of Locking, in the same County; valued by Mr. Stephen Stringer, at £5000. In a letter from Colston, of the 5th July, he states that he considers it would be more convenient to make all purchases in his own name, and then convey them to the Hall in one deed, with which the Hall concurred." A survey and estimate of the estate of the late Sir Thomas Eastcourt, at Norton, in the County of Wilts, was also made by Mr. Stringer, and sent to Colston as another investment for the remainder of his endowment. December 12th, the same year, [1707,] Sir John Knight, Sir John Duddlestone, Mr. George Mason, and Mr. Wm. Clark, were requested to wait on Colston, at London, or Mortlake, in order to confer with him concerning the school. They returned with proposals from him in his own hand, relating to the estate agreed to be purchased of Mr. Browyer, and to the Manor of Locking—which proposals were accepted by the Hall.

While these negotiations are pending, a letter is received from Colston, dated April 2nd, wherein he proposes to provide for an additional fifty boys; and desires that a clause should be inserted in the settlement; obliging the Hall to maintain them upon the terms mentioned; provided a proportionable value of lands should be endowed. To this the Hall agreed conditionally, that they approved of the maintenance.¹ It is apparent throughout all Colston's transactions, that he was a strict disciplinarian,—a skilful organizer of business arrangements; and not to be imposed upon in any thing. Though voluntarily granting away large sums, he was especially careful over small ones; and did not forget any quarter that could be made productive, however trifling the amount. We may suppose the same principle to have influenced and governed his commercial pursuits; hence originated his vast wealth; for which, probably, he was not indebted to any caprices of fortune. In the letter that he makes the munificent proposal for supporting another fifty boys—he inquires concerning the cellars under the “great house,” and desires to know for what they will let. In reply, he is informed that they will not yield above £20, per annum.

The draft of Colston's settlement for the maintenance of one hundred boys, legalized by Council,—was approved by the Hall,—who October 14th, consented to accept the trust; and appointed a Committee² to inspect the progress of the work at the “Great House,” that it might be “properly executed according to the directions and scheme (Colston) had laid out.” They were also “to let the cellars and warehouses belonging thereto, at most rent, &c.” At this period, the names of forty members of the Hall, were sent to Colston, for his selection of feoffees for his intended settlement.³

¹ The Hall accepted of the lands at Congresbury, lately purchased of Mr. Appleby, and intended to be settled by Colston, at the yearly value of £51. About this time, he sent his scheme to the Merchants, who referred the same to Council's opinion, by whom it was amended. The Committee directed the Master and others to attend upon Colston with it. The expenses of Mr. Mason, Mr. Clark, and Sir John Duddlestone, the members who waited upon Colston with the scheme, to and from London, were £55 : 8 : 9, which was directed to be paid.

² Sir John Duddlestone, Mr. Wm. Clark, Mr. Henry Swymmer, Mr. Wm. Hart., Mr. Alderman Birken, Mr. John Norman.

³ The Nominees appointed by Colston himself were :—Francis Colston, Rev. Charles Brent, Rev. Hugh Waterman, Sir John Smyth, Bart., Edward Southwell, Esq., Richard Haynes, Thomas Hungerford, George Attwood, James Pym, Joseph Edwards, Thomas Oldfield, John Henely. In the

Although we have no certain data, from which we may accurately determine the precise periods when Colston visited this City,—yet we may naturally conclude he would not allow a work of such magnitude to pass in its progress wholly uninspected by himself. That he encouraged the labours by his presence, is evident from the following familiar but authentic anecdote:—“During the alterations at the Hospital, one of the labourers in ascending a ladder was observed by Mr. Colston to be without a hat. Mr. Colston went to a shop in the vicinity to purchase one,—his dress and appearance were such as to draw from the woman serving, not very courteous behaviour; but during the negotiation, Colston was discovered by the master; who was sitting in an adjoining room at dinner, who immediately came forward and expressed his thanks in having been honoured with his (Colston's) presence. Mr. Colston, having purchased the hat, withdrew with it, and was observed to present it to the labourer.”

Every record and letter, indicates Colston's anxiety to hasten the completion of the necessary alterations of the building, prior to the admission of his boys. The undertaking resolved on, he allowed no impediment to retard its progress, while it was yet day. He exhibited, what is rarely united in the same person, humility and riches. He inspected and assisted the labourers; and, regardless of every thing but the object of his solicitude,—covered with dust and lime, he receives the uncourteous treatment, that too often befall the wearers of soiled or homely apparel, though just be the heart that beats beneath.

Another little incident,¹ touching upon Colston's fixedness of purpose, is to be preserved with jealous care, as a pendant to the above. One day, a man was called from his work to turn a grindstone, that a Carpenter might sharpen his tools. Whilst thus engaged, Colston, not seeing the man at his usual work, sought for him. Coming to the place where he was, he sent him to his task, saying, “he wanted the school finished, that he might get his boys in;”

conveyance (dated November, 1708,) of the property, for the support of the 100 boys, Colston stipulated that he should be allowed the nomination of the boys, during his life, and after his decease, one half of them should be nominated by the Society of Merchants, the other half by his Executors, and after their demise, by his Nominees. On the death of a Nominee, the survivors were, within three months, to elect some other to fill the vacancy.

¹ Communicated to the late Mr. Rowland's father, Distiller on the Quay, by a Carpenter, who assisted in fitting up the school for Colston.

and taking the handle of the grindstone, continued turning it as long as was necessary.

At length the "Great House" is prepared for the reception of its juvenile inhabitants. Every means that the ablest counsel could suggest, to bind generation after generation, in fulfilling the sacred trust of the benevolent founder, has been called into service; and every deed and settlement is signed and ratified. Colston had consigned to others a solemn obligation, on the due fulfilment of which, thousands of young hearts would have their guidance heavenwards.¹ It was not enough that he had established the School,—it was not enough that he had provided a home, where youth would be rescued from the temptations incident to want, ignorance, and idleness. A man may have done this without the seal of Charity sanctifying the act. But Colston, guided by a Divine Spirit, extending his regards to posterity,—ceased not to expend his energies, after he had parted with his wealth; that his plan might be perfected, and continue to add to the number of God's kingdom till time should be no more. His philanthropy is visible in the exercise of his judgment in distributing the bounty of Providence; and his light shines forth even from the business records, that relate his prudent management, his economy, and care. Thus we find that, September 13th, with his usual judicious considerations, he directed the Master to inform the Hall, that he had allowed the expenses incurred in repairing the houses and lands to be settled; but that he expected in future, no money should be charged for common repairs, than that is mentioned in a schedule affixed to the deed of settlement,—to which the Hall agreed; and that an abridgment of the settlement should be made, to be read over once a year in the Common Hall, at a meeting of the Society.² The thanks of the Hall were also voted him for his great charity to the City, and for the trust reposed in the Hall.

The year 1710, beheld Colston still intent on the furtherance of his great deed. But few years remained to him, in which he could hope to see the maturity of his benevolent purpose; and he acted as one for whom "Time was

¹ "That the Master be one that will make it his chief business to instruct the Children in the Principles of the Christian Religion, as they are laid down in the Church Catechism, and who shall explain to the meanest capacity by some good exposition, to be composed by some of the Ministers of your City, to be done twice a week."—*Orders for the Governing of the Hospital.*

² The Merchants sent Colston annually an account of the expenses of the school.

waiting in the antechamber, to throw open the portals of Eternity." April 20th, he wrote to the Hall, expressing his intention to furnish the boys intended for the Hospital, "each with a suit of clothes, cap, band, shirt, stockings, shoes, buckles, spoon, and porringer,—one of each. Also brewing utensils, barrels, bedding, sheets, towels, table cloths; notwithstanding the Hall was bound to provide the same." The clothes, &c., cost £122:10; for which the thanks of the Hall were voted him July 7th,—“more especially his due, as the charge did not properly belong to him, but to the Hall.”

In matters of business we find Colston scrupulous and exacting,—for his money insisting on his money's worth. In matters of charity, there is no limit to the bestowment of his wealth, but his prudence; and the necessary obligation he never overlooked, of providing for those who by the ties of kindred were near and dear to him. He never gave lavishly, carelessly, or indifferently; and never, on any occasion that have come before us, without mature consideration; that his gift might be directed aright, and its benefit be permanent.

In July, 1710, the School was established by the admission of the boys. The auspicious day was observed as one of thanksgiving and rejoicing, and a special service was performed at the Cathedral. Its sacred walls had beheld Sovereigns and Princes, all the boast and pomp of earth parade its aisles with gorgeous state. But never had they witnessed a scene more ennobling to humanity,—more fertile with good—more glorious in the present,—more hopeful in the future! Its principal feature, the venerable Colston leading his little grand-niece by the hand,¹ preceded by the long train of happy boys, for whom his bounty had provided. It is many years since we have known him as a faithful steward,—in loving affection to mankind—graciously dispensing from his abundance; and now the great, the grand, one lofty purpose of his soul was completed. A joyous strain of thankful song reverberates through the vaulted aisles, as he passes with his children up the choir, and takes his place in the stall the Dean and Chapter, with a just appreciation of his worth, had appropriated to his use. Many a sad weight had been lifted from a parent's breast,—many a heavy cloud of anxiety removed, and many a breathed prayer and blessing, poured from the overcharged heart spoke forth their fervent gratitude; and with unity of voice and spirit they swell the glad notes of praise!

¹ Communicated by Alexander Colston, late Lieutenant-Col. of the 102nd regiment. His grandmother, was the grand-niece of Colston mentioned in the text.

The service is over. Colston's young relative distributes from her loaded basket presents to the boys,—who, happy, joyous, precede their gracious benefactor to the School. Such was the spectacle that day presented.—A lovely and a blessed one.—Quickening the purest and the best sensibilities of mankind.—Arousing their divine sympathies, and irradiating the gloom of the desponding, as though a light had been cast upon their mournful way, from the sphere of eternal beneficence.

There has descended, by oral tradition, a beautiful passage in Colston's life, illustrative of his humility; and his desire, that not to the servant who did the work of his Master,—but to the Lord he sought to exalt and magnify, be the thanksgivings, the praises, and the glory. Shortly after the opening of the School, while Colston was yet in Bristol, a poor widow waited upon him with her only son, entreating for Colston's aid in obtaining the boy's admission into the School on St. Augustine's Back. After a few enquiries satisfactorily answered, the widow's heart was made glad by Colston removing her anxiety respecting her child's welfare; graciously adding, that if upon examination he found the circumstances of her case such as she had stated, he himself would be his patron. The poor woman, in the fulness of her gratitude, said she would ever pray that Heaven's blessings might descend on Colston, and that when her son grew up, she would teach him to thank his benefactor. "No," was the mild reproof, "teach him better: we do not thank the clouds for rain, nor the sun for light, but we thank the God who made both the clouds and the sun!"

Commenced are the duties of the School. The champion of youth had triumphed over the prejudices of the age.—The seeds of piety and virtue would be planted in tender minds, whose flowers would be happiness and glory. The descendants of the first youthful band here trained in the graces of holiness, would still walk in the footsteps of their fathers, and their righteousness would increase the halo that surrounds the memory of the good and just through all recorded time. Colston's kindly feeling, and his solicitude for the welfare of his School, and the sacred performance of his trust, is expressed in the following letter:—

" Mortlake, December 8th, 1711.

" To Mr. Mason, Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers.

" Your letter was received by me with great satisfaction, because it informs me, that the Merchants' Hall have made choice of so deserving a gentleman for their Master, by whom I cannot in the least think there will be any neglect of their

“affairs; so neither of want of care in seeing my trust reposed in them religiously performed, because thereon depends the welfare or ruin of so many poor boys, who may in time be made useful, as well to your City as the nation, by their future honest endeavours; the which that they may be, is what I principally desire and recommend unto you, Sir, and the whole Society.

“Your humble Servant,

“EDWARD COLSTON.”

Colston appears to have annually attended the meetings of the Vestry, at Mortlake, since the year 1689,—and also, for many subsequent years, to have examined the accounts of the overseers of the poor, as his autograph testifies; and to have been otherwise engaged in the business of the Vestry. Yet, although taking part in their proceedings, and a permanent resident in the place, he did not publicly disseminate his benevolence in any great undertaking for the good of the parish, as he had done in his native City. His first known benefaction at Mortlake, was the establishment of two Schools,¹ 1701-2,—another instance of the disposal of his inheritance, on the death of his mother. His next benefaction, after an interval of some years, was his Almshouses,² of which we learn nothing till we read of their completion. The following is the first notice concerning them, in which his name appears, that has met our research:—

“October y^e 4th, 1708. At a Vestry then held, whereof notice was given y^e Sunday before, forenoone and afternoone,—it was then ordered y^t the house against the Pound, that was lately rebuilt by Edward Coalstone, Esq^r for y^e good of this parish, be disposed of as followeth,” &c. Colston was not present at this meeting,—his last attendance was on the 14th November, in the preceding year.

¹ He bequeathed money for their support, limited to twelve years after death, when they were endowed by Lady Dorothy Capel, and are now in a prosperous condition.

² The Almshouses are built on the waste of Sheen, and were provided “for the habitation of such poor as stood most in need, and would most ease the parish,—to be nominated by the Clergyman, Churchwardens, and a majority of the Vestry.” They contain four rooms below, and four above—each apartment being occupied by an alms-person of the parish of Mortlake,—who, as a vacancy has occurred, has usually been appointed by the Churchwarden for the time being. The inmates are generally in the receipt of parish relief,—and if they happen to have families, these families are allowed to reside with them. There is no inscription on the Almshouses, and they are not generally known as Colston’s. Since the introduction of the new poor-law, they have been rather an incumbrance than otherwise. There not being any fund for regular repairs, they have been preserved by private subscriptions,—till recently that a small endowment has been granted for the purpose.

From November, 1707, for nearly four years, Colston did not attend any of the meetings of the Vestry, neither did he enter into any of the public business of the parish. This circumstance would lead to the assumption, that the foundation of his School at Bristol; and other important matters, in which during the interval we find him engaged, called him hence; and would account for his absence, did not some of his letters, written during the time at Mortlake, prove the contrary. There is a traditionary report, that he took umbrage at some impolitic interference, with his desire to nominate inmates for the Almshouses he had built in that parish. That this had its origin in some misunderstanding between Colston and the parishioners, is more than probable,—especially when we consider that he did not endow the Almshouses; nor did he otherwise evince any disposition to benefit the place; although so long a resident, excepting only by the amount he bequeathed, for a limited time, to the School he had founded there.

To connect the period in Colston's life, at which we are now arrived, with the political attitude of our City, it is expedient we rapidly glance at a few of the more prominent intervening transactions. We left the Prince of Orange landed in England. The whole nation welcoming him with open arms,—and the Duke of Beaufort, regardless of his dinner, abruptly departing from the City. What followed belongs to history. Feeling not quite secure as to how events might terminate, there is no journal of the proceedings of our Council from the 6th of November, 1688, to the 5th of August following. The City appears to have been governed by the Mayor and Aldermen solely. The Common Council are not, on any occasion, recorded as present. But it was necessary that there should be a Gaol Delivery, therefore a meeting was convened. One object was to swear the new Recorder [William Pawlett]. Another, the swearing and choosing new Aldermen to fill up vacancies.¹ A few days after, there was more swearing, and for-swearing, such as attend all revolutionary changes. The records of subsequent meetings, reveal to us the restless fears, doubts, and misgivings of our citizens, while the agitation consequent on so great a Revolution was subsiding. On this subject, our rapidly-narrowing limits compel us not to dwell.

¹ Mr. Eston [Mayor in 1683], now in prison for debt, and involved in difficulties, cannot attend any longer the duties of Alderman; his election is declared void. Such are the fluctuations of municipal life.

The nation did not experience that immediate tranquillity, nor the people that complete satisfaction, which the compulsory abdication of James, and the election of his successor, had held out to their sanguine expectations. Distracted by intestine dissensions, with trade languishing, and their burdens increasing, it mattered not that the foundation of the future liberty and prosperity of the country had been laid; the people could not realize the liberty,—they could not grasp the prosperity,—the present was no guarantee of the advent of that bright time. The Bristol citizens who had hailed the arrival of William with so much joy,—now, when they found their fellow tradesmen and merchants imprisoned¹ upon the slightest suspicion by the Whig Government, into whose hands the King had thrown almost all the power,—began to doubt whether they had advantaged themselves by the exchange. The majority of the Bristol magistrates, whose Tory principles rendered them obnoxious to the reigning powers; when they found their position did not protect them from the vituperative and slanderous attacks of their opponents,² began to fear that the old days of fanatical extreme might return; and with wonderful consistency made the most of their authority,—by severely treating and putting in rigorous execution, the law against Nonjurors. All classes had coalesced during the common danger. Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Dissenters, Presbyterian and Independent, bound by one tie, and directed by one impulse, had acted with one heart. But now that the danger was removed, they split asunder into their separate factions, and each returned to his particular bias. There were many who declared for the hereditary right of Kings; regarded William's possession of the throne as an usurpation,—though called thereto, by the general voice of the Protestant nation. They

¹ 1690. Complaints of the Militia are numerous; the citizens and inhabitants are imprisoned; they do not approve of their liberties being abridged. Moreover, "they hear that several hundred more are likewise to be secured." The House is petitioned. Serious charges are brought against Sir Thomas Earle, who is implicated as the origin of the 'ill reports and scandalls.' "That out of a 'malicious and evil mind,' to bring the Mayor and other good citizens under their Majesty's displeasure, he wrote a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, principal Secretary of State." All which, or more consequent upon, we are unable to insert.

² Mr. Mayor [another Sir John Knight,] is abused in the execution of his office, and several other Magistrates and worthy citizens are "put under ill characters. Reflexions by ill reports and scandalls has been laid on them." A Committee appointed to redress for what is past, and to prevent like offences for the future.

would acknowledge no obedience to a non-hereditary King; and refusing to take the oath of allegiance, were distinguished by the appellation of Non-jurors. It was in bringing all its power to bear against these refractory members, for “notorious contempt,” that the attention of the Chamber was now principally engaged.¹ Mr. John Rowe, the ejected Sword-bearer, is visible again. He brings a writ for restoring himself to office, against Mr. Mayor, which writ the Chamber is to take effectual care to defend. The House is much occupied with this writ. It is also much occupied with a Mr. Cook, whose “Folly” on the lovely banks of the Avon, has over its entrance this inscription, “T. Cook, 1693.” Mr. Cook was Sheriff in 1672—subsequently Chamberlain, from which office he was removed in 1698, for “negligence and unfitness.”

Struggling, embarrassed and perplexed, the Chamber has been contending with debt for many years. Thus was it situated when we beheld it last, and such is its position when we behold it now. It was on this account obliged to borrow £2000, which Colston lent; and to discharge this debt, ordered the Manor of Hinton, in Gloucestershire, to be sold. It was on this account that the Council agreed in 1686, that the Mayor’s salary should be reduced to £52—the Sessions’ dinner, was directed should be discontinued—“and that the salary of all the officers should be reduced to the amounts paid in May, 1661.” The official costume of the Corporation was also inspected with a view to dock off all superfluous trappings. The meeting set out with the resolution “that a distinction should be made between the officers’ gowns, and those of the Common Council” not previously observed. “That the Mayor’s Sergeants’ dress be purple gowns, unguarded. The Yeomen’s coats to be of the same colour, but of the present fashion, with *short* swords and *bagonetts*.” The Corporation, however, were not reconciled to the colour of the Sergeants’ gowns; and in a few days determined that they should be black and not purple, and further ordered them “to be *unfurled*, and without velvet.” Having effected this important saving, there were others equally serious waiting their deliberation. But the Chamber, however, does not appear again to display an economic tendency till the next year, when—

¹ At this time it ordered that all absent members who had been summoned, should be fined £10 each.

“It being reported to the House that there had been for several years past, paid unto the parish of Temple, twelve pounds per annum,—and to Redcliff three pounds per annum,—out of the Chamber towards maintaining their respective poor; it was thereupon put to the vote whether the same should be paid or discontinued. And thereupon it was upon vote ordered by the majority of this House, that these two payments, and either of them shall from henceforth cease and be no longer paid, unless at the next meeting of this House, good cause shall be, by the said parishes respective, shown to the contrary.”

“It was then also ordered that the Chamber be no farther concerned in repairing the Chancel of Temple Church, unless at next House, good cause be shown to the contrary.” “Also, that the Chamber shall not at any time from henceforth pay to the burgesses of the City in Parliament, any salary or other pay for their services there, but that it be paid as the law directs.”

The cause of the foregoing resolutions is obvious. The Treasury was empty. The Chamber objected not to contribute towards the relief of the poor, while they had funds, which failing, their contribution ceases. It needs not to follow the commanding and countermanding of retrenchments and reductions,—the outward signs or barometer, indicating, during successive years, the fluctuations in the City Treasury. All these may be conceived. It is now the beginning of William's reign. Economy is still the cry of the Corporation. Their embarrassment still continues. They appear at this exigency to have seriously considered of their debts, and to have arrived at the laudable resolution of endeavouring to liquidate them. They were therefore going to enter into a rigid examination of their accounts, and to keep a watchful eye over their expenditure. It was with reference to the proposed retrenchments, “Mr. Mayor acquainted the House of the great expense the City was at; and particularly acquainted the method how the expensive entertainment of judges was introduced—upon which it was resolved, that they should no longer be entertained at the charge of the City; and that Mr. Town Clerk draw up the order, so that it may show the Judges the cause of it, that it was not want of respect, but from necessity. Also, that the lodgings to be appointed for the Judge be left to the Mayor and Aldermen, and not to exceed £5.”¹ But the

¹ August 29th, 1693. Without any reason advanced, this order was repealed, but no sum exceeding £20, was to be allowed “for entertaining the Judges, their retinue and horses.” “August 8th, 1702, Mr. Mayor, proposed to the House, whether, notwithstanding a former order made in the year 1691, that the Judges should not be entertained at the public expense of the

resolution that most plainly revealed the low ebb of their finances, and most keenly touched upon the hereditary hospitality of the Corporation, was—

“That no public entertainments should be given, or presents of wine made, until the City debts were paid.” The preceding determinations arising from the stern dictates of necessity, were followed by an instance of self-denial on the part of the newly-elected Mayor, Richard Lane; who very considerately “declared that he, being now chosen a second time Mayor, would not insist upon double salary, as is usual in such cases; neither would he insist on any precedency, [still a great subject of dispute] beyond the place he was in, to be next to Mr. Swymmer.”

The Mayor also stated, “that he had moved to Mr. Recorder, to stay here till the Quarter Sessions, that he might be sworn, and take the Test; but the Recorder declared he could not stay.” It was thereupon proposed that a “Gaol Delivery should be held, and the Quarter Sessions adjourned unto it, that the Mayor may be sworn, and his journey and expenses to London may be saved.” As this could not be accomplished, “it was ordered that the Mayor may go to London, and have the £30, allowance as usual.” Mr. Alderman Crabb to be deputy Mayor.

Shortly after, the Mayor makes allusion to his having viewed some old iron, which he reported worth about £9 a ton; but that Alderman Wallis, having told him it was worth more, he thought it better to defer the sale till the Fair. Then some trumpets, we suppose of silver, are produced on the table. They had given note of the advent of many a stately procession; they were associated with the pomp of the municipality; with Kingly visits, and Judges' escorts,—but this could not save them,—“they are ordered to be sold by the Sheriffs, and *chain costume, who is to bring the money in account*, and in the *same manner to dispose of the Trumpeters' old coats.*”¹ This entry is remarkable for its ambiguity. We are left in uncertainty whether the Sheriff, or the chain costume is to have charge of the money; neither are we further enlightened as to the “manner” of disposal. From the above we infer that the abolishing of the Trumpeters was amongst their proposed retrenchments. The sale of the iron, the trumpets, the chain costume, and the old coats, was followed not long time after, by a return of the observance of an ancient

City, whether the Judges now coming should be entertained at the public charge. It was carried in the affirmative, that they be entertained at Mr. Alderman Lane's house. It also ordered that Mr. Recorder be entertained at the public charge, and at the House of Mr. Alderman Jackson.”

¹ “Recd of John Cossley, Goldsmith, for the Silver Trumpets, and Lace of the Trumpeters' Coats, £24 : 16 : 0.”

hospitality. August 28th, 1700, it is "ordered that the Judges now coming hither, be entertained at *the City's charges*, at Sir Thomas Day's house." Also, the 7th August, in the year following, we find they are to be again entertained at the *public charge of the City*. We may therefore suppose an improvement was taking place in the financial department of the Corporation.

Return to 1694, December 30th. Dolefully and slowly toll the bells from every tower and spire within the ancient City;—and solemn and impressive is the mournful sound that, in measured pauses, breaks upon the ear. Everywhere signals of distress;—the flags half-masted;—the windows closed;—some one, high in state, has departed! The Mayor, [Thomas Day] with dignified official step, and with grave intelligence overcast, is approaching the Tolzey. Let us follow him and read the record of his business there.—"Mr. Mayor acquainted the House of the death of the Queen,—and then proposed it as expedient, that an address of condolence thereupon, might be made by the City to his Ma^{ty}, whereto the House unanimously agreed, and appointed Mr. Mayor and the Aldermen to be a Committee, and desired them to draw up an address to that purpose, and to affix the City Seal thereto." With this expression of the sympathy of his loyal Corporation of Bristol, his disconsolate Majesty, was no doubt considerably comforted.¹

Pass over intermediate years, till we arrive at the treaty with Ryswick;—the termination of an expensive and protracted war with France. It was proclaimed in Bristol, the 29th of September, 1697, with great show of rejoicings, though not universal. The Jacobites, refused to join the acclamations on an occasion so destructive to their hopes. William returned to England in the month of November. Congratulatory addresses were presented to him from every part of the kingdom. In our City, November 22nd,

"Mr. Mayor having proposed that an address should be presented to his Majesty, to congratulate his Majesty's return, and for our happy peace, it was carried "*nemine contradicente*." Mr. Mayor, Sir Thomas Day, Mr. Yate, the two Sheriffs, and Mr. Town Clerk, and as many of the Aldermen and members of the House as will attend, are desired to draw up an address proper for the occasion; "which Committee, hereby have power to cause the City seal to be affixed to it. Mr. Mayor

¹ The Queen was not buried until the 5th March following, when "the High-cross was hung with mourning from top to bottom, and all the great bells in the City tolled three distinct hours, from 9 to 10,—from 2 to 3,—and from 4 to 5 o'clock."—SEYER'S *MS. Cal.*

“is desired by the whole House to be one to attend his Maty with this address, still refering the consideration of his health, and his occasions to *him wife*. Also Mr. Peter Saunders, a member of the House and Master of the Merchants’ Hall.”

We regret we cannot produce this address, wherein the intellectual powers of so formidable a Committee were put to their utmost bent. It was without doubt an eloquent composition, worthy of the eight days’ labour which had been bestowed upon it. On the ninth day, it was read to the House and approved.¹

Some years pass without event to detain our hasty narrative, till the death of William. Anne’s assurances to the Parliament gave general satisfaction.—Congratulatory addresses poured in from all quarters. That from Bristol has been preserved:—

“To the Queen’s most excellent Majesty.—The humble Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of your Majesty’s City of Bristoll in Common Counsell assembled.

“May it please yo^r Majesty,—

“Wee, your Majties most dutifull and loyall subjects, humbly condole our unspeakable loss by the death or demise of his late Majesty, King William the Third—the constant defender of our religion and liberties, and the grand support of the Protestant interest over all Europe. Yet at the same time wee adore the Divine Providence, in placing yo^r Majty on the throne of yo^r ancestors, acknowledging that your Majty has the only just and lawfull title to these kingdoms, and wee are ready to give all assurances of our steady resolutions to adhere to, and defend yo^r Royall person and rights against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other opposers of yo^r crown and dignity. And wee rejoyce in what yo^r Majesty has been pleased to signifye to all yo^r good subjects, by yo^r Royall Declarations to yo^r Councill and Parliament; which being no small discouragement to yo^r Majty and the nation’s enemies, favours us with a prospect agreeable to our loyall wishes, that yo^r reigne may be long and prosperous, and yo^r glorious designs for yo^r people’s happiness successfull.”

As usual, the “proclamation came off” with great solemnity.² But the triumph of the City authorities, was reserved for a grand display of their regalia on the day of Coronation.³ In splendid state did the procession set out

¹ The two Members of Parliament were desired to attend his Grace the Lord High Steward, and to present the respects of the House to his Grace, and to “pray him to introduce our Members with that address. If he be not in London, then they are to desire the Lord Dursley, our Lord Lieutenant to introduce them.”

² “1701-2. Paid on Proclaiming the Queen, £21 : 5.

³ “Paid four women, that strewed the way with sweet herbs, before Mrs. Mayoress, to the College, last Coronation day, 10s.

from the Tolzey, to go "to the College, to hear a sermon;"¹ and picturesque must the train have been, as it passed through the motley population that lined the crowded streets. The militia, "bravely armed,"—the Hospital boys, in blue gowns and coats, with bonnets on their heads, "very delightful to behold,"—tradesmen, with their colours and badges, "in comely order,"—maidens, dressed in white hoods, carrying fans,—Constables, with staves,—the Mayor and Magistrates, and the Hospital maids, in scarlet,—the Mint maids, in blue,—men, in Holland shirts and blue ribbons, wielding naked swords,—more damsels, in white, bedecked with coloured ribbons, carrying gilt bows and arrows,—Mrs. Mayoress, and the citizens' daughters and wives, sumptuously apparelled. Arras, and costly drapery, of several devices, adorning the houses; branches and gilded sprigs, sweet flowers, crowns, and garlands, decking the streets; scarlet cloth hanging from the battlements of the churches,—and crosses, flags, and streamers, waving from the ships and towers; branches of gilded laurel adorning the conduits; and crowns, mitres, and flowers everywhere. Day wears on. More young women, in white waistcoats and red petticoats, wearing large straw hats. More Holland shirts, more naked swords, more people,—and, borne above all, is an effigy of an old man,—seated, with a long beard, and white straight locks, and a triple crown on his head,—a crosier staff in his hand, and a scarlet mantle on his shoulders. Ghastly-vizarded attendants surround him, bearing crosses and instruments of torture. This is the Pope's effigy. At night, when every house will be illuminated, there will be great bonfires in the streets,—with much rejoicings, the Pope will be consumed. Then, for noise, there is the ringing of bells,—discharging of great ordnance, and small shot,—the "City music, sweetly playing,"—the blast of the trumpeters, the roll of the drummers, the huzzing, and roar of the multitude. Wine ran freely in many parts of the City, and enthusiasm was at its height. Such are the images associated with the celebration of Queen Anne's Coronation day in this City.²⁻³

Were we to follow the proceedings of the Chamber, it would carry us much

¹ "20th April, 1702. Mr. Mayor proposed to the House, that something might be done in this City, in honour to her Majesty, Queen Anne's, Coronation on the 23rd April instant; and the Chamberlain is ordered to issue out money that the same shall be performed as was at the Coronation of our late Sovereign King William—*nomine contradicente*."

² MS. Calender. Seyer.

³ "Paid at the Coronation of Queen Anne, £53 : 2 : 1."

beyond our prescribed limits. Distinguished, as usual, by the animosity of party, it is no desirable field to enter upon. More inviting, perhaps, to the reader, is the narrative of a Royal visit, in which our local chroniclers indulge; we therefore return to the Queen, at whose Coronation so great demonstrations have been displayed. Her Majesty is at Bath,—she will come to Bristol, if invited. It is the 29th August following the Coronation. We are at a special meeting of the House. Mr. Mayor speaks, and says:—

“That the Queene being in the neighbourhood, that he called the House, to consider what Comp^t was fitt to be made to her Ma^{ty} on this occasion. It is ordered, *nemine contradicente*, that some members of this House attend her Ma^{ty} with a Congratulation of her Ma^{ty} safe coming into the neighbourhood; and to assure her Ma^{ty} of the Duty and Loyalty of this her Ma^{ty} City of Bristoll.

“Itt is also ordered, that if an invitation to her Ma^{ty} to this City, be thought more advisable and proper att that time *then* afterwards, the s^d Gentlemen have authority to make the invitation also.”¹

Given was the invitation, and graciously accepted. The Queen, with her husband, Prince George, enters the City at Lawford's Gate. The Mayor [John Hawkins, brewer,]² and the Corporation receive them. The Royal cortege are conducted from Temple Street, through the Long Row, to Sir Thomas Day's house, at the Bridge end. There are a great number of horsemen, including about sixty Captains of ships, distinguished by knots of red ribbon in their hats,—twelve coaches, containing the Queen's suite, each drawn by six horses,—eighteen of the Clergy, bareheaded,—the Common Council and Aldermen,—the Mayor,—the “pearl sword,”—part of the Queen's Guards before and behind her carriage,—coaches of the nobility and gentry; coaches and trappings of the horses, all black; the Queen in purple, mourning for the late King. Sir George Norton and Sir John Smyth contributed the venison for

¹ “Itt is ordered, that Mr. Mayor and Aldermen, the Sheriffs, Mr. Lewis, Mr. French, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Whitechurch, and as many of the Common Councell as please, are desired to goe with this message upon Tuesday next; and that the Town Clerk doe goe with those who carry this message.”

² “Sir John Hawkins's mansion and brewery were the premises on the east side of Temple Street, the original front of which remains now, [1834,] divided between the Colston's Arms public-house, another tenement, and Mr. Shurmer's waggon warehouse and stables, extending to Temple Back.”—*Annals of Bristol*.

the dinner ; all other edibles were provided and paid for by the City.¹ The feast is over—the guests are gone. Mr. Mayor is risen a Knight ; and the Marsh, where houses are now building, is to be called Queen Square, in memory of the royal visit.

Great changes and improvements have been, and are taking place. The High Cross has been repaired, painted, and gilded.—It was thought “very few, if any, such erections in England surpassed it.” St. James’s Church has been “beautified,” at an expense of £600.—The *hulks* of the houses on the bridge have been taken down.—“A pile of brick buildings” has been erected on the Broad Key ; the first houses of brick in the City. Besides the Almshouses in King Street, the Merchants have rebuilt their Hall. The Merchant Tailors have also rebuilt their Almshouse, in Merchant Street. Foster’s Almshouse, and the Council House² are re-erecting by the Corporation.³ A Custom House, in Queen Square is in progress,—and in the Square, lime trees are planted. College Green is railed in, and the walks laid out with young trees.

Some years with no local transactions recorded of sufficient magnitude to detain us, we pass unnoticed ; and return to our Philanthropist. While engaged upon the business of his School, an undesired honour awaited him. The intrigues against the Whig ministers, or rather the enlightened experience of the country, influenced it may be, by the increasing estrangement of the Queen, from the party who had so long misdirected the helm of state ; had produced a powerful reaction in favour of the Tories ; to whom the inclination of the Queen now tended.—Throughout the land a popular feeling of aver-

¹ “Disbursements on the Entertainment of Queen Anne, September 3rd, 1702, £466 : 4 : 7.”

² The Tolzey was built about 1550. Nov. 4th, 1702. A house adjoining it, ordered to be taken down. January 18th, 1703, the Tolzey “ordered to be pulled down, and a building to be erected as may be most honourable and useful to the City. September 13th, 1704. The timberwork and freestone pillars at the Mayor’s Tolzey, and so much as shall not be used in adorning the Council House, be given to the parishioners of St. Nicholas, to the intent they be used in making a walk in the nature of a Tolzey, near the Custom House, and Churchyard on the Back.” On removing the Chapel of the Fraternity of St. John, which was part of the ancient Church of St. Ewen, in front of the building was a portico, supported by five pillars,—previous to the re-erection, of the Tolzey, it had sustained considerable injury by a fire in 1666, and there is no doubt that the muniments at that time suffered much damage, as those that escaped bear evident marks of fire.

³ April 26, 1702. “Foster’s Almshouse being in very bad repair, it was ordered to be taken down, and to be rebuilt, at the expense of the Chamber, but not to exceed four hundred pounds.”

sion was manifested against Dissent.—Such was the political bearing of the nation in 1710, when the Queen, to aid the Tories, dissolved the Whig Parliament. September 26th, a proclamation was issued for calling a new Parliament. The elections, which were everywhere carried on with great warmth, began at Bristol. Here, though opposed to his wishes, Colston was returned by a great majority. A triumphant manifestation of the High Church party.¹—This majority was no doubt increased by many, who would not allow religion or politics to interfere with their expression of the high estimation in which they held the City's benefactor. With Colston was returned Col. Earle, described as "certainly of the low party, but as a moderate man, approved by both." In a newspaper of the day, the election is thus noticed—"Bristol, October 28. On Wednesday last our election came on, and it was generally believed the old members² would have carry'd it without opposition; for Edward Colston, Esq., who had given fifty thousand pounds to the City, in building of Hospitals, Schools, and other charities, refused to stand, by reason of his age; but some persons who were well affected, demanded a poll for him and Captain Earle, and after four days' poll, the said Mr. Colston and Captain Earle carried it, the first by near a thousand voices, and the latter by six hundred. It was very surprising to see the joy it occasion'd in this City, when they carried their member that was present along the City, *with the miter* and streamers before him, and the whole City was illuminated, and the night concluded with bonfires and ringing of bells."³ This account is not very perspicuously expressed. It is not easy to define which of the two members was carried. There is an entry in St. Werburgh's parish accounts, at this time, of a payment to the ringers "when Mr. Colston came to Bristol," and as the ringers are not of that class who give credit, we may suppose their payment was not deferred. The little incident of the "miter" borne before the carried member, at a time when opposition to

¹ "The clergy were actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, which seemed to spread like a contagion through all ranks and degrees of people, and had such effect upon the elections for the new Parliament, that very few were returned as members, but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the whig administration."—HUME IV., 421.

² Sir William Daines, and Robert Yates, Esq.

³ From the *Post Boy* newspaper:—"With the freshest advices, foreign, and domestick, from Saturday, October 28th, to Tuesday, October 31st, 1710."

Dissent was general, suggests it was not the representative of the low party who sustained so important a part in that day's proceedings. Thus from extraneous sources, we gather rays of light that help to illumine the byeways of local history, when records fail. We must suppose in the absence of any recorded statement, that this was Colston's last visit to his native City. We are supported in this supposition, from the fact, that in the preceding year he had excused himself, on account of his age, from attending the annual dinner of the Loyal Society; which, to mark the high respect and esteem in which he was held by its members, was fixed to take place on his birthday, November 2nd, when he was represented by the most noble Henry, Duke of Beaufort.¹ A journey from London was not performed with the ease, speed, and security of modern times; and Colston would naturally avoid the fatigue and risk, from which no especial benefit to himself or others could accrue.

Of Colston's parliamentary career, we have no register. He was probably a silent member, his duty confined to voting. Though he may have felt gratified by the distinction conferred upon him by his native City, we are not to suppose that he accepted it from any desire on his part, or from any other feeling than that of extending his sphere of usefulness. He felt the burthen of his years, and as we have just seen, claimed exemption from attendance at a charitable dinner on that plea. We shall not therefore find, in his parliamentary duties any subject for comment; and in simply reviewing what services were required of him, and his colleague,² by their constituents; do so, more for the purpose of unfolding the transactions of the day, than for any new light they reflect upon the character of our Philanthropist.³ His course must have been

¹ "November 2nd, 1713, Mr. Colston's birthday, the annual dinner of the Loyal Society, Mr. Colston being aged, he was not present, but represented by Henry, Duke of Beaufort."—EVANS.

² "March 22nd, following the Election, Mr. Mayor, (Christopher Shuter, Esq.) proposed to the House that a present of a gross of bottles of sherry might be made to each of the Members in Parliament; and the like quantity of a gross to Mr. Secy Burchett, as the acknowledgement of the House for their services to the City. The proposition was agreed to unanimously; and the Mayor and the Aldermen, or any three of them, whereof the Mayor was to be one, were directed to get the same, and to send it accordingly; and the Chamberlain was ordered to issue monies as they shall direct, to pay for the same." The account of the Chamberlain shows that the cost of the wine for Colston was £16 : 18 : 6; for Earle, £14 : 8 : 4."

³ March 7th, 1711, a petition was sent to the House of Commons, praying that certain clauses in a bill then pending in Parliament, for making the river Avon navigable from Bath to Hanham

there as everywhere circumspect and honest; and though unmarked by any oratorical display, yet never have the walls of that House, where all the great spirits of the age do congregate, had within them a better, purer, or more worthy being. But it was not with the active pursuits of this world that, in his

Mills, might not interfere with the ancient free navigation between Hanham Mills and the City of Bristol. The petition to be presented by the Members, and they to take care to preserve the rights of the City. The same year an Act was obtained at the expense of the Duke of Beaufort, to complete the navigation from Bristol to Bath. At the same date we have the following:—"Whereas the Clergy of this City are now about petitioning the present Parliament for charging the inhabitants of the said City with certain annual payments, for the use of the said Clergy; if it succeed will, as this House apprehend, very much infringe upon privileges and immunities of the said inhabitants, and occasion many other great inconveniences. Resolved that this House will oppose any bill that may be brought into Parliament on such petition. And it is ordered that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, Mr. Hort, Mr. Henry Whitehead, Mr. Anthony Swymmer, and any gentlemen of the Common Council that will be pleased to attend, be a Committee, to draw up a petition to either House of Parliament, and to write to our Members in Parliament, to oppose the passing of any bill for charging the inhabitants of this City with any annual or other payments, for the use of the said Clergy; and that the said Committee have power to employ Counsel and Solicitors; and to inspect the charters, grants, writings, books, and papers of this City, that may be necessary in or about the same; and that if occasion shall be, produce and shew them for the Parliament or elsewhere, in reference to the premises. And it is also ordered that this matter be opposed at the charge of the City, and that the Chamberlain issue moneys for that purpose, by order under the hands of any three of the Committee, Mr. Mayor being one. January 7th, 1712, a petition was ordered to be presented to the House of Commons, by the Members in Parliament for this City, praying that the Governor, &c., may raise a further annual sum not exceeding £1200, per annum, for effectually employing, educating, and maintaining the poor of this City. February 26th, a petition to be presented to the House of Commons, by Col. Earle and Mr. Colston, praying that the trade to Africa might be open to all her Majesty's subjects. December 10th, a representation from the Corporation of the Poor was laid before the House, stating that £3500, annually, was necessary to be raised for the support of the poor; that at the ensuing sessions three petitions should be presented; one from the Corporation of the City, one from the Corporation of the Poor, and one from the principal inhabitants. That the Corporation would, at the next meeting, resolve to raise a supply, as the Guardians refused to pay the poor, if they had not assurance of being reimbursed. That the Guardians were under great difficulties for want of rates being made quarterly, which they desired should in future be done, and the money to be paid in ten days, by the Collectors. A Committee was appointed to carry the same into effect. February 26th, 1713, a petition to be presented to the Members to bring in a bill for power to be granted to the Magistrates, to raise a further sum for maintaining the poor of this City, than what was granted by the Act of 8th of William III." This was the last occasion on which the services of the Members were required, the Parliament being soon after dissolved.

advanced years, he sought to engage. He had fulfilled his mission right nobly; and there was nought left him but to prepare for that final change, towards which his failing and weakened powers warned him he was hastening. The year 1713, terminated his political course, after having borne, for three years, the honours the warm affections of the citizens of Bristol had thrust upon him.

CHAPTER IX.

Colston contributes to the Foundation of a Charity School in Temple Street—Progress of the School—Letter from Sir John Duddleston—Colston's rupture with the Rev. Arthur Bedford—His Correspondence with the Trustees of the Charity School—His devoted attachment to the Established Church—His Letter to Mr. John Gray—A Complaint against the Society of Friends by the Trustees of Temple Street School—Singular Document—Colston a Corresponding Member for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Letter to Colston from "The Gentlemen of the Grand Inquest"—His Answer—His Donation to the Repairs of the Cathedral—Lent Sermons—Queen Anne's Bounty—Anecdote—His last Request to the Merchants' Hall—His Contribution towards Re-building All-Saints' Church—To a School at Chewstoke—Colston's declining years at Mortlake—His Death and Funeral.

SIMULTANEOUSLY engaging Colston's attention was another charitable School, which, while tracing his larger benefaction, has remained unnoticed. To this, and other passages in his life we return. We are conducted to a crumbling, time-crazed old street,—the main entrance from the west to this great City. On either side are foul passages, leading to dark ill-omened dwellings; where vice and crime, and heathenish ignorance abound, that would afflict a Christian ministry, could their onerous duties permit them to penetrate these repulsive precincts. Without, the roar of traffic and the ceaseless tide of human life rolls on,—regardless, as unconscious of the dread abodes of vice and woe, that within so short a space disclose a festering mass of sin and discontent, enough to fill the Good of earth with sorrow and despair. Leaving these clouded receptacles, whose saddening features have been graphically described with a melancholy truthfulness,¹ we will glance at the houses that conceal their darksome depravity. These are mostly characterised by gabled fronts, of olden aspect, and varied and picturesque outline,—by their squalor and dilapidation. Their former occupiers, weavers and merchants,—hospitable, opulent, and enterprising, have long since passed to their rest; and the beggar, the wanderer, and the outcast, now meet and hold their orgies where titled Magistrates, with full ceremonial and regalia have issued forth, to minister justice at the neighbouring Tolzey,—or to attend their duties in the Parliament at Westminster.

¹ The Night Side of Bristol.—*Bristol Mirror*.

These are passing away, these old-world buildings. With their projecting fronts and shadowy recesses,—with their bold corbels, and grotesque monsters,—with their tottering craziness, and time-stricken features,—perish their dreamy suggestions of days of yore,—their associations, and their memories. Many, prized by the antiquary and the artist, have already fallen,—and the hand of modern innovation has inscribed its progress in uniform red brick fronts, and freestone copings. We have gone nearly half way along this street, when our eye is arrested by a peculiar view of a leaning tower, rising grandly above a picturesque group of old-time houses. A little further, separated by a low wall from the pavement, is a plain building, like a conventicle, which we should pass unheeded, did we not seek it as appertaining to the memory of our Philanthropist. It may be briefly described as having five tall square-headed windows, and two gabled windows; above which rise two high chimneys that do not contribute to its architectural pretensions. Uninviting as may be its general character, the building, however, assumes an interest when we read the following, inscribed on a tablet over the middle window:—

“THIS CHARITY SCHOOL, WAS ERECTED AND ENDOWED BY EDW^d. COLSTON, ESQ^r” NATIVE OF THIS PARISH, ANNO. DOM. 1711. FOR THE EDUCATING IN READING, WRITING, CYPHERING, AND PERFECTING IN THE CHURCH CATECHISM, AS IT IS NOW ESTABLISHED BY LAW, AND ALSO FOR CLOTHING FORTY-FOUR BOYS OF THIS PARISH FOR EVER.”

Here, then, is Colston's good work, and his attachment to the Church, again legible before us. Let us endeavour to trace the history of its foundation.

Some kind souls had preceded Colston in this benevolent design, which he was afterwards the instrument of more fully extending. One of these well-doers was Mary Gray,—who, by will, dated January 31st, 1699, “gave £50, the profits (less 6s. 8d.) for a sermon, for teaching fatherless children in the parish of Temple.” This is the earliest donation we have any account of. The Grays of this parish were related to Colston,—and his attention was, probably, directed to the great necessity of a charity of the kind by his cousin, Mr. John Gray, who took a deep and zealous interest in its establishment. Colston, born in the parish, may have contrasted his position with that of those who had been thrown on the mercy of the world, dragged up 'midst penury and want, to struggle through life, ignorant of all that is good; and through that ignorance to perish in infamy and guilt. Thoughts, such as these must have

passed within his mind, when he conceived the endowment of this School. And many there are, and many there have been, respectable members of society,—who, but for the instruction here received, had, perchance, passed through a turbulent career of crime,—lost in the deep abyss of sin and shame, and wrested from the humanities of life. When will legislators learn that it costs less to *teach* the child, than to *punish* the criminal?

From the date of our first extract, we hear nothing further of the progress of this School till July, 1709, when the Rev. Arthur Bedford, Vicar of Temple, who, it appears, had in the meantime been materially assisting and aiding Colston in the project, writes to the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge.

“That by Mr. Colston’s kindness and Mr. Gray’s improvement of such a handle, there was a fair prospect of erecting a church-school in Temple parish; that the subscriptions already amounted to £18 per annum, and the offertory is designed to be applied the same way: that the number of poor children in that parish were now 232, and of that number only *three* were provided for by the Court of Guardians, through the pretence of their teaching the children, had hitherto hindered all endeavours of this nature at Bristol.” In a subsequent letter, August 6th, Mr. Bedford further states, “that the inhabitants of Temple parish had subscribed £23, for a charity school, and that Mr. Colston was pleased to add £10 a year to it with a design to make it perpetual.” The 22nd of the same month he again writes, “that the subscriptions in the parish of Temple having increased to £35 per annum, with the oblation of a monthly Sacrament, designed to be applied towards the support of a charity school, the Trustees have resolved to begin with 30 boys, and to open the school the 29th current.”

About this year, it appears a School, not yet bearing the name of Colston, was established and held at the Tucker’s Hall, in the parish, for which was paid an annual rent of £4. December 9th, at a meeting of the Trustees, Sir John Hawkins in the chair, the Rev. Arthur Bedford was elected Secretary. The same time a letter from Colston was read, in which he proposed to clothe all the poor children.¹ He had, in accordance with his usual prudential economy, inquired as to the cost of the clothing in Bristol. The society in their letter of thanks state that in their opinion “the clothing might be bought cheaper in London than in Bristol.”

¹ March, 1710, he presented the boys each with a suit of clothes, the same as worn by the charity boys in London.

Colston, in a letter to Sir John Hawkins, expresses himself as well pleased with the boys' improvement, and the care which has been observed in *catechising* them, &c., *that he had determined, God willing, to settle an annuity for the support of the School for ever, of £80, in clothing and educating forty poor boys.*" Another letter is shortly after received from Colston, desiring the Trustees would give him their opinion "*with whom he was to entrust the execution of his Charity, so as to have it carefully discharged for future ages.*"¹

Sir John Duddleston writes of this School with that simple, earnest enthusiasm which belonged to his character. There is a warmth of feeling in the letter of the worthy Knight, that bears the impress of a more frank and cordial manner, than that of our more sophisticated and conventional age. There is the "old English gentleman" in every line. We are pleased to behold a distinguished citizen in so favourable a light. And it is not the least of our gratifications thus to be enabled partially to raise the curtain of Time, and reveal some of the every-day transactions in which our ancestors show forth their virtues.

/ "Worthy Sir,

"Bristol July 13th, 1710.

"I have, with Sir John Hawkins and others, spent some time this day at Temple Church, and at the Charity School of that parish. It did my heart good to see and hear those fatherless and friendless children to spell, read, write, cypher, respond to the catechism, say graces, prayers, and several verses in Scripture, without book. They go on very cheerful with their arithmetic, some are fit to go into the square and cube rule. They sing four psalms very distinctly. There are few who could believe it, but they who saw and heard it. God Almighty prosper you, is the prayers of your most obedient servant,

"JOHN DUDDLESTONE."

In a subsequent letter to Colston, 20th July, the worthy Knight says, "those children have been this evening at St. Wasbery's lecture, and did so sing their psalms that much delighted the congregation." There is no reply

¹ April 1st, 1710. "The Trustees replied by stating, that they thought the Trustees to be named should be the Aldermen of the Ward [Temple] the minister of the parish, the two Churchwardens, the two Overseers, and a Treasurer; and not the Governor of Dr. White's Hospital, as suggested by Mr. Colston." The book of orders and accounts was sent for his perusal, and presented to him in London, by Mr. Baker, and Mr. Rogers, and when returned "*such orders as he may think fit to make shall be put in a method which shall be continued for ever.*" April 3rd. The Trustees apply to the Corporation for assistance, saying, they had, with Mr. Colston's help, established the School last year. The Corporation 20th May, 1710, voted them the annual sum of £5.

from Colston ; his answer was verbally communicated by Mr. John Duddlestone, "I am very well pleased with the progress of the boys."

Not long after, Colston writes to the Trustees:—"As soon as your parish is in cash to build a School, I will take care to order money to pay for the purchase of the ground;" and requests them to ascertain the cost of building one large enough for forty boys, and whether it would not be better to erect a School only, than to join a house to it for a master. The trustees return him thanks for his offer to buy the ground, which they had lately mentioned to him for the building a Charity School thereon, and crave leave to acquaint him that they think it a very convenient place for such a purpose. In a few days his deed of settlement¹ of £80 per annum was received, with the schedule of orders designed to be annexed to it, and a list of the Trustees he had appointed ; all of whom were inhabitants of Temple parish.²

Colston's intolerable antipathy to Dissent, it must be acknowledged, approached the confines of bigotry. He sustained a severe trial at the general election, from the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Bedford,—who did not take that direction which might have been expected, from a member of the Church of England ; from one, in whom Colston had more especially confided, and entrusted with the execution of many of his charitable projects. In the letters of Colston already given, there is nothing to indicate the opinions of the man, beyond his business capabilities, his discretion, judgment, and benevolence.

¹ 1715. February 15th. "He conveyed to Sir John Hawkins, and others, an annuity, or rent-charge of £80 per ann., charged upon the Manor of Toomer, in the County of Somerset, the rent-charge to be received by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the parish of Temple,—and to be expended in the clothing of forty poor boys, sons of persons inhabiting the parish ; and for providing to teach them to read, write, cipher, and learn the Church Catechism,—to examine them thereupon, and expound the sense, and to inquire into the good management and proficiency of the School and scholars,—and to take care and rectify all disorders and mismanagements. The School-master to be a member of the Church of England, of good life, and well qualified for teaching. The boys to be catechised once every quarter. That four of the nominees should always be Clergymen of the Church of England, and should visit the school four times in the year." "By a deed poll of the 26th May, 1717, reciting the last indenture,—and that the Churchwardens and Overseers had neglected or refused the trust, Mr. Colston, therefore, revoked the same, and directed his Trustees to appoint a receiver of the said annuity, and to dispose thereof as the Churchwardens and Overseers were to have done."

² This year, Mr. Abraham Sperin Weaver, a Presbyterian, who had been a subscriber during his life, gave towards this School, the profits of £50, for ever.

They are calmly and temperately written, and disclose the still composure of his mind. He was somewhat ruffled at the indifference with which his School endowments had, by many, been received; but he was warmed at the deviations of his friend from that Church, of which he should have been the champion. It was Colston's vulnerable¹ point, which once touched, his serenity forsook him, and he stood no longer exempt from the weaknesses of human nature. He was evidently much wounded at the conduct of which he complains,—and writes with some feeling to the Trustees, expressing his regret that Mr. Bedford, their—

“Minister, had given the Clergy of the City, that are well affected to the Established Church, an occasion of so much scandal, as was to be found in the Gloucester election, heading some of the violent sectaries and enemies to it; whereby he hath confirmed them in their former opinion, that he is no sound son of the Church, but rather inclined to, and a favourer of, fanaticism; and I cannot,” he concludes, “but be of the same judgment, because this is *not the first time* that he hath sided with them, but constantly upon the like occasion hath joined with them against those that are truly in the Church interest,—therefore if I decline all future correspondence with him, he may easily guess at the occasion of it.”

An extract from a letter, written by a Clergyman, and friend, reprovingly to Mr. Bedford, acquaints us with the part he acted.

“I was in Bristol twice in the time of the late election, and expected to have seen you there, not doubting *but your obligations to Mr. Colston*, and his exemplary zeal for the Church of England, would have engaged you not only to have given him your vote, but also to have used your utmost interest to have promoted the interest of so excellent a person,—but to my great astonishment and surprise, I had an account of all ranks (many of whom I know to be your friends), of your conduct at the election for the County of Gloster, and your wilful absence from that at Bristol, as hath given me no small trouble.”

¹ The Church of God, as established in this nation, it was his honour to be in communion with, and he was the glory of it. In this he was educated, and the faith taught in it he always firmly believed, and his whole life exemplified that faith, in a constant practice of uniform obedience. In this he was trained up, and *from a child had known the holy Scriptures*,—had been nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrine; so he always held fast the form of sound words; and that piety, which in his younger years, owed its growth to the example and care of others, distinguished his practice as the result of his own judgment, and resolution of holiness, as soon as he was capable of taking upon himself the obligation of his baptismal vow.—DR. HARCOURT'S *Funeral Sermon*.

The account referred to, was to the effect that "Mr. Bedford had joined the Dissenters,—the enemies of the Church, in promoting the election of the same persons, the late members for the County of Gloucester,—and had also withdrawn himself from Bristol that *he might not vote for Colston.*" Mr. Bedford, in his reply, November 10th, 1710, admits he has voted for the two old members for the County of Gloucester, and that he staid out of town until the election for Bristol was over; but that he had informed Mr. Colston of his intentions, *who was satisfied;*" an assertion inconsistent with the fact that Colston did not correspond with him after this period. It appears that in April, 1713, Mr. Alderman Lane also wrote to Mr. Bedford, to induce him to send a conciliatory letter to Colston, thereby to renew their friendship. This solicitation, however, Mr. Bedford, forgetful of his character as a Christian pastor, in no very amiable spirit rejects. He treats the loss of Colston's good opinion and friendship with the utmost indifference, and seems wholly unaffected thereat. He says "I humbly thank you for your advice in reference to Mr. Colston, but as I am to spend my days in a private retirement, *I shall have no occasion for his correspondence;* I am only sorry that Mr. Attwood suffers in his interest for Mr. Colston's sake, as being his relation, *because the Mayor and Council have different notions of state affairs.*" The Rev. Arthur Bedford resigned the vicarage in 1713. He took considerable pains in furthering the views of Colston, in establishing the School, until this unfortunate rupture; and it is much to be regretted a difference of opinion should have been the cause of severing the cordiality of two amiable men, both labourers in the same field of usefulness, and general benevolence.

If Colston's conduct towards Mr. Bedford, and the principles he has laid down for the education and management of youth, disclose a rooted prejudice against Dissenters, savouring of bigotry of which he has been accused, we must reflect upon the age in which he lived, and the education he had received; upon the sufferings and vicissitudes of his family, and the narrow escape from death of his father, for his adherence to what he considered the true faith. Colston had had experience of the Puritans when they were in the ascendant,—had witnessed the hypocrisy of the many, and beheld them without their mask. This may have occasioned that deep antipathy toward that body, which he evinced during all his life; and may have cemented more firmly his attachment to the Church, which influenced all his actions, and is proclaimed in all his works.

Colston, however, who knew and felt that all mankind had need of forgiveness, bore no enmity in his heart to Mr. Bedford. However great had been the provocation,—however deep had been the ingratitude,—all was forgiven. Grievous as was any dereliction from the orthodox creed of the Church of England in Colston's view, yet he could in the moral beauty of a just and exalted life, pass from his heart all memory of wrongs,¹ and write to the Trustees approving testimony of the manner in which Mr. Bedford had performed the duties of the School. June 13th, 1713, he says—"I am under some apprehension that your boys will not be so well instructed in the catechism, and the other things relating to them, as they were by his predecessor."² Colston's anxiety on this subject, however, was soon removed by the Trustees. In reply, they speak in very high terms of Mr. Carey, and "beg Mr. Colston would favour him (Mr. Carey) with his countenance, and permit him to correspond with him, in all matters relating to his Charity School in this parish." To continue our notations of the School—

February 13th, 1711.—"A letter of thanks was to be written to Mr. Colston, for his having clothed thirty-four boys, which had enabled the Trustees to add six more. That he would be pleased to fix the number to be chosen out of this charity school after his decease, into the hospital on St. Augustine's Back; and also the number of aged persons from this parish, into his hospital, on St. Michael's Hill, so that they may put an account thereof on a table to be set up in the charity school, *that after ages may have recourse to it, and know what right they have by his kind benefactions*, lest if the numbers be not fixed the Merchants, who generally live in the richest parishes, should after his decease, chiefly regard their own parishioners, and *the poor who live in the poorest parishes have the least share of what was intended for them*. By this means he would be pleased to prevent the disputes which might otherwise hereafter arise."³

¹ "Time would fail me to enumerate his private virtues, as well as private charities; to speak of his temperance, his meekness, the evenness of his temper, his patience, his mortification, and the like, wherein he constantly exercised his soul."—DR. HARCOURT'S *Funeral Sermon*.

² Mr. Bedford was succeeded by the Rev. John Carey.

³ Colston attends to this suggestion and directs, "whereas, I have caused to be taken into my Hospital, on St. Augustine's Back, in Bristol, one hundred poor boys from the several parishes of the City, which I proportioned according to the lists given to me by the Churchwardens, *out of an inclination to be equally assistant to them all*, for which reason it's my desire, that said method shall be still continued and perpetuated amongst them, to the end that each parish may be partakers of the said charity, according to the number of their poor as it was at first given by me: but whereas,

Hitherto all had progressed satisfactorily. Colston, slow and methodical as was his wont, required an estimate of costs before he issued orders for the erection of the building, that he might consider thereon, and make his bargain. But the Trustees not possessing his caution, had acted somewhat prematurely, and received from him the following gentle reproof: which conveys at the same time an example of his scrupulous conscientiousness:—

“Gentlemen,

“Mortlake, June 2nd, 1711.

“I have yours of the thirtieth past, advising that you had sent for Mr. John Davis, and that he is willing to build a school on the terms I mentioned to you. Although in my last letter I acquainted you with the utmost charge I would be at about it; *yet I gave you thereby no authority either to send for or agree with Mr. Davis*; neither indeed did it enter into my thoughts, forasmuch as I wrote to him by the same post, to take a view of the ground, and then consider what it would cost me to complete the said building in such a manner as might be fit for the boys to come into it; and when I had that information from him, *then I could have made my proposals to him*, and acquainted you with them,—that before I had determined on any agreement, you might consult those who gave you the draught, to know their last resolutions, for *I did not judge it fair to exclude them without some reason for your so doing*. Let not any thing be done therein, till you hear farther from me, and that there be no after additions, it will be much better to consider what will be needful as well for beauty as strength, before any contract be entered upon. It being also intended that the inside be finished with forms, desks, and what else be needful.

“Your friend, to serve you,

“EDWARD COLSTON.”

at the said first admission, they were taken in from Temple parish but eight boys, and since that time I have been credibly informed, that the number of their poor is much increased by reason of the little trading there is in the said parish, which makes them want a farther help; therefore, and also *because it was the place of my nativity*, it's my will and desire, that the said parish should enjoy the benefit thereof, in as full a degree as any other of the said City, and that in order thereto, there should at no time be less than the aforesaid number of eight boys [if not ten] in my said Hospital; and that as often as any boy of the said parish shall die, or for any misdemeanor, or according to the establishment be removed,—another, or so many more, shall be taken in continually, and from time to time of the poor of the said parish, as shall make up the said number, within the term of thirteen weeks, from his or their death and removal.

“In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, in the presence of the two subscribed witnesses, this 31st day of December, 1712.

“Witness.—Thomas Edwards, and Robert Carr.

“EDWARD COLSTON.

“To the present and all future Masters Wardens, and Assistants of the Society of Merchant Adventurers of the City of Bristol, and to all others that are empowered by my settlement to said Society, to place boys into my Hospital, in the parish of St. Augustine.”—COLSTON'S *Settlements*.

+ A letter written in the name of the Trustees, January, 1712, informs Colston that the School he was pleased to build, is finished: "the marble inscription being set up over the door,—the boys have been taught there since the 19th December last."¹ That he will receive by Mr. Edwards, the counterpart of his most generous benefactions, signed by all the Feoffees except two; and that the Trustees desire to repeat their hearty thanks for all the favours, which he had from time to time shewed them by his ample donations. A copy of the last meeting of the Society, and the minutes of the visitation are also sent, and a copy of the orders which the Trustees think proper to continue in the School for ever, on which the favour of his opinion is desired.—

"As," continues the letter, "you will see by our visitation, what boys in our charity school are qualified for your hospital, and be exactly informed of their behaviour; so I hope you will be pleased to consider some of them when a vacancy presents. We all hope that this school will contribute very much to the increase of the Church of England, and I cannot but give you three instances which have happened since in this parish:—In July, 1710, five children of John Jessop, an Annabaptist, were baptized together. In September last, a Quaker in this parish came over to the Church, and had all his children baptized; and in December last, five children of Peter Healy, an Annabaptist, were baptized at Church, and the father is now a member among us, and we are in expectation of some others to be added to the number. *There was never a greater zeal shewn to promote the interest of religion and charity, than is at this time by all the Trustees in general, and I doubt not but it will continue.*"

Colston writes in his reply, "I am glad to hear of the success that your care and good example hath met with, in bringing so many to be baptized—God increase the number of them." He encloses his bill for £47 : 12 : 7, the balance of the expenses for building the School, &c., and approves of the rules and the method for teaching the boys, which, he says, will fit them for apprentices, and also qualify them to be staunch sons of the Church, provided such books are procured for them as have *no tincture of Whiggism*: and he adds, "The care taken by the Trustees for the school boys is very pleasing to me, and which, if constantly pursued, there is no doubt it will answer all our expectations." /

¹ "January 31st, 1712, Mr. Colston's coat of arms, with the inscription underneath, was set up in the front of the building so as to be seen by all passengers in the street."

With Colston's religious tenets, his letters have made us familiar: from the same source we learn his political views. Observation and experience had placed before him, a repulsive but true picture, of the evils produced by the growth of extreme sectarianism; and reason and matured reflection had taught him to regard, with distrust and alarm, all innovations that might infringe on the privileges of the subject, as secured by the matchless constitution of King, Lords, and Commons. He had seen the Church in the beauty of holiness, purity, and peace. He had seen Dissent in the deformity of fanaticism, intolerance, and discord. He had traced reckless, levelling democracy through sanguinary fields, destroying whatever was sacred and venerated in the land. No wonder that he clung to its time-hallowed institutions: no wonder that, in all his views, he sought to preserve, in their stability and permanency, the Altar and the Throne!

The Trustees, in a letter through Mr. Gray, thank Colston for the £47: 12: 7, and say that, in order that the books for the Schools shall have no "*tincture of Whiggism*," they have added this clause, "Provided that such books are composed by sound members of the Church of England, and are first approved of as such by the Trustees,—then by the Bishop,—and also by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."

The Trustees continue, "That the subscription for the boys' school was increasing, and the School was giving general satisfaction; that they had commenced a subscription for the girls, which amounted to £20, per ann., and had begun teaching, on Monday last, twenty poor girls; and that it seems to us *that God put it into your heart to promote so good a design among us*; and, as it is so prosperous beyond expectation, so we doubt not but He will reward you hereafter a thousand-fold for the same, which is the prayer of all the trustees, and especially of your most humble and affectionate servant,

"JOHN GRAY."

Colston had his reward here, and hereafter; "Providence, well pleased with the faithful dispensations of so just a steward, graciously smiled upon his endeavours. He exactly fulfilled the character given by Solomon, *There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth*. The increase of his wealth kept an equal pace with the largeness of his bounty. The love of God was plentifully shed abroad in his heart; and from this principle flowed all his munificence." To the above letter, the Trustees received the following reply from Mr. Colston to Mr. John Gray:—

“Mortlake, September 4th, 1712.

“Sir,

“Your letter of the 23rd past, I received and read with great satisfaction,—forasmuch as it informed me, that your Trustees of the Charity School have, by their good management thereof, not only procured an augmentation to the subscriptions for it, but also by their great industry and zeal in that undertaking, have got new ones for girls; and have already made so considerable a progress therein, that hath enabled them to place out twenty of them that have been taught; and likewise given them directions for their clothing with upper garments, and are not without hope to do it thoroughly by Easter. Wherein as I heartily wish they may succeed, so I cannot much doubt but they will. And not only so, but that, by their good example, other parishes will be influenced to imitate them,—*so that by the blessing of God, it may be hoped that the youth of the whole City will be educated in the fear of God, and in the profession of His true religion, as it is set forth, and taught by the Established Church of England*; which God in his mercy grant, by prospering the endeavours of your worthy Trustees; to whom be^t pleased to give my service, with an assurance that I am,

“Your humble Servant,

“EDWARD COLSTON.”

It may not be out of place to relate here a little incident, in itself of no weight or importance,—but as tending to show that educating the poor was, by the vulgar, still regarded with a jealous and mistrustful feeling; and that a grave and worthy body, were even suspected of countenancing, and encouraging, disturbers of that holy tranquillity, which should distinguish the Sabbath.

In 1711, “A complaint was made, that several persons near the Quakers’ Meeting House do stand idly in the streets, or play on the Lord’s day, in time of Divine service; and that they do affront the children belonging to the school, at their return from the church, calling them Colston’s *bull dogs*, and pulling off their caps, with other rude behaviour towards them; it is ordered that a letter be sent to Benjamin Coole, to be communicated by him to the chief of the Quakers, and to desire that they would take care to prevent it. And a letter was prepared accordingly.”

As previously related, the introduction of this religious body into the City, occasioned some disturbance, which at this period had wholly subsided; and they were allowed to pursue their form of worship without interference, or deprivation of those privileges, whose denial had stained the character of the past Government, and forms a gloomy page in English history. In Temple Street, at a short distance from Colston’s School, was situated their first

Meeting-house. This contiguity led to the occurrence which is the subject of the subjoined correspondence, relating to the violation of the Sabbath; arising in all probability from the inherent desire of teasing, possessed by a large portion of the juvenile population,—and by the ignorant and disorderly of the more advanced in years; though it is implied to have originated from a more serious and culpable motive. The reasonable, and amicable spirit in which the letters are written, must however have tranquillised the feelings disturbed from their wonted placidity by the supposed implication. As we have no further notice of the transaction, we may assume that each party endeavoured to repress the grievance which occasioned the complaint. The direct earnestness and formal style in which the letters of the Friends are indited, is truly in accordance with the rectitude and strict principle of that respected body. Without enthusiasm, they have a moral and religious tone, which merits the attention of the reader.

In the letter to Benjamin Coole, the Trustees state, they feel themselves obliged to lay before him the great profanation of the Lord's Day, occasioned in the parish by the shelter afforded to guilty parties, who run into his Meeting-house to avoid the Constables, and the penalty of the law. The Trustees had previously complained of the abuse, but instead of obtaining redress, the disorder increased:—persons not only standing idle near the congregation, but even playing there in time of divine service, “to the great dishonour of Almighty God, and the publick scandal of all religion.” They then refer to the manner in which the children belonging to their School are treated, “*as though it were a design to discourage the training of youth in any other principles than those of the Quakers.*” Thus [they continue] the place, which you and others intend for the worship of God, is as anctuary for this immorality,—and because the sentence against an evil work is hereby avoided, therefore the hearts of so many amongst us are hardened in their wickedness.” They are well assured that he will be ready to prevent the judgments which such practices do justly deserve from God, and therefore desire him to inform the chief of his congregation, and acquaint them that this lies at their door.¹

During the absence of Benjamin Coole, an answer is written by Alexander Arscott, who says, that the matter had been represented to a meeting of the

¹ The letter is signed by Arthur Bedford, John Hudson, Samuel Whiting, Walter Hawkins, William Lansdon, Henry Phelps, Thomas Warren, and Thomas Hollister.

Friends, who had employed a person to attend the door of the said Meeting-house, in order to prevent any such loose persons from taking shelter there, and to discover their names, if possible. That the meeting would heartily concur in any proper methods for curing the evil, of which they had an equal dislike with the complainants. But as for the abuse offered to the scholars, *"as it doth not appear to proceed from any of his friends, he desires the Trustees to forbear any reflections on them as a people, till they have certain evidence it is encouraged by them,—who, with himself, are so far from being opposed to Charity Schools, that they wish there were more of them in this as in other places."*

Benjamin Coole is returned from London, and takes up the subject. He writes, that he shall always be a thorough Conformist, in suppressing a base and vicious practice, and heartily invites others to join in it with himself. But though he expresses his satisfaction at the import of the letter of the Trustees, "in the main," there was one provocation, the implication of his party in the transaction, that he does not fail to mildly argue upon, and ably controvert. "All that our Society can do, shall be done, to prevent a recurrence of the like disorders within our walls for the future; and yet we cannot warrant a perfect cure, it being out of our power to rule those that do not belong to us; for such, you allow, shelter themselves sometimes in our Meeting-house, when pursued by the Constables, which is plain they are not *belonging* to our Meeting, but only run in there for shelter (which we will take care to prevent); but how these idle and impudent people, when playing in the time of Divine Service,—and that pull caps, and call bull dogs, and are pursued by the Constables for the same, even into our Meeting-house, which they have only taken up with for shelter;—(I say) how these should be for discouraging the training up of youth in the principles of any religion except our own, is what, I confess, I do not understand, and should be glad to be informed, by the inditer or writer of your letter, or by any one else,—for till I am satisfied therein, I cannot inform the chief of our congregation (as you desire) that the sin lies at our door, since it doth not appear so from the premises."

Benjamin Coole, who felt the injustice of the insinuation against his people, concludes by stating, that a free conference on the subject would be very acceptable. This we conclude, from the silence of the records, was judiciously avoided by the Trustees, who had been rather premature in their aspersion.

Obscure names are worth recording, when they are associated with grateful feelings and virtuous resolves. In the following document, we have an instance of five humble individuals, who, appreciating the lasting benefits of education,

pledge themselves, if they obtain the means, to promote the interests of that School, to which they were indebted for their own:—

“Wee, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having been educated in the Charity-School, in the Parish of Temple, in the City of Bristol, by the yearly contributions of several benefactors for this purpose, do accordingly promise, that if it shall please God to bless our lawful and honest endeavours, and give us a competency of riches in this world; we will, accordingly, contribute for the future education of others in the same parish. Witness our hands, the day and year respectively underwritten.

“Signed, July 6th, 1711, by,
 RICHARD PRICHARD, JAMES NURTEN,
 RICHARD TIPPETT, JOHN SPIRIN.”
 CHARLES BARTLETT,

We regret we cannot trace the fortunes of these good-intentioned youths. If any prospered, we have no evidence that they redeemed their pledge.¹ What after all are the promises of adversity? how easily the mind distributes in good uses, its visionary wealth,—how difficult when the gold is tangible and real. How few that dwell in the midst of abundance, remember the charitable aid that fostered their childhood, and laid the foundation of their gilded fortunes!

Two instances occur, wherein the benevolent intentions of the donors to this charity have been frustrated. Mr. John Gray, whose interest in its advancement has been seen,—April 1713, left a house in Temple Street, chargeable with several annuities, to the Trustees of this School, for the purpose of apprenticing some of the boys educated therein; but as no document can be found to indicate the house, the bequest is lost. The other instance, is in the case of the £50, left by a Mr. Sperring. This money remained at interest in the hands of the Corporation of Bristol, upon their bond till 1783, when the principal was unfortunately entrusted to Mr. William Eagle, the Treasurer of the charity. Mr. Eagle, who had been Treasurer for forty years, died in the year 1801, insolvent, and the £50, beside a balance of £95 : 13 : 7, which he owed the charity, were thus irretrievably lost.²

With Colston the prosperity of the School may be considered to have departed. Its means of usefulness have diminished, not increased with the

¹ “A Mr. Sperring, [Christian name unknown] previous to the year 1713, gave £50, for the use of the School.”—MANCHEE'S *Charities*. It would be satisfactory to identify him with the “John Spirin,” whose autograph is attached to the promise, did not the period assigned to his donation render it somewhat improbable.

² “Manchee's *Charities*.”

lapse of years. The moral influence of his example,—his fixedness and earnestness of purpose, in aid of the ignorant poor, fell upon stony ground,—and there sprung up no emulation in the hearts of the opulent, to go and do likewise. Alas! that we should have to deplore, that although the habitations of the wealthy are more numerous,—their adornments more sumptuous,—their equipages more costly,—their living more luxurious—that this charity, fostered by our great Philanthropist, has not advanced with the increasing affluence of the age. Many with only a competency, then gave towards its maintenance,—many with abundance, now withhold. No words can give deeper import to the humiliating fact, than that it now educates and clothes, but thirty, instead of the forty boys, for whom the endowment was provided.¹

In our uninterrupted search into the progress of this charity, we have allowed ourselves to be carried over several passages in the life of our Philanthropist, to which we return. July 2nd, 1708, the Rev. Arthur Bedford proposes Colston as a corresponding member of the “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,” and that Mr. Gray, who had been so instrumental with Colston in establishing the Temple School, should have a letter of thanks in the name of the Society. Thereupon it directs Mr. Bedford to make inquiries of Colston, whether he would be willing to accept of a correspondence with the Society. Mr. Bedford writes, in reply, that Colston is willing to accept of a correspondence, *provided it don't oblige him to write frequent letters*. August 4th, 1709, he is elected a member: the 27th, he writes from Bristol in answer to the Society's first general letter, that his age inclining him to retire from all business, he could be no ways serviceable to the Society as a correspondent; that he had so good opinion of their designs, that (*as he had for some years past*) so he should continue, to contribute towards the maintenance of several Charity Schools. His next letter, dated from Mortlake, 17th October, is addressed to Mr. Stubbs, “desiring him to thank the Society for the honour they had done him [Colston] by choosing him a residing member, and to assure them, that though he could not attend their weekly meetings, that he would not be backward in giving his assistance to the increase of Charity Schools; and furthering

¹ “The fund [£80 per annum,] although originally sufficient for the purpose, has been, by the alteration of the times, for many years insufficient for the clothing and educating forty boys, as directed by the founder: and the Trustees have for upwards of twenty years past, been obliged to reduce the number of boys to twenty-five or thirty.”—*MANCHESTER'S Charities*.

anything that relates to them, whenever the Secretary should acquaint him with the occasion."

We spare the reader many details; but there are a few entries in this Society's records, that command attention, as elucidating the high estimation in which Colston was held; showing that he had earned and deserved the Christian regard of this Society in its early days. They also display the peculiar character of *his* benevolence,—working not only for particular objects which he supported,—but leading, by his example, others to acts of Christian philanthropy. They are simple and unadorned, expressive of his character,—that of a good, humble-minded man. Mr. Bedford communicates to Colston, "April 10th, that the Society desires he would let him [Colston], who has laid so many noble foundations, know that posterity cannot more praise his memory than the members of the Society esteem him at present, *for all the liberal endowments which he is daily settling for the good of mankind*: they pray God to raise up more such generous benefactors, and thereby engage the continuance of His blessings on this nation."

Another extract is valuable and cheering, as declaratory of that impressive truth, that fills the page of social progress from all recorded time, and should never be excluded from the memory. Who is there, from the highest to the lowliest of mankind, whose example, be it good or evil, has not its influence?

June 14th, Mr. Bedford writes to the Society, "that his charitable friend to the Marshalsea prison, is very much pleased with the addition the Bishop of Winchester, has made to encourage a Chaplain there; and, if the nomination of the person be left to his Lordship and his successors, it may be a means to perpetuate the charity. He adds, that if a proposal of the same nature were communicated throughout the nation, it may excite other charitable persons to do the like. *Mr. Colston's example at Bristol induced his friend;—his friend's example has occasioned a third;—and, publishing these by consent, may occasion a thousand more.*"

Such were the feelings and sentiments entertained by Mr. Bedford, towards Colston, but a short time before the rupture, at the elections of members for the City,—that, he writes him, "your benefaction at the prison¹ hath also stirred

¹ "It was no small trouble to his soul to think that any should be destitute of the blessings of religious instruction, and more especially those in prison; who too commonly, through the neglect of it, have incurred the greatest guilt, by their violation of human as well as Divine laws."—DR. HARCOURT'S *Funeral Sermon*.

up another gentleman of this City, to give another sermon on Good Friday, provided the Minister will give one of his own upon each Fast day, which Mr. Tucker¹ hath accepted, and began last Wednesday accordingly."

It is no easy task to portray a character that, as far as human infirmity can discern, approaches the ideal perfection of Christian virtue. Colston is unknown to us until the meridian of life,—when he appears to walk in his own mild sphere, breathing piety,—infusing consolation,—healing the broken-hearted,—and lifting up those that are down. All is light,—we have no shadows of mortal frailties to darken and relieve the features,—but purified, sublimated,—perhaps for mercies bestowed,—perhaps for dangers escaped,—he walks his blessed path of faith and love! It is no easy task to portray such a man. This, and the paucity of our materials, must plead our excuse for much that is monotonous in these pages. They recount only the efforts of a humane man, with thoughts intent to benefit his species,—physically, morally, and religiously. Erecting Almshouses for the aged,—Schools for the young, and making provision for their future support; and as such we delight to follow him. While he was, therefore, assiduously engaged in the active discharge of his charitable duties, he was also endeavouring to promote the inestimable doctrines of the Gospel, as expounded by the Ministers of the Established Church; and with this view, in the year 1710, he instituted a course of Lent Lectures in this City,—which especially met the approbation of the Grand Jury at the Easter Sessions, who send him the following commendatory letter:—

"To Mr. Edward Colston,

"Sir,—Your many extraordinary favours to our City, expressed in your adorning our churches, erecting hospitals, and many other public and private charities, demand our hearty thanks, and most solemn acknowledgments,—which we, the Grand Inquest, at our General Quarter Sessions, do now sincerely, and in the name of ourselves and fellow-citizens, present to your acceptance. Your late benefactions, by instituting a course of Lent Sermons, is of such especial advantage to us, that we know not in what terms to express our gratitude, but pray Almighty God to reward your piety in the success of so good a work upon the hearts and consciences of our people, and in such blessings on your own person, as the holy and devout men of old (who

¹ The Rev. Humphrey Tucker was the first Minister for explaining the Church Catechism, and instructing the boys at Colston's Hospital, on St. Augustine's Back.

"were the predecessors of your faith and charity) enjoyed in this life, and in the glories of eternity. We herein speak the sentiments of all persons among us, who are touched with a sense of God's glory, and honour; and who own themselves the true sons of our Established Church, *of which you are so peculiar an ornament*. We are, by the greatest obligations,

"Sir, your most humble Servants,

"JOHN HOBBS, Freeman,
RICHARD EAGLES, &c."

Colston in his reply, expresses himself gratified by the approbation and commendation his Christian efforts had obtained; and avails himself of the occasion, slightly to allude to the manner in which his proposal, now acknowledged so beneficial, had been originally received. Here, as elsewhere, he omits no opportunity of declaring his warm and zealous attachment to the Church of England. No man more fully appreciated the great advantages to a nation of an Established Church,—no man ever laboured with more sincerity to make those advantages understood;—and no man ever more earnestly strove, that the piety and peace to be derived from walking through life, under the guidance of its most holy doctrines,—should, with their comforting assurance, and glorious hopes, be disseminated to all.¹ His zeal in its cause may have approached severity,—but when we read the character of the man, whose whole life was modelled to its service, who can say his enthusiasm was too great—or the extent of his attachment irrational?

"Mortlake, May 9th, 1710.

"Gentlemen of the Grand Inquest,

"Your obliging letter was gratefully received, and so shall allways be acknowledged by me,—because, gentlemen in so considerable a post in your City, are pleased

¹ In Colston's directions for the government of his Hospital, it is ordered, that the children be instructed in the principles of religion, as laid down in the Church Catechism; that the Master be a member of the Church of England; that he be approved of by the major part of the beneficed Clergy of the City, and that he be licensed by the Ordinary; that in case the parents of any boy shall prevail on him to go to any meeting,—or deter the Master from observing the rules of the house,—or any child from attending the *Church of England*, it shall be the cause of such boy's expulsion; and that when any boy is to be apprenticed, it shall be to a person in all respects conformable to the Church of England. Also, if the Master of the Merchants' Hall, shall, by connivance or otherwise consent to, or encourage the educating of the boys in any principles of religion that are dissenting from the Church, then notice to be given to the Governors of Christ's Hospital.—*Colston's Settlements.*

“to own that to be an advantage to your fellow citizens, *which some have formerly, and, peradventure, do still slight.* My intentions of doing what I have there done, were only for the public good; and chiefly by the Lent Sermons, to revive the primitive zeal for the church government as by law established; and since I understand, to my unspeakable comfort, that it hath the success I aimed at,—I bless God for inclining my heart thereto,—and shall pray to Him to increase daily, more and more, the spirit of piety (that at present seems to be among you) and zeal for the *best of churches, I mean that of England,* as now established by law,—whose holy doctrines, if we follow, will teach us obedience to our Governors, as well civil as ecclesiastical, and to support the rights of both, to which that God will incline us all, is the unfeigned desire of, gentlemen,

“Your humble Servant,

“EDWARD COLSTON.”

The Rev. Arthur Bedford, writes to Colston, that “the Lent Sermons in this City are punctually preached by the respective Clergy; the churches are extraordinary full, and the sermons are generally very excellent and satisfactory, not inferior to any discourses which are printed on those particular subjects.” Chalmers says, that Colston appointed the subjects of the sermons himself. They are specified in the following extract from Colston’s Will, with the conditions on which they were to be maintained.—

“Whereas I have ordered sermons to be preached in some of the parish churches, in the City of Bristol, every Wednesday and Friday during Lent, yearly,—upon several subjects relating to the primitive discipline and usage of the Church of England,—such as the Lenten Fast, the Nature and Institution of the Catholic Church, the Excellency of the present Church of England,¹ the Censures of the Church, viz:—Excommunication, Penance and Restitution, Baptism, Frequenting the Communion, Against the Pope’s Supremacy and the Errors of the Romish Church,² Confirmation, Frequenting the Public Worship, Our Saviour’s Meritorious Passion, Confession, Public and Private Absolution, Public and Private Repentance; (but because the last of these is a topic very much handled, and the two former may be a subject for one discourse, forasmuch as they are inseparably united) instead of Repentance,—Superstition and Enthusiasm, in the room of Absolution, (if it shall be adjudged by the generality of the Ministers of the said City, who are to preach those sermons, that they will be more beneficial) which I have continued during

¹⁻² “If we may believe any man to be sincere,—he, all whose actions have been so agreeable to the Christian religion, must be believed by the most unreasonable gainsayers, to have liv’d the most steadfast in his persuasion *of the excellence of the Church of England,* and in his just dislike to *the errors of the Church of Rome.*”—DR. HARCOURT.

"my life with an allowance of £20, per annum, to such Ministers of the said City as shall preach them, together with a sermon each month in the year to the prisoners in Newgate, and also a yearly sermon, on the 2nd November, at the Cathedral Church, at which my Hospital boys are to be present. The Society of Merchants to pay the £20, per annum for three years, and at the expiration of three years, should his executors and nominees be satisfied that such preaching hath proved beneficial to the inhabitants, by inclining them to a love and good liking of the institutions of the Primitive Church; then the Society of Merchants to pay the same for ever. Should the Ministers neglect their duty, the £20, per annum to be paid to the Churchwardens of Redcliff and St. Thomas Parishes, towards maintaining a Charity School, in each parish for twenty children at least, if the parishioners will raise a fund¹ sufficient, to teach the children to read, write, cypher, and the Church Catechism, and in default, the £20 to be given annually to forty poor housekeepers of the said two parishes, who do not receive alms, and who do frequent and conform to the doctrines of the now established Church.² The Minister, who shall teach his boys their Catechism, to be allowed 20s. per annum, to make up his salary £10, per annum. The boys not only to repeat by heart, but *thoroughly to understand the meaning and use of the present Church Catechism.*"

Colston, up to the period of his election, had been a frequent visitant to Bristol. He may have wished to inspect the management of his Christian labours,—to know the parties in whom he had confided. Kindly human emotions, cordial confidences, cherished affections, and solemn memories,—may all have influenced and conducted his footsteps to his early home,—where every retrospection was endeared by duty, tenderness, and love. We learn that here, his favourite place of worship was the Cathedral, which he daily attended. On the Sabbath, he would stand at the door, to see his boys arrive; and, as the long train, with doffed caps, passed their benevolent Patron, he would kindly pat them on their heads, speak encouragingly to all, and follow them to his accustomed seat within the choir. The Dean and Chapter had exhibited their

¹ "It doubtless was a very great pleasure to him, to follow in those paths of goodness, where others had gone before; nor is it to be imagined but that he would have felt an equal satisfaction, whenever he could observe, that by his acts of charity, a spirit of emulation was raised in other breasts. From this principle, he seems sometimes to have confined his generosity, below what the occasion might require to make the action complete and perfect, only with this view, that he might, by this means, engage the charity of others, to join with him."—DR. HARCOURT.

² The Lent Sermons were discontinued about the year 1732, and the School situated in Pile Street has, from the year 1747, been in the regular receipt of this annuity of £20.

respect for his virtues in a manner, such as we believe has been seldom conceded to a private individual. A stall, yet distinguished by his crest¹ and initials, had been appropriated by them to his use. It is now assigned to the Archdeacon of Dorset.

Here, beneath its antique canopy,—brilliant with honours he had never sought,—happy in hopes fulfilled,—grateful for blessings bestowed,—did the venerable Philanthropist, with the assembled congregation, unite his voice of prayer and praise. Deep, holy, and thankful must have been his thoughts when he looked around upon his youthful family,²—which, by his Creator's guidance, he had fed and clothed. The beautiful and touching service of the Church, in whose creed he had lived,—its primitive teachings,—the practical good of its sublime faith, was never more truly emblemed forth than in the picture of that aged man,—tranquil, serene, and happy,—worshipping beneath the same roof with the objects of his love. Did his mind ever wander from the present,—from the groups of worshippers around to a far distant time,—and his heart beat with the happy hope,—that there, in that holy pile, when his days would be the old days,—there would still be a juvenile band bearing his cipher, wearing the same garb, and living and learning through his bounty,—as though mutation had ceased, and his benefaction was imperishable, till all earthly things should be dissolved?

A short time previous to Colston's decease, it is said, he had made a contract to pave the whole of the Cathedral choir with white marble, at his own private cost, to the amount of £600. This munificent intention he did not live to perform. He subscribed, however, towards beautifying the choir, and laying the marble about the communion table. Relative to this contribution, a pleasing and simple expression of his feelings, is conveyed in one of his letters to Richard Haynes, Esq., of which the latter so approves, that he introduces the passage in a letter to the Rev. Arthur Bedford, 13th November, 1711: writing of Colston, he says:—

¹ There is a tradition that Colston chose the dolphin for his crest, from the following improbable circumstance:—One of his ships returning from the West Indies, richly laden, sprung a leak, which the crew were unable to stop. The water was rapidly rising in the vessel, when a *dolphin* was drawn into the aperture, and thereby saved the vessel and crew.

² When urged by a solicitous friend to marry, he is said to have replied, "Every helpless widow is my wife, and her distressed orphans my children."

"I cannot conclude without imparting to you his approved readiness to other charities, for having been informed of the subscription, that has of late proceeded towards the *encouragement of our Quire*, he desired me to transmit the paper to him, and having perused it, he returned it me with the following approbation:—'Herewith,' saith he, 'you will receive the paper of subscriptions, and I cannot but hope that you will have a considerable number added to it, since the charge is so very easy, and the proposed end will be so much for the honour of that Cathedral, which hath been so long neglected; since none of the subscriptions do exceed ten-shillings per annum. *I am apprehensive that it may be thought a piece of ostentation in me to under-write more*, although I am willing to contribute five—nay ten-pounds, for the term therein limited, rather than the design should miscarry,—I have signed my name, and submit it to you to set down what sum you shall judge most proper, and shall take care to have it complied with.'¹

"These are the words of that truly, pious, and honourable Gentleman, whom Bristol never produced an equal. I know your curiosity tends you to such, and the like entertainments which I communicate to you for your satisfaction.

"And am, Sir,

"Your humble Servant,

"RICHARD HAYNES."

Colston was a Philanthropist in its most comprehensive sense. Benevolence born of Faith and Hope, was a deep-seated principle in his conduct. It extended far and wide, embraced all the known necessities of society, and was prudentially disseminated, with scrupulous care and forethought.² There is scarcely a misery incident to human nature which he did not contribute to relieve. The privations of the needy Clergy were not, therefore overlooked.³ Beneath the sable garb of many a worthy Minister of the Established Church,

¹ Mr. Haynes wrote against Colston's autograph the sum of £250.

² "Much delicacy and judgment are required to dispose of gratuities so as to make the parties relieved the better for them. Colston seems to have possessed no small share of this judgment; for among other instances of it, one may be noted in his not giving anything to common beggars. This he never did; but he always ordered that poor housekeepers, sick and decayed persons, should be sought out as the fittest objects of his charity."—CHALMERS.

³ In aid of the poor Clergy, Queen Anne had, as an augmentation of their maintenance, given her whole revenue, arising out of her first fruits and tenths. The alienation was made law by the Commons, and a Charter Corporation was created in 1703. "Our late gracious and pious Queen, of blessed memory," says Dr. Harcourt, "has left a monument of everlasting glory to her name.* * A benefaction of such a nature, that the Church of England has not one more glorious to recite amongst all Royal favours of former reigns."

the heart of the wearer beat dolefully; as harassed with anxieties and cares, his racked thoughts wandered from his sacred duties to the daily exigencies of life. The benefices of many of the poor Clergy were so small, that their possessors were not only excluded from the comforts of competency which their education and position demanded,—but had scarcely sufficient to exclude the gaunt face of want, from entering their dwellings. To add to their distress, were the urgent appeals of their destitute parishioners,—who looked for creature sustenance from the pastors, who presided over their spiritual weal. To mitigate to any extent the sufferings, and ameliorate the condition of so large a body,—was more than the efforts and the wealth of a private individual could accomplish. Colston felt this,—but he also felt that something was demanded from him, as a solid testimony of his attachment to the Church, he had on all occasions expressed himself so zealously devoted. And his gift was munificent. For the augmentation of sixty small *livings*, he placed in the hands of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty £6000. His intention was communicated to them by Mr. Edwards. In reply, the Governors state that they look upon the charity “as so prudent and well placed,” that they desire Mr. Edwards to give the thanks of the Board to the donor. “So large is this benefaction, that after all his other immense sums given in charity,—the name of Mr. COLSTON does stand *highest* amongst those who have added to the Queen's Bounty, for *augmenting the maintenance of the poorer Clergy*.”¹

With respect to this amount, there is a tradition, which although unauthenticated, may be incidentally related. It has, since Colston's time, been applied to many succeeding philanthropists,—as it probably descended to him from some kind soul in ages far remote. It is related that a gentleman waited upon Colston, for the purpose of soliciting aid in the augmentation of several small benefices. He explained the requirements, and warmly advocated the cause of the poor Clergy. Colston had just opened a letter, when interrupted,—and deferred its perusal until he had conversed with his visitor. To whom, after expressing his regret that he could not, in justice to the many claims there were upon his purse, do more for so excellent a purpose, he presented a cheque for £3000. While yet speaking, his eye rested on some words in the opened letter, and he begged to be excused while he read. The contents

¹ Dr. Harcourt's Funeral Sermon.

informed him of the destruction by fire, of several large warehouses. These, conformable to Colston's views, had not been insured,—and his loss was very considerable. He calmly handed the letter to his companion, saying, "See how the Lord reproves his tardy steward; I had reserved that property for a charitable endowment after my decease." He then requested the cheque to be returned, which he immediately destroyed; and writing another, said, as he placed it in the hands of his visitor, "I have still something left, let me endeavour to make atonement while I have to give." He had doubled the amount.

Colston had now retired to his seat at Mortlake. Whatever was the cause, or, if any, that had induced him to withdraw his attendance at the parish meetings, it was removed,—and he resumed his place the 24th June, 1711. We find him in attendance during the two following years, and for the last time, the 13th of the same month. From this day, the familiar characters cease from the yellow pages of the journal.

If we return to Bristol, we shall find our Corporation records silent also. His name has disappeared. The Chamber's last notice was, on a presentation of wine, as member in Parliament. When Parliament was dissolved, he is referred to no more. We seek therefore for information, from the chartularies of the corporate body, with whom he entrusted the management of his princely charities. Here, although he has described himself as not fond of writing letters, it may be supposed his anxiety would not allow his pen to be entirely laid aside. We are again disappointed. From the date of his last correspondence, December, 1711, there is a lapse of four years, during which his letters cease; or, what is more probable, have not been preserved. Our next is an extract conveyed in a letter from the Master of the Hall, wherein Colston's peculiarities of system, and style, and precise business habits prevail.¹ Neither a thought, sentiment, nor feeling is expressed, that would create an impression that it was the production of a man, so remarkably distinguished for his philanthropic spirit:—

¹ "In building his Hospitals, and Almshouses, he showed that his judgment could not be imposed upon by the workmen, either as to the quality of their materials, or as to the value of their work; for as he understood those things very well, he drove what the world would call a hard bargain, and paid all the workmen himself, if present, or else ordered them to be paid every Saturday night. If they worked longer than their customary hours he paid them proportionally, if otherwise, he deducted, but never allowed any thing for drink."—DR. KEPPIS. *Biographia Britannica*.

"To Mr. Robert Earl,

"Bristol, 26th December, 1715.

"Sir,

"I have this day a letter from Mr. Colston, dated 22nd of this Month, wherein is the following words, viz:—As to the accounts of both Houses, whensoever the Hall shall think fit to send them, I expect and desire that they come in the same form that the last did, that being agreeable to the covenants between us; only I judge they ought to be signed by the Master and the other gentlemen, our friends, that audit them, as hath been formerly done. And if the Almshouse accounts, were made debtor for the balance of the Hospital,—and that thereby evened, then at one view it would appear what was owing by the Hall, on both,—but this last I submit to their thoughts, as I also do if the arrears may not be sooner got in.

"When you shall have duly considered of the placing out of some of the boys apprentices, and by so doing, paying the money allotted for that purpose, sooner than otherwise they ought to have done, and find that the Hall hath been any ways damaged thereby, I will readily reimburse them of it by ordering the payment of it to them,—for I would not have it charged in their accounts, that it may not be brought into a precedent for the future; and for that end it is my desire that no boy be taken in above such an age, as he may tarry in the House full seven years, without being a prejudice to his being bound out an apprentice afterwards, and that his or their parents be acquainted, that no manner of allowance shall be made for that purpose, unless they shall complete the said time there,—the which, peradventure, may make them not to misrepresent their ages, and thereby causing a breaking in on our agreed methods, which its my desire should be punctually observed,

"Sir, I am your humble servant,

"EDWARD COLSTON."

The accounts kept by the Hall were probably not managed according to Colston's system; and the worthy Baronet, for the purpose of avoiding differences, and saving trouble, adds suggestively,—“If the account was made up in the manner within mentioned, it will please Mr. Colston, and be an ease to the Hall, so is my opinion, that am, your humble servant,

"JOHN DUDDLESTONE."

The following year in October, another letter addressed to Sir John Duddlestone was received from Colston, and read to the Hall. It relates to putting out apprentices from his School; and in phraseology, partakes of the same business character as the preceding. This, as it does not portray any new feature, we withhold transcribing. It is different however with his next letter. We have ever seen him particularly sensitive on any infringement, or apparent disrespect to his position; or what he might have construed into unsanctioned interference, slight, or neglect. The acting without his counsel

or approbation, displeased and disquieted him, and the wonted tranquillity of his placid temperament is ruffled. It was under such feelings that he thus expresses himself:—

“ Mortlake, 26th April, 1717.

“ Gentlemen, Governors of the Merchants’ Hall,

“ Yours of the 15th past, and 5th present,—I received in due time, and with the latter your Hall’s accounts of my Hospital and Almshouse ; which I have passed accordingly, and as to what relates to the former notwithstanding, I have empowered them to make choice of a School Master and other Officers, requisite for my Hospital ; yet the common civility that is shewed to all men, especially to those under my circumstances,—would have prevented the surprise you express to have been at, for my resenting your too hasty proceedings in your election of a chief, before you had intimated to me your disapproval of the person recommended by me for that employment. But since my *inclinations are rather to close than to widen a breach*, I shall forbear to say any thing further upon that subject ; only I do hereby solemnly declare, that I had not the least knowledge or intimation of Mr. Tooker, being a Non-juror, at the time I recommended him,—nor yet till after you had made choice of Mr. Samuel Gardner, who I shall hope and not doubt by the discharge of the trust reposed in him, will deserve the character you have given of him. I shall also acquiesce in what you write relating to myself ; and lastly, that you will have no objection to direct that this following clause be copied in your Hall book, which I rather desire, because it will remain there upon record.¹

“ That I was not induced to endow my Hospital, only for the bare feeding of the 100 boys, that at present and in futurity are to inhabit there,—but chiefly that they should be educated under such Overseers and Masters, as will take care that they shall be bred up *in the doctrine of our present Established Church of England*. Therefore I conjure, as well all the present as future Governors of your Hall,—that they take effectual care as far as in them lieth, that the boys be so educated as aforesaid ; and *that none of them be afterwards placed out as apprentices to any men that are Dissenters from the said communion*, as they will be answerable for a breach of their trust, at the last and great tribunal before which we must all appear.²

“ I am,

“ Your humble Servant,

“ EDWARD COLSTON.”

¹ 1718. July 3rd. The clause was in accordance with Colston’s earnest request, ordered to be entered into the Hall books.

² Colston, in his *Settlements*, complains that the members of the Merchants’ Hall have neglected visiting his School ; and enquires the behaviour of the Master ; also if he allowed good and sufficient food for the boys, and of their improvement in their learning.—“ Now, forasmuch as it hath been too

Not without a sad and melancholy feeling, do we peruse this impressive letter. Impressive from its urgent, solemn appeal to the most sanctified obligations of humanity. Sad and melancholy from the thought that it is the last conveyance of his desires that Time has left us,—let it be prized and treasured—and in righteousness obeyed,—imperishably united with his memory, while regard for Christian virtues shall remain among the sons of men. We cannot wonder that Colston should have written in the language of displeasure. It must be admitted that he had not been treated with that deference to his wishes, which was due to his position; yet slighted as he considered himself, and most certainly had been, his peaceable and forgiving disposition is here beautifully manifested. We seek not to pass over his great prejudice against Dissenters. We profess not to write him as a faultless character.—His life was one of purity and holy endeavour; but his garments were of the earth, earthy,—and the stain of mortality tarnished the lustre of his high aspirings. Nought could undermine his steadfast adherence to the Church; it breathes forth throughout all his letters,—speaks in all his deeds,—and like a voice from the dead—his appeal to all future Governors, still awfully and solemnly exhorts and conjures the living, by every moral obligation which can bind mankind to the sacred discharge of their duties to their fellow creatures, and to their God. The doctrine and discipline of the Church had been his guide and support; he had cause to bless the influence of its admirable precepts on

apparent, that for want of such inspection and care, the said boys have been so neglected by the Schoolmaster, that when they were examined, it was found they had made so little improvement in their writing and ciphering, by the often absence of the said Master from his School, that they were not fitly qualified to be put out apprentices; as likewise, he had not given them sufficient allowance of provisions for comfortable subsistence. Therefore, to prevent as much as in me lyeth, such neglect and abuses for the future,—it is my desire, and I do hereby empower my Executors and Nominees, in my Deed of Trust, that should it at any time hereafter appear to them that the like remissness hath been in my Trustees of the Merchants' Hall, or that by connivance, or otherwise, they have consented or encouraged the educating the said boys in any principles of religion, *contrary to, or dissenting from, our present Established Church,—or bound them out apprentices to Masters dissenting therefrom*; they immediately give notice to them, desiring it be amended: *it being wholly contrary to my inclinations and intentions, that they should be brought up in any principles repugnant to the Church of England now established by law.* And in case they shall not find any good effect from such admonition, that then they either intimate the same to the Governors of Christ's Hospital, in London, who are made Visitors by my Deed of Settlement on said Hall,—or else take proper remedy therefore, by advice of good Council; the charges thereof to be taken out of my estate."

himself through a long life of usefulness; and had become intolerant of all innovation,—of all other forms of worship but that which to him had brought peace and good will towards men, and a hope which went beyond the grave. It was in this spirit he wrote the impressive adjuration we have just read, by which he sought to bind all future generations in maintaining his charity, even as he leaves it; with due regard not alone to the temporal, but more especially to the spiritual welfare of those whom he had pledged himself to feed and clothe.

Towards the “seating and beautifying” All Saints’ Church, Colston had given, in 1703, through Mr. Thomas Edwards, £100. In 1713, the low freestone tower was taken down, and the present dome commenced building. It cost £589: 10: 3, raised by voluntary contributions of the citizens.—Colston himself gave £250, and an additional £100, for beautifying the chancel.¹ At a meeting of the Common Council, 16th January, 1716,—

“A Petition was laid before the House from Dr. Harcourt, Minister,—Isaac Taylor, and Francis Gythers, Churchwardens of All Saints’, stating their having expended several hundred pounds in building a new tower; and that £800, would not be sufficient to mend the side-walls, seats, inside, and setting up the bells, conduit, and other things to be done to the church; all which being for the glory and service of God, and for the honour of the City (the church being situate on so eminent and conspicuous a part of it) and praying the consideration of the House,—resolved that £100, be paid the Churchwardens towards accomplishing so pious and good a work.”

On erecting the present tower, under the influence of a grateful feeling towards Colston, his crest of the dolphin, and a pine apple, were placed over the dome as a vane. But with time that feeling appears to have subsided, and to have given way to a sense of disappointment. Colston remained no longer to answer to the call of improvement, or the appeal of charity.—He had left but a small bequest to the church in which his ashes and those of his sires reposed. Therefore, 15th May, 1728, the vestry resolved that the present vane

¹ “Add to this, [his other Charities] his liberality in giving towards the rebuilding, the repair, and beautifying the places of worship, the churches of God, many of which in this City have received his generous and repeated bounty. It would be impious in me and the inhabitants of this pariah [All Saints’] not to mention, with gratitude and reverence, his especial liberality to this church in particular, as for the beauty of it, so for the opportunities herein given of weekly prayers.”—DR. HARCOURT.

should be taken down, and a ball and cross substituted. The dolphin was of copper, and, with the pine apple, was ordered to be sold in 1729.

The course of our Memoir now conducts us to Chewstoke, a small hamlet in Somersetshire, situated about seven miles from Bristol. In the account books of the parish, it appears that a correspondence took place between Colston and some person, probably the Rector, concerning a plan then in contemplation, for the better instruction of the poor. A passage in a letter from Colston, dated 12th April, 1718, in which he repeats the information he has himself received from the party to whom he writes, enables us to understand the object designed to be accomplished. "Yours of the 9th present, informs me that you have been endeavouring for these last two years past, to set up a School in Chewstoke,—and in order thereto, have got subscriptions to the value of £169, and are in hopes to make them £200, with which sum you propose to purchase £10, per ann. in lands, in perpetuity for the payment of a Master to teach the boys therein, to read, write, cypher,—and also to be thoroughly instructed in our Church Catechism." The letter then proceeds to declare Colston's willingness to assist in so good a work; but that his inclination would be rather to do it by a certain sum for a term of years. In a subsequent letter, dated 13th May, 1718, Colston adverts to a communication, which he had received from the same person, acquainting him with the further progress that had been made towards settling a Charity School, by purchasing a house; and that subscriptions had been received sufficient to pay for the same, within £5, which Colston offers to contribute. Colston settled the annual sum of £5, on the School during his life, and for twelve years after his decease.

So passed Colston's years, without adventure. His life had been one of almost spotless purity,—of inexhaustible and untiring charity. For nearly thirty years had his Almshouses on St. Michael's Hill been established, and in swift succession had his other great endowments followed. He had enacted his good deeds while the body was unfeebled, and the mind undecayed,¹—

¹ "What adds much to the value of all his good works, that they were all done by him, whilst he was yet alive.*** He well knew, that every good action, which is to take effect after our death, and to be executed after our wills are opened, is giving what we can no longer possess, and doing here what we have but little comfort from, whatever reward we may hope for it hereafter."—DR. HARCOURT.

while he could rely upon his own judgment,—while he could direct and provide for their continued security. He knew that health of body, and strength of mind must fail,—and he waited not to accomplish his exalted purposes, till weakened faculties, and impaired energies, called his thoughts beyond this transitory scene. His Charity was not an offering for length of days. It was not of repentance, but of benevolence,—not of remorse, but of love,—not of despair, but of piety! Colston felt that to leave the good he could accomplish till the portals of the “dismal banquet hall” had closed upon him, was but to half accomplish the great trust bestowed in him by his Creator. There is a sacredness in his sublime benevolence, thus charitably fulfilling the mandates of the Great Bestower,—that merits, as it has obtained, our venerated love!

Length of days, must be held by the tenure of seeing those we most love, drop into the grave before us. Colston stood alone amidst the wreck of former associations. The Great Sorrow had entered his dwelling.¹ Every year had Death’s approaching footsteps become more distinct and audible. The fall of so many acquaintances around him,²—the frequent and touching instances of mortality that had met him on every side,—the conscious infirmities of age,—would, without the Spirit’s teaching, have conveyed conviction to his heart that here was not his rest. And in daily thought, and nightly prayer,—in the lone chamber,—in the crowded path, he looked to that rest which alone remaineth for the people of God.

And now, the Saturday evening of his life is come. The shadows are lengthening, and night hastens on. He had laboured before that darkness cometh when no man can work. His great pilgrimage was fulfilled,—and he now but tarried till called to render an account of his stewardship. His end was anticipated, and prepared for. “He had everything to hope, and nothing

¹ His sister, Mrs. Ann Colston, who had resided with him for some time, at a venerable age passed away. A Table of Benefactions, in Mortlake Church, is inscribed with a gift of “Mrs. Ann Colston, £10, for apprenticing four children, and paying widows’ rents.” The Destroyer had mown down the young with the old. His niece, Sarah Colston, in the bright dawn of life, whom he tenderly loved, and his nephew, Edward Colston, were gone.

² A valued friend, the Rev. William Jones, Minister of the parish of Mortlake, died in 1720. He had fulfilled the functions of the sacred office since 1681. For forty years had Colston met him at the vestry. For forty years had he dwelt upon his teaching, and followed him in prayer within the house of God. They had grown in years together. Both had arrived at the confines of eternity. “One was taken, and the other left.” The venerable pastor was called to his reward.

to fear." Happy were his retrospections, as his thoughts in quiet meditation dwelt,—tranquil, serene, and trustful,—happy was his old age,—happy in the memories of the past,—happy in the promises of the future, he could say with Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word!"

Equally obscure with the foregoing account of Colston's life, are the attendant circumstances of his death. We may picture his departure to have been all that has been written of the good Christian. We can conceive the sublime beauty, the holy tranquillity, the joy, the rapture, of the passing spirit called by the Redeemer to its home! We might imagine the celestial glories surrounding like the sun at its setting, the death-bed of one who replete with benevolence and Christian love, had passed his days meditating in what manner he might render himself most acceptable to his Creator, by doing most service to His creatures. But we are not permitted to lift the curtain of Time, and to behold the scene, nor adorn the moral which it teaches. We avail ourselves therefore of the description of a modern writer which we partly embody in our narrative.¹

Life was glimmering weaker and weaker to its final extinction. He complained of no pain, but "an inward and daily sinking." "Business," he would observe "is irksome and thought wearies, but prayer is always welcome. I fail in body and mind, but at eighty-four the marvel is that my faculties will any wise serve me." His sight had failed, and when not engaged in prayer, he derived great comfort from having the Collects of the Church read to him, and spoke of them with a fervent affection, as containing the "very marrow of godliness." During his illness, he appears to have been unceasingly attended by Mrs. Elizabeth Beavis, a neighbour, whose services he acknowledged with grateful feelings, and in his will makes honourable mention of her, with a bequest of £100, "forasmuch as she hath been very helpful and assistant to me in my indisposition." He was also constantly visited by a Clergyman of the name of James, who resided at Mortlake.

And now, in the hushed stillness of the curtained chamber, upon the couch of death, his pallid form is lain. And while the solemn hours post on, he frequently exclaims, "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name

¹ Rev. Erskine Neale.

be the praise, for thy loving mercy and for thy truth's sake." Humble, penitent, contrite, yet full of heavenly assurance, his last prayer is uttered, "Pardon thy unworthy servant, O good and holy Lord Jesus,—pardon through thy blood;" and his soul is borne to those realms of joy, where all is pure, and true, and blissful!

And he is gone,—his life of usefulness is over.—His gentle and well-timed ministrations have ceased.—In him were beheld the holiness—the sublimity—the commanding sanctity of Christianity, guided by the doctrines of the Church, resting in humility and faith upon the promise of the Eternal Word! He has passed to his reward.—Sorrowful and melancholy was the day when the hand that was ever extended to relieve grew rigid,—the eye that ever beamed with benevolence closed,—and the throbbings of the heart that ever sympathised where sorrow was, ceased to beat.—Charity drooped her head, and all the virtues that adorn and exalt humanity, mournfully wailed over the prostrate form of their champion and friend. An Almoner of Heaven had been called to the Almighty presence in the skies! Who would occupy his place? Who would fulfil with righteousness his calling?

For that silent and certain home, his place of sepulture in the ancestral vault, Colston had long made preparation. He had set his house in order, as one who knew not how soon he might be summoned hence. Nine years before his death, he had written directions for his funeral; which not only evince his desire that his ashes should repose with those of his kindred, in the City of his birth; but also attest, that occupied as he was with the things of Time, he was not unmindful of those belonging unto Eternity. In this document, which is copied from the original, written by himself, he desires to avoid any display. Yet how simply and unostentatiously in enumerating those by whom he would be followed, does he direct for himself a more glorious—more hopeful—more impressive pageant, than that of the renowned Warrior, or the mighty King. A pageant addressed to the poor—displaying the triumph of gospel truth—exhibiting the magnificence of Christian love.

"As to what relate to my funeral,¹ I would not have the least pomp used at it, nor any

¹ This request does not appear to have been literally complied with. At the sale of Rd. Hayne's effects, at Wick Court, September, 1831, lot 146, is described in the catalogue as, "Mourning ring of the late Edward Colston, Esq., one of the twelve given to the first nominees of his School, in the City of Bristol, only three of which remain to this day." The ring was purchased by Miss Watts for £4 : 16 : 0.

"gold rings given; only that my corpse shall be carried to Bristol in a hearse, and met at Lawford's Gate, and accompanied from thence to All Saints' Church by all the boys in my Hospital on St. Augustine's Back, and by the six boys maintained by me in Queen Elizabeth's Hospital in the College Green. And also by the twenty-four poor men and women (*or so many of them that are able*) in my Almshouse on St. Michael's Hill; and only to the church door of All Saints'. Likewise by the six poor old sailors that are kept at my charge in the Merchants' Almshouse in the Marsh. And likewise by the forty boys in Temple parish, that are clothed and otherwise provided for by me. To be drawn directly thither, so as it may be there in the close of the evening, or the first part of the night; and my further desire is, that at my interment the whole Burial Service of the Church, as it is now appointed, may be decently read and performed. And that the money that might have otherwise have been expended in gold rings, be laid out in new coats or gowns, stockings, shoes, and caps, for the six sailors; and the like (except caps) for so many of the men and women in my Almshouse that shall accompany my corpse as above, and are willing to wear them afterwards.¹ And to signify that this is my desire, I have hereunto set my hand, this fifteenth day of July, 1712.

(Signed)

"EDWARD COLSTON."

"My sister, Ann Colston's corpse, is interred in Mortlake Church, under the rail on the south side of the communion-table. But since it was her desire that her bones should lie in the same grave where I shall be buried; and forasmuch as my intentions are, that my corpse shall be carried into Bristol, and interred in All Saints Church, in the grave that belonged to my ancestors; my desire is, that my said sister's bones should be taken up (if it be done by the authority of the minister, without the trouble of applying to the Bishop of the diocese) and put into and carried down in the same coffin with my body; or if that cannot be conveniently done, then in another small one, to be put into the same hearse, and buried in the same grave with mine, in compliance with her request in that behalf."

Application was made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for his consent to remove the remains of Ann Colston, which he granted; and they were brought to Bristol and interred with Colston, as he had willed it to be.

Among Colston's papers was found an interesting estimate of the expenses of his funeral. This, from its giving us some idea of the style in which the ceremony was performed, and containing every particular of the dismal paraphernalia, we place, without abbreviation, before our readers:—

¹ Colston directed that £85, (the number of his years) should be given to as many poor men and women in Mortlake,—to be distributed at the time of his decease.

PROPOSALS FOR THE FUNERAL OF EDWARD COLSTON, ESQ.

A Lead Coffin the inside, an Elm Coffin run within, cear'd and lyn'd and ruffled with sup'fine Crape.	£6	0	0
A Sup'fine Crape Shroud, Sheet, Pillow, and Gloves.	2	0	0
An Elm Case, Covered with the best Velvet, a double Silver'd Plate with inscription, Coat of Arms, and Flower ^d ; 3 Pair of Silver'd Chaced handles, and set off with 2 rows of best Silver ^d Nails	14	0	0
A Brass Plate Engraved for the Lead Coffin			
A Hearse and 6 horsses, 7 days at 35s. per day.	12	5	0
3 Mourning Coaches and 6 horsses, 8 days.	36	15	0
Mourning Coaches and 6 horsses, to attend the Corps to Brentford.			
8 Men in black to Attend to Bristol, with Saddle horsses, 7 days at 10s. per day	28	0	0
2 Rooms hung in deep Mourning	6	0	0
8 Large Silver Candlesticks, round the body	0	16	0
4 dozen of Silver Sconces round the Rooms	2	8	0
25 pair Wax Candles for ditto and Tapers, at 2s. 8d.	3	6	8
A Large Velvet Pall for the Journey.	3	10	0
Velvet Covering for the hearse and horsses	3	10	0
17 Plumes of fine Ostrich feathers for ditto	4	0	0
A Lid with Plumes of ditto on the body for the Journey	2	0	0
A Rayle round the Body, with Plumes of ditto	1	10	0
An Atchievement Frame, &c.	3	10	0
24 Silk Escutcheons for the Pall and Rayle, at 5s.	6	0	0
9 dozen of Buckrum Escutcheons for the Room, 30s.	13	10	0
48 Buckrum Escutcheons Verged with Silver, 24 Shields, and 12 Chaps for the hearse and horsses, being 2 setts	10	10	0
12 Banners and 2 sets of Pencils for ditto	12	0	0
3 dozen Buck Escutcheons Verged for the Church			
6 fine Mourning Cloaks for Gent ^l	2	14	0
16 Mourning Cloaks for Coachmen and horsemen.	5	12	0
Best Shamy gloves			
New Crape hatbands.			
26 Ord. Gloves and hatbands for Coachmen and horsemen, Postilions and porters	4	4	6
4 Porters at Door in Gowns, Staves, &c.	2	0	0
12 Pages in black with Caps and Truncheons to attend the hearse to Brentford	1	16	0
6 men in Black to Attend the Coaches—ditto hatbands.	0	18	6
A Room hung in Deep Mourning with Black Cloth on the road.	4	0	0
6 large Silver Candle Sticks and 12 Silver Sconces for ditto.	2	6	0

27 Wax lights and tapers for ditto, at 2s. 8d.	3	12	0
38 Favers for horssmen, Coachmen, Postilians, Porters, and Pages	2	17	0
A sett of Silk Pencils for the Plumes about the Corps	4	4	0
6½ yards of Superfine Cloath at 18s. per yard.	6	1	0
6 yards of Prest bayes for the Type.	0	12	0
A Pew hung with black Cloth, Nails, &c.			
A Hearse and pair of Horses that brought the lead Coffin, ferrying and Servants to help	1	10	0

From the above we learn that the funeral procession consisted of a hearse and six horses, covered with plumes and velvet, attended by eight horsemen in black cloaks, and followed by three mourning coaches, with six horses to each. Twelve pages, with caps and truncheons, and additional mourning coaches, accompanied it to Brentford. The dismal parade was a week on its slow and melancholy journey; and where it rested on the road, the rooms were hung with deep mourning. A large velvet pall, edged with silver. Shields and eight large silver candlesticks were placed around the coffin; and a lid with plumes of fine ostrich feathers, surrounded by a rail, enriched with silk escutcheons and accordant plumes. Upon this solemn garniture, the dark livery of death, a brilliant light was cast from six wax candles in large silver candlesticks, and from four dozen tapers in silver sconces, which, with escutcheons, were arranged around the room. And all this preparation for the tomb that sank cold and dead upon the hearts of the gazers, was for one whose living presence had ever been the herald of comfort, happiness, and peace. Thus, with all the furniture of the grave, which the cunning of man could devise, to give a moral and an impress to the solemnity of death, were the remains of the honoured dead borne from Mortlake.

The day is dark and gloomy.—A November's day, foggy, heavy, lowering.—From every tower there issues at intervals a measured muffled dole,¹ slowly—sadly—impressively. The City is dull and lifeless. Most of the shops are closed,—in many places labour suspended.—Flags are half-masted on the towers and ships,—emblems of sorrow,—signs of woe.—Undertakers are busy in All Saints' Church,—they hang the walls with black funereal drapery

¹ "27th October, 1721. Paid Berry, for the bell at Mr. Colston's funeral, 16 hours, 16s."
—*St. Werburgh's Parish, Churchwardens' Accounts*. The bells also of St. James' tolled 16 hours, for which was paid a similar sum; and in the church was placed Colston's coat of arms, which cost £1 : 19.

—the graves-men are removing their tools.¹—A sepulchre has been unsealed,—its massy gate raised,—the chamber of corruption is exposed to the light of day,—but it cannot penetrate its darkness. In their Hall the Merchants have met. In their Almshouse, grey-haired, weather-beaten men gather, and look rueful in black cloaks. More aged men and women meet and gossip at St. Michael's Almshouse, and shake their heads over more black garments. There is a holiday for the boys at Temple and St. Augustine's Schools;—they are singing, rehearsing a solemn psalm.² The day is gone, wearily—drearily. Evening.—Midnight is come. Rain in torrents. The Merchants have left their Hall.—The old sailors their asylum—the aged pensioners their homes.—the boys their Schools,—and all at Lawford's Gate are assembled, to swell the funereal cavalcade that in gloomy parade now enters the City. Silent are the crowded streets. Hushed the din of tongues.—No sound but the deep foreboding toll that knelled another being across the confines of eternity.—No sound but the chaunted mournful strain that dwells on the immutability of the Everlasting God,—man's refuge from generation to generation, in whose sight a thousand years are but as yesterday; seeing that is past, as a watch in the night,—and on the weakness and brief existence of mortality, that flourish and fade like the grass, which in the morning is green, in the evening is cut down, dried up, and withered,—so soon passeth away the labour and sorrow of our years, and we are gone, even as a tale that is told. In the darkness of night's midmost stillness; the ancient words of everlasting Truth, soared through infinite space, to the holy company of Cherubim and Seraphim. And through the sobbing rain, the solemnizing spectacle slowly advances, visible in the darkness, by the lurid light from flaming torches, that glare on the houses, and upon the congregated thousands, that fill the crowded streets—like the glory

¹ “November 10th, 1721. To cash received for breaking the ground for Mr. Colston, 6s. 8d.” —*Churchwardens' Accounts, All Saints.*

² Silas Told now comes to our assistance.—“Providentially [he says] I was in the School at the time of his death, when orders were given to all the children to learn by heart the 90th psalm, to sing before the corpse as it entered the City; which was at Lawford's Gate, where we joined the hearse and sang before it the space of five hours, amidst a most numerous and *crowded audience*.” It is impossible to describe in what manner the houses and streets were lined with ranks of people, *and although the rain descended in torrents, none paid any regard thereto*, but the whole multitude seemed determined to see the last of so eminent a man. We came at last to All Saints' Church, where he was interred under the communion table.”

that surrounds the good,—like the light that marks their blessed course. Even as Colston had willed, was his body lain,¹—even as he had willed, he slept with those he had loved so well,—even as he desired his example has quickened imitation,—it guides and directs us now,—it is knitted with our hopes of an immortal life,—it is united with every faith on which humanity can build,—sublime, imperishable as the Eternal Word!

¹ “The Worthy Mr. Edward Colston, of London, Borne in Bristol, Departed this Life y^e 11th October, 1721, in y^e 85th year of his age. He was Brought from London to Bristol, Fryday, y^e 27th October, and Interred at All Saints’ Church.

Post Funera Virtus.

Southwel,	}	Esq ^{rs}
Codrington,		
Harrington,		
Trye,		
Haines,		

and J. Donning, were y^e Bearers.”

“146 Boys Sung before y^e Corps.

18 poor men and 12 poor women were New Clothed.

8th Febr’y 1721, M^{rs} Sarah Colston, about 16 years of age, was Buried at All Saints’ Brought from London, tis s^d her Vncle, Edw. Colston had left her 60 thousand pounds.”—*Contemporary MSS.*

CHAPTER X.

The Funeral Sermon—Extracts from Colston's Will—Portraits of Colston—Contemporary Narratives—Contributions in Redcliff Parish—School on St. Augustine's Back—Exhumation of Colston—The Colston Societies : —The Colston, The Dolphin, The Anchor, and the Grateful—Visit to Mortlake—Conclusion.

Two days after the obsequies were paid to Bristol's departed Benefactor, Sunday, October 29th, there is a crowded congregation in All Saints' Church. The chief mourners,—the Master and members of the Merchants' Hall,—the aged inmates of his Almshouses,—the juvenile objects of his care, are assembled with the most respected and accredited of the citizens. Trophies of gloom are hung around.—The affecting sounds of the solemn requiem, swelled, deepened, rolled through the arch of the building, and sank in mournful undulations,—rose and reverberated until the whole house was filled with the solemnizing harmony. The beautiful service of the Liturgy over, the Funeral Sermon was preached by the Vicar, James Harcourt, D. D. "He hath dispersed abroad and given to the poor, and his righteousness remaineth for ever; his horn shall be exalted with honour." The Rev. Doctor, after recapitulating Colston's various charitable endowments and his many Christian graces, of which the most noticeable passages occupy our preceding pages, says in conclusion,—

"Health, length of days, riches, and honour, are blessings promised in the word of God, to those who are religious and forget not the law of the Lord. And how largely he shared every one of these, is not necessary to be insisted upon, when it is known to so many how vigorous his strength,—how clear his understanding,—how quick his apprehension—and how sound his judgment continued long beyond the age of man, even to reach to the end almost of his eighty-fifth year without decay in his understanding,—without labour or sorrow.—How plentifully his riches flowed in upon him, when his cup at last overflows; and what the honours have been, which always have been paid to him by every good man, the testimonies of those who hear me,—excuse my enlarging upon any further, than, that he is gathered to his fathers, full of good works, full of honours, and full of days.

“Thus far he enjoyed the whole of his reward in this life ; and surely, as far as man is able to judge, we may, without presumption, believe that he is found acceptable in the sight of God, and has received the comfort of ‘ *Well done thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord ;* and will, with ineffable pleasure, at the last day hear that blessed sentence which will then be pronounced by the well-beloved Son of God, ‘Come thou blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.’

“To conclude, then, may it please Almighty God of his infinite goodness, to grant unto us all that we may learn from his bright pattern, to think, to speak, to act ; that we may learn from him to love, to give, and to forgive. In short, as much as in us lies, that we may learn in the whole course of our lives, to copy so well that which he led, that we may at length hope likewise to *die the death* of this *righteous man*, and that our *last end may be like his*.”

Certain passages from Colston's Will, have been introduced in the course of our memorial. The length of the Will itself precludes our copying it entire, but many portions of interest remain to be noticed. May 26th, 1720. “In the name of God, Amen. I, Edward Colston, of Mortlake, in the county of Surrey, being in good bodily health, and of sound mind and memory, praised be God for it—do make and declare, and publish this my last Will and Testament following :—First, I commit my spirit to God who gave it, and my body to the earth.” Then follow directions for the funeral, with which the reader is acquainted, concluding thus “and for the worldly estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me, I do dispose thereof as followeth.”

The property which he had settled upon his nephew, Edward Colston, on his marriage with Mary Debbert, was to be enjoyed by his male issue, but he dying without an heir, Colston directed it to go to the male issue of his nephew's daughter, Sarah Colston, and should she marry, her husband to take the name of Colston within six months.¹

We do not purpose to individualize the legacies, excepting those bequests to charitable purposes, which have not come under our notice in the course of the work ; or where they possess an interest from the description of the property left, or the name or position of the legatee.

¹ Trustees appointed for the said Sarah were : Thos. Edwards, of Bristol, Esq., Thos. Edwards, the younger, of the Middle Temple, Esq., Francis Colston, of Bristol, Merchant, Henry Hoare, of London, Goldsmith, Robert Carr, late of London, Mercer.

To Hester Bowman, £90, on condition that she do in all things conform to the Established Church of England.

"To John Colston, who was my servant, £50, and to his father, Thomas, £5, and to his brother, George, £5 per annum, to each for their lives, both of whom are in my Almshouse, on St. Michael's Hill, Bristol." To each of the four servants in his employ at the time of his decease, he left £10 for mourning.

To his cousin, Charles Brent, Rector of St. Werburgh's, Bristol, £50.

To his cousin, Mary Edwards, £500, the interest for her life, and after her decease to her daughter, Sophia.

He gave to his cousin's daughter Mary, his God-daughter, £8000; and he further gave to her daughter Sophia £5000,—provided they marry with the consent of their parents. The Legatees to have their principal and no interest: all the Charities to be paid out of his personal estate. To his niece, Mary Edwards, an India chest; also, her mother and sisters' pictures, at his house at Mortlake.

The house he held by lease; and in his will he says, "that should the person who may take the house for the remainder of my lease not give a valuable consideration as well for the orange trees, as for the evergreens now growing in the garden, and likewise for the statues, I would have them sold,—as also the hearths and other things set up in the said house,—for the benefit of my grand-niece, Sarah Colston." She was daughter of his nephew, Edward Colston, deceased. To her he also gave the furniture of the house, including his India chest and two India cabinets, with his coach horses, coach, and chariot, and his plate,¹ a buckle of diamonds, and his gold watch; but, in the event of her dying before marriage, the whole was to be equally divided between his niece, and Mary Edwards, and his kinsman, Francis Colston.

By a codicil to his will, he directs that his furniture, goods, plate, and pictures were to remain in the house until the expiration of his lease, and to be moderately used by Thomas Edwards (the younger), Esq., if he should inhabit therein,—but so as they be not much prejudiced. He was also empowered to sell for his own use all such evergreens and trees, as Colston had planted in the garden, which he should judge may be removed without a breach of the lease. The Executors were directed to pay the rent during the remainder of the term.

He directed *his picture*,² and *that of his father*, which were in his drawing-room at Mortlake, should, at his death, be sent to Bristol, and *set up in the School-room of his Hospital, on St. Augustine's Back*.

¹ It is said when the plate of Colston was to be divided among the family, such was the veneration in which he was held, that they sawed parts of it up, and adorned their sideboards with the fragments.

² This portrait was lent to Mr. Francis Colston, who kept it a considerable time. The Society of Merchants, in 1728, desired that it might be returned. Their request was not complied with; and, in 1730, they ordered that legal proceedings should be taken against him, unless he re-deliver

" To the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts	£300
To the Governors of the Workhouse without Bishopsgate.	100
To Christ's Hospital, London	1000 ¹
To St. Bartholomew's Hospital	500 ²
To St. Thomas's Hospital	500 ³
To Bethlehem Hospital in Moorfields	500" ⁴

He directed that the monies thus bequeathed, "should be laid out in lands and hereditaments, in fee simple, not only as an addition to increase the revenues of such Hospitals, but to be subject to the same trusts by which they were founded and governed; *and his will was, that none of the sums should be paid to their respective Treasurers, till their Governors should have found out, and agreed for, lands, rents, and tenements, to the value of the sums thereby given, and the interest in the meantime to be applied to his personal estate.*"

In consequence of the provision we have marked in the will, the £500, to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, was not paid till 1722-3,—and that to Bethlehem, till 1736. In this clause is again evident that prudence presided over the whole course of Colston's actions; it also shows the anxiety he felt, that what he gave or bequeathed for charitable purposes, should be so firmly secured by every possible means the judgment of man could devise, that nought but the total overthrow of the empire, the trampling upon all human laws, should

the picture. On this intimation, we suppose, the portrait was returned. It now adorns the School on St. Augustine's Back. The features have great beauty of expression,—mild and benevolent as we may conceive the great Philanthropist. The portrait of his father has been, although noticed in the will, unaccountably allowed to be lost: it was at this time in Bristol, at his cousin Edwards's.

¹ This legacy appears to have been applied in aid of a purchase made by the Governor in 1722, of the "Bell," or "Blue Bell," with other premises, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn.

² With which, and £260 more, was purchased a house at the corner of Giltspur Street. He had previously given £2000, to purchase an estate of £100 a-year, to be settled on this Hospital. A Ward in this Hospital, is still called Colston's Ward; it is one of the largest, and it is therefore impossible to say how many thousands of his afflicted fellow-creatures, from this benefaction, have had cause to bless and revere his name.

³ This formed part of the sum of £3651, the purchase-money of sundry premises in Paternoster Row, Mermaid Court, &c., London, now in possession of the Hospital.

⁴ We learn that the Governor, 15th May, 1736, purchased of the Countess Granville, and three others, a dwelling-house, being part of a large messuage, called the "Four Swans Inn," at Waltham Cross, Herts, with eighty-five acres of land there. We allude to this purchase, because we find that an entry, 12th January, 1731, makes mention, that part of the money was composed of this legacy.

wrench the sacred trust from the hands of its appointed Guardians, or turn the stream of his benevolence from the channel he had willed it should ever flow.

To the person who shall read prayers every Monday and Tuesday morning in All-Saints' Church, in such a manner as it hath been used for forty years past, by the gift of his brother, Richard Colston, £7 per annum.

To the Churchwardens of St. Mary Redcliff, towards the building of a gallery, and setting up an organ, £100.

£100 per ann. for twelve years, to apprentice poor boys, clothed and taught in Temple School. He also gave £10, each to young men, towards setting them up in trades; *none to have any benefit save such as shall conform to the Established Church.*

To the Schools in the following parishes, for twelve years, £10 per ann. each, viz.—St. Philip, St. Thomas, Redcliff, St. James, St. Michael, and St. Augustine.

To teach the boys and girls to read, write, and sew,—and to be educated in the principles of the Church of England, £5, per ann. for twelve years,—to each of the Charity Schools named in a second schedule to his will; the children to be educated in the principles of the Church of England, and not otherwise.

To his School at Mortlake he left, “for twelve years, £25, per annum, for teaching twelve boys of the said parish to read, write, cypher, and repeat by heart, and thoroughly to understand the grounds of the Catechism of the Church of England; and to provide them with books for the purpose; and to clothe them, as they are now clothed and educated by me. Also, £20, per annum, for the like purpose, for twelve girls. To attend the Church Prayers, as they now do, three times a week.”

And in the event of the children not complying with his directions, he revokes his gift; but recommends and heartily requests the gentlemen of the parish, to inspect their behaviour relating to the premises.

“To the Mercers' Company of London, £200, in compensation for a fine levied upon me, for not serving the office of Warden, when they elected me; *but I recommend them to bestow it on some charitable use.*”

Date of Will, 26th May, 1720. First Codicil, 1st June; 2nd Ditto, 20th December; 3rd Ditto, 24th December, all in the year 1720. The will was written on thirty-three sheets of paper. Witnesses—Joseph Edwards, Thomas Elliot, William Dickenson, Edward Booth, and Robert King.

By a decree of the Court of Chancery, dated 30th June, 8th year of the reign of George the First, it was decreed that Edward Colston's Executors, should come to an account before Mr. Hiccock, one of the Masters of the Court, of all monies which had come to their hands; and to produce annually before the said Master, an act touching the disposition of the Testator's property.

The Executors came before Thomas Bennet, Esq., (successor to Mr. Hiccock,) who made his report, dated 1st June, 1725, viz.—that he found there came into the hands of the Executors:—

Of the Personal Estate	£83,950	2	10
In the hands of Thomas Edwards, Sen., to balance his account at the time of the Testator's death	769	8	6
In the hands of Henry Hoare, then deceased	134	6	6
In the hands of Francis Colston, being money he received of Mr. Trye, for Interest	580	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£85,433	17	10

Which amount came into the hands of the Executors, besides the South Sea and Bank Stock, and other public securities. The Master also found the Executors had paid and were to pay for the said Testator, debts, funeral expenses, and legacies, the sum of £41,196:19:8; which being deducted from £85,433:17:10, there would remain the sum of £44,236:18:2, in the Executor's hands, as the residue of the personal estate, over and above his debts, funeral expenses, and legacies; besides the South Sea and Bank Stock, and other public securities.

Colston's munificence was guided by prudence,—controlled by a sense of justice. He had not neglected the care of relatives, nor the demands of friendship. His public and private benefactions had not been made at the expense of those who were near and dear to him. The preceding extracts show, that while doing the great business of his life, it was not at the sacrifice of the interests of kindred, or the claims of affection.

There are four known Portraits of Colston. The best, that in the School on St. Augustine's Back, hung in his "blue drawing-room," at Mortlake. One in the Council House, that shows the Corporation early appreciated his worth.¹ It is painted by J. Richardson, and engraved by Virtue. The inscription, in a comprehensive summary, setteth forth Colston's character and good works.

"Edward Colston, Esq., the brightest example of Christian liberality that this age has produced, both for the extensiveness of his charities, and the prudent regulation of them. In whose Hospital, School, and Alms-houses, erected and fitted up at Bristol, at y^e expence of many thousand pounds, and endowed with a very plentiful estate, 106 boys are for ever clothed, maintained, educated, and usefully placed out. 40 more clothed, and qualified for businesse, by a thorough instruction in writing and

¹ "1702. June 26th, Paid Aldⁿ Rob^t Yate, by order, for Mr. Colston's picture, £17:11:0. Carriage of the picture from London, 2s. 6d."

“arithmetick ; and 30 men and women harboured and competently supported for life. From whom many Charity Schools, in several parts of England, had large donations. Most of the Churches in Bristol, and some elsewhere, obtained great sums towards their rebuilding, repairing, and beautifying. All y^e Hospitals and Workhouses in London and Bristol, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel, received very large benefactions ; and 60 poor Livings a considerable augmentation, by whom sufficient provision, in many places, was made for ever, for prayers, sermons, and catechetical lectures ; and many other charities bestowed, not here mentioned ; besides his private ones, probably not inferior to those known, *which will then first be made publick when they meet with their reward.*”

“Hic non divitias nigrantibus abdidit antris
Nec tenebris damnavit opes : sed largior imbre
Sueverat innumeras hominum ditare catervas
Quippe velut densos currentia munera nimbos
Cernere semper erat ; populi undare Penates,
Assiduos intrare, inopes, remeare beatos.”—CLAUD.

There is also a Greek inscription from Isocrates. The print was published the year after Colston's decease. A third Portrait is in the Merchants' Hall ; and the fourth, painted by Kneller, is at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, signed “Edward Colston, 1693.”

Immediately following Colston's decease, the local press issued papers proclaiming his virtues. Some of these papers are fanciful, and present a singular mixture of truth and fiction. But they are to be prized, as showing, even at that time, how little was known of the events of his life, and the exalted estimation he had obtained in that most imperishable of records, the hearts of men, more especially, as they constitute the foundation on which successive biographers have gathered the meagre outlines, which we have vainly endeavoured to complete. One before us is so characteristic, that although it repeats many passages in his life, we have not disturbed its entireness by omitting them. The paper is so quaint, so genuine, so full of the sentiments and gossip of the day, that it would be unpardonable, after its long preservation, to allow it now to perish.

“The Birth, Life, and Actions of Edward Colston, Esq., who departed this Life, the 11th day of October, 1721, aged 86 years ; to which is added, his Funeral Elegy :—Edward Colston, Esq., was born the 2nd of November, in the year of our Lord, 1635, of very creditable, as well as Pious Parents ; his father, Mr. William Colston, a Merchant, living in Wine Street, Bristol ; having wedded Councillor Bettin's

daughter, by whom he had five sons and three daughters, Edward the eldest surviving them all, who is the subject of our *ensuing discourse*. In his infancy, he was put to nurse to a woman of good repute, then living at Winterborne, in the County of Gloucester, who having carefully discharged her trust, *returned him to his parents*; who took a due care (as soon as his minority would admit) to have him instructed, not only in learning fit for business, but also to have him well grounded in the principles of the Christian Religion, according to the purity of the Church of England, as by law established, which he never relinquished to his dying day.

“He was a youth of a very prompt wit, but somewhat reserved; not given to loquacity, but rather grave and solid; yet his temper was affable and courteous, and far from being rigid and sour, like some *enthusiasts* who place a great part of religion in *grimace* and an *hypocritical countenance*.

“When he grew up to some maturity, his father sent him as a factor to Spain, in which station, for some years, he behaved himself with great diligence, prudence, and care, Providence blessing his industry with continual success; so that at last he came home loaded with riches, as well as experience, and immediately began to exercise his bounty and generosity in a grateful donation to his nurse, for her tenderness and kindness to him during his infancy. After the death of his parents, having sufficiently *provided for his brothers and sisters*, he removed to London, having frequent business there, as well on his own private affairs, as the publick, being sometime a Member of Parliament for the City of Bristol. He always affected a private life, having a handsome seat by the Thames side, at a place called Mortelack, where he spent most of his Heavenly life in works of piety and charity; neither could any of his friends or relations ever persuade him to marry, least the incumbrances of a family should take him off from spiritual duties.

“And though he always endeavoured to conceal his pious and charitable gifts and actions, (like our Lord Christ,) yet some were so public, (like a City on a hill) they could not be hid. And indeed they ought to be known, *that men seeing his good works, may glorify our Father, which is in heaven*; for surely, should men be silent in his praise, the very stone walls he has built, would record his Name, and fame for ever, in spite of envy and ingratitude; but the word of God says, ‘*the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.*’

“O, you Reverend Divines of St. Werburgh’s and St. Peter’s! record the virtues of your noble and generous Benefactor, and fail not next *Lent* at your Lecture, to add to your former subjects the Godly and exemplary life of the Great, the Brave, and Heavenly minded EDWARD COLSTON. Is there any Church in your City that stood in need of repair that he did not freely contribute to the building or beautifying of it? Was there any poor family in need or distress that he has not relieved, if in

the least acquainted with it? and for that purpose gave one hundred pounds yearly to be distributed at the Churchwardens' direction, besides his private allowances?

"*O, you hundred pretty boys on St. Austin's Back!* what cause have you to raise your voices to the skies for him who gave you clothes, food, and learning, and money to begin the world withal!

"Tis needless to tell the public of the provision he has made for twelve poor old men and as many old women at his Almshouses on St. Michael's Hill (erected 1691,) the endowments being great, noble, and generous, it is so well known to the City already; or to mention the *six venerable old men*, that subsist by his Christian liberality in the Merchants' Almshouse, with others on the same score; or to enlarge on his goodness, to 40 boys in Temple Street, that owe their well-being (under God) to his extensive Charity. These things are so well known and commended by all ranks and degrees, that the repetition would be vain and superfluous; wherefore I shall take notice of other generous deeds done in London by him, that perhaps has not reached the ears of the common people.

"His penurious, avaricious Housekeeper, telling him sometimes that he was profuse and over free, he would reply:—"Sweetheart, be not troubled, I only lend it to the Lord, he will restore me fourfold; riches flow on me surprisingly; I have it from Christ, to distribute among his poor members; I neither can, nor will be unfaithful to my trust." When some friends would urge him to marry, he usually replied in a sort of pleasantness:—"Every helpless widow is my wife, and distressed orphans my children." Being once told how the prisoners in Ludgate, London, had drawn a petition for an Act of Grace, to insolvent debtors, and meeting with some demurre, he secretly sends a Gentleman, with three-thousand pounds, and clears all those whose debts were not over large, with strict orders not to discover the donor.

"Also every year he sent a trusty friend to Whitechapel prison, and the Marshalsea, to discharge all that were there for small debts, and relieve others with food and money. He likewise sent one thousand pounds to Whitechapel Church, to be disposed of to charitable uses; having heard that many poor indigent people belonged to that parish; for which public thanks were given to the private Benefactor, in golden letters, on a Table hung up in the aforesaid church for that purpose.

"He allowed a large quantity of beef and broth to be dressed twice a week, and given to all the poor people round about him. When any poor sailor in his service was cast away, or suffered other misfortunes, he always took care their wives and children should not want; providing for them in a very noble and charitable manner. In short, nobody ever applied to him in their need, and went away empty handed. *He never enquired their country or religion,—being men and Christians was sufficient to his charity.*

"Thus he lived, loving and beloved of all that knew him, till the snowy icicles, or blossoms of the grave, crowned his head with age and honour; and then, like a lamb, or saint of God, he fell asleep, the 11th of October, 1721, aged eighty-six years, wanting some days; and was buried at All Saints' Church, in Bristol, the 27th of the same month."

The Elegy is highly imaginative, but it elicits no facts to detain us. Another by a cotemporary writer, rather more fanciful, is so characteristic an example of the style of these compositions that were hawked about the streets, on the day of his funeral, that a few gleanings will be our excuse for not rendering the whole. As a specimen of the typography of the period it is interesting and elegant. It is illustrated with a figure of Time,—underneath is a label with the words "*Memento Mori*;" on one side is a skull and cross bones,—an hour glass on the other:—

"Ye Good Bristolians, who did e'er admire
The tuneful Thoughts which Phœbus does inspire,—
Attend the Poet's *most Harmonious Lays*,
Fraught with the excellence of Colston's praise."

In this strain with equal felicity, the *poet* continues for some lines, we select the most reasonable—

"'Twould be an Endless Task t' enumerate
Thy liberal Blessings, to a Failing State—"
"How Beautiously thy Hospitals arise,
And raise their heads amidst the Lucid Skies!
Indeed, such Noble Structures must agree
With Air, and find with Heav'n Affinity."
"Ye Hundred Youths, who still enjoy a Bliss,
Proceeding from your Patron's good Success—
With an Eternal Melody convey
His transient Soul, along the *Milky-Way*.
&c., &c."

Having thus exhausted his powers, the composition is concluded in these words—

"But Since He's Dead, let us his Loss deplore,
And Charm his Friends with our Concordant Lore:
Whilst his Triumphant Soul advances High,
To meet the Blessings of th' *Ætherial Sky*."

After this is an "Epitaph," forming an acrostic, which we spare the reader. This choice effusion is signed "Bristol, Printed by Charles Bonny, in Corn Street, 1721."

In so especial a manner had the parishes of Bristol, felt the benefit of the charities established by Colston throughout his lifetime, that the citizens could not withstand any appeal which was made to them, whereby they might express their regret at his loss. To exhibit a due sense of his excellence, and further to testify the regard and gratitude in which they held his memory, we learn from a Benefaction Table in St. Mary Redcliff, the following:—

"1724. This year by the voluntary contributions of some of the parish was raised the sum of £20, and paid into the vestry, the profit thereof to be paid for ringing the bells in memory of the late Edward Colston, Esq., at the 2nd day of November, yearly, for ever."—The sum of 20s. is annually paid by the vestry, 2nd November, for ringing the bells on that day."

Our notice of Colston's most munificent endowment, his School on St. Augustine's Back, may be extended beyond the period of his decease. Though near a century and a half has elapsed, since its establishment; yet each succeeding year has only rendered more admired, the profound wisdom and judgment, Colston has displayed in the rules by which this and his other charities are governed and administered. We are not acquainted with any establishment, public or private, conducted in a more beautiful and healthy spirit; and did not our limits admonish us, we would look in upon the boys and go over the "Great House," that our readers may share our pleasure in beholding the wishes of Colston so truly carried forward. It is alike honourable to the Society of Merchants, and creditable to the present Master, Mr. R. Rowlatt, whose influence over the boys is most kind and happy.

No passage of any interest occurs in the records of this School till 1770, when a meeting of the Nominees,¹ was held at the White Lion.² Until this

¹ See Appendix E.

² Present:—Thomas Haynes, Jarrit Smith, Esqrs., Rev. William Smith, Rev. John Gardiner, Mr. Joseph Lewis, Mr. W. Barrow, Sir John Phillips, Bart.—"Several of the boys were badly apparel'd, without bands and badges, and Mr. Gardiner, the Master, *was at his house in the country*.—Ordered that for the future Samuel Curnock do give a week's notice to all the Nominees previous to the quarterly meeting.—Jarrit Smith, Esq., is desired to report to Mr. Baugh, Master of the Merchants' Hall, of the deficiency in the boys' clothes, shoes, and shirts; also, the want of bands

period there is no name of the many here educated, that has outlived the oblivion of the grave. None have stood palpably forth,—the light of their memory reflecting on the scene of their youth. Many may have issued from these portals with high and pure resolve—to contend in vain with “poverty’s unconquerable bar.” One there was, a hapless, wayward, highly-gifted child, upon whose youthful mind may here have dawned the conception of that delusion, which was to mankind a marvel,—to himself destruction! Here is the first notice of the “sleepless boy of never-dying fame.”

“It appeared that four boys had been admitted since the last visitation, and one bound out. The vacancy having to be filled by the Nominees, they ordered *Thomas, son of Thomas and Sarah Chatterton*, of St. Mary Redcliff, to be admitted; recommended by the Rev. Jn^o Gardiner, Vicar of Henbury, in the county of Gloucester.”

We have had occasion to notice the high esteem in which Colston was regarded during his life by the Dean and Chapter. Years have passed, and other men fulfil the duties of the sacred offices,—yet, still does his memory retain its impress.

“July 15th, 1762.

“The Dean and Chapter of Bristol, being desirous of contributing, as far as in their power, to the great and noble Charity of the late Mr. Colston, offer to the gentlemen, Trustees of the said Charity, the following proposals, viz.:—That the Dean and Chapter will, for the future, take their six Choristers, or Singing Boys, out of the number of boys educated and maintained by Mr. Colston’s Charity.—That they will pay to the Trustees the annual allowance of four pounds to each Chorister, to be employed by them as they shall think proper, for the advantage of such boys as shall be admitted Choristers.—That they will provide each boy to be admitted with a surplice, hoping that the Trustees will allow another, so that the boys shall always appear clean and decent at divine service. All lesser perquisites, belonging to the Choristers, shall be given to the boys themselves, and some small salary added to encourage them to be diligent. Such boys as shall behave themselves well, and shall make a good proficiency in music, may expect to succeed in the church as Singing Men, as vacancies shall happen.”¹

and badges; and to desire that he and the other Members of the Hall will cause the same to be remedied, according to the 19th order for the government of the Hospital.—Thomas Haynes, Jarrit Smith, W. Smith, Jos. Lewis, Wm. Barrow, John Gardiner, John Phillips.”

¹ “The Master of the School shall be desired to recommend such boys as appear to have good voices, and are capable of learning music, to the Organist of the church; who, after examining them, shall make his report to the Dean and Chapter, who shall then admit them as Choristers, provided

Easter-day, March 30th, 1776, the boys for the first time, wore a set of silver badges, presented to the Charity by John Purrier, Esq., of London. He also, in 1782, added £5, to Colston's £10, to each boy who should be apprenticed from the Hospital. This payment ceased on Mr. Purrier's death. He had been educated in this School, and left in February, 1760, to be apprenticed to a Mr. Basil Wood.

Another benefactor, likewise educated here, was the late Philip Jones, Esq., who invested £500, in the public funds, about the year 1814, for the use of the boys. To this may be added another bestowment, from the late Mr. Vaughan, the interest of which, as well as that of Mr. Jones's, is distributed annually among the boys on the anniversary of the birth of the Founder.¹

When we consider the numbers that have been educated at this School, it is rather surprising so few are recorded who have risen to opulence and distinction. Have any in their prosperity forgotten the spring from whence their power of advancement in the world did emanate? Unmindful how noble the achievement of having founded their own fortunes, have they shrunk from the disclosure, that in this Hospital was the seed sown, which in its growth and maturity, would reflect credit on themselves, attest the value of the establishment, and add to the lustre of its fame?²

they submit to the order and discipline of the church. Such boys are to attend every day on the choir service, at eleven o'clock in the morning, and four in the afternoon; and they shall, three or four times in every week, be taught to sing, and instructed in musick by the Organist, or some other proper person, for one hour at the least, viz.—from twelve o'clock to one. As soon as ever they have done in the church, they shall return to School."

¹ The Society of Merchants, out of their own funds, present each boy on his leaving the School with a bible and prayer-book, handsomely bound, with this inscription on the inside of each book:—"Presented by the Incorporated Society of Merchant Venturers, of the City of Bristol, Trustees of the Hospital founded by the late Edward Colston, Esq., in the year 1708, for the education in the principles of the Church of England, schooling, maintenance, clothing, and apprenticing of one hundred boys to *** on his leaving the Hospital, as a testimonial of his general good conduct." Signed by the Master of the Society, and the Head-Master of the Hospital.

² "Mr. Richard Colston, was educated in the School founded by the Great Benefactor of Bristol, where he acquired early, principles of religion and virtue, and habits of industry and integrity; and it is to these principles, and to these habits, that we are to attribute the respect and estimation in which he is now held by his fellow-citizens. The unwearied exertions which this gentleman has used in promoting various charitable and useful institutions; and, in particular, the gratitude which he has evinced towards his Benefactor, in devoting so much of his time and talent to forward the

We now arrive at our own times, and conclude our extract bearing upon the School, with a decision given at the Court of Chancery, Westminster, whereby the funds of the Charity were considerably increased, so as to admit an augmentation of the number of boys,—

‘ Court of Chancery, Westminster, January 28th, 1848.—The Attorney-General *v.* The Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol.—Judgment.

“This was an appeal from a decree of the Master of the Rolls, made under the following circumstances:—In the year 1706, Edward Colston, an inhabitant of Bristol, was desirous of founding a Charity for maintaining fifty poor boys of that City, and with that view proposed to this Society that if they would find land, he would find the money necessary for the purpose of purchasing it. The amount estimated for supporting the Charity was £750 a-year, but as Mr. Colston was afterwards desirous of increasing the number of boys to one hundred, the estimated annual income was raised to about £1300. In pursuance of this agreement, land was so purchased, and conveyed by Mr. Colston to the Merchant Venturers absolutely, who were out of the rents to keep up the Charity. Amongst other covenants, however, in the deeds, was one on behalf of Mr. Colston and his Executors, to the effect, that if it at any future period the income of the Charity should be insufficient for the purpose for which it had been founded, they would make up such deficiency; and that if there should happen to be a surplus, it was to be applied to the use of the Charity. The annual value of the property having considerably increased, being at the present time upwards of £3000 a-year, the question was, whether the Society were beneficially entitled to the excess, or whether they only held it as Trustees for the Charity. The Master of the Rolls decided against the claim of the Society, and they appealed from his decree.

“The Lord Chancellor this morning gave judgment; and, after going through the facts, said, that the question turned upon the construction to be placed upon the deeds. It appeared to him that the Society at the time consented to be the Managers of the Charity for Mr. Colston; and it also seemed that such was the impression of Mr. Colston; for he continued to receive the rents up to the year 1710. The main point therefore was one of intention. Did Mr. Colston intend to give the property absolutely to the Corporation upon the condition of their keeping up the Charity, or were they to be merely the Trustees of it? The case of “*Jackson v. —*” (12 Cl.

interests of the Society,^a in which he on Saturday presided, have received, in the applause of his fellow-citizens, only the reward they strictly merited,—a reward, however, the true value of which those only can duly appreciate who have deserved and received it. We cannot omit also to add, that the loyalty of Mr. Colston, and his attachment to Church and State, are equalled only by his utility and uprightness in every charitable office that he undertakes.”

^a Dolphin Society, 1813.

“and Fin.), was almost the same one; and, although it was not altogether free from doubt, he (the Lord Chancellor) thought the balance of evidence with the respect to the intention, was in favour of the Charity. The covenant in the deed respecting the surplus, outweighed any doubt that might otherwise have been felt in the matter. The opinion therefore of the Master of the Rolls was the right one, and must be affirmed. The decree would be that the Corporation, after repayment of a mortgage for £2000, on the property paid off by them, were Trustees of the property for the Charity, and must transfer it to that purpose. As the case was not quite clear, the appeal would be dismissed without costs.—Judgment affirmed.”—*Newspaper Paragraph.*

A most effective mode of doing honour to our Philanthropist is one of which the City has every reason to be proud. One, we believe without a parallel, and one, bearing an affinity to the object he so remarkably pursued. It is a celebration of Charity, and one day in the year beholds the peculiar and gladdening spectacle of a great City engaged in the act of alms-giving; let us hope with something of the spirit of him to whom the day is dedicated. The Societies formed for this purpose, by their annual commemorations, preserve from one generation to another, in an impressive, striking, and appropriate manner, the memory of Colston and his actions; and except in one solitary instance, to which we shall refer, no anniversary has passed since their establishment, without this celebration. The members of the Societies attend divine service, when a sermon is preached; and they subsequently dine together. On these occasions, besides our chief citizens, there are frequently assembled many distinguished persons, from all parts of the kingdom;—and it is the custom for the Chairman of the different Societies, to give any information they may have obtained of their noble exemplar; each seeking in commendation of Colston’s immortal memory, to elicit some new feature in a character so justly and highly prized. Thus the influence of his example, owing to the admiration excited by it, and the grateful memory of his many acts of benevolence, so quickeneth and stimulates the sympathies of the banqueters, that large sums are annually collected and applied to humane purposes,—while a knowledge of his excellence is disseminated, and made known to many who have it in their power in some measure “to do likewise.” An able writer remarks:—“Political conflicts have convulsed the kingdom, contending parties have alternately been in the ascendant, interests have been dislocated, or have

disappeared; yet the Colston anniversary, as an institution, and the Societies which celebrate it, have lived through, and outlived all the alterations and revolutions that have taken place. Unshaken in the tranquil strength of a powerful, though placid principle, they have stood unaffected by influences that have shaken and destroyed a succession of other Societies; and have proved, however popular and highly favoured party topics may be for a time, for vitality, and to bear the test of years, charity, as a bond of strength, is that alone upon which we can rely."¹

The earliest Society established was "The Colston," whose first meeting took place, November 2nd, 1726, when the sum of £34 : 4 was subscribed by twenty-three individuals, "for a sermon to be preached in the Parish Church of St. Mary Redcliff, on the 2nd November, yearly for ever, and the interest of the surplus money, if any, shall be paid for the use of the Charity School of the said parish for ever." November 2nd, 1729. They met again, "for raising a sum of money to be paid into the Vestry of St. Mary Redcliff, the profit thereof to be given to the poor in bread, on the 2nd November, for ever." The amount subscribed was £56 : 18. It will be seen from the information we have gathered respecting this and the brethren Societies, the steady advance they are making, and that many distinguished characters devoted to the Constitution in Church and State, have from time to time been not only subscribers to this and the other Societies, but also personal attendants at the anniversaries.²

The "Dolphin," was established by the Tories in 1749. The first president was Francis Woodward—eighteen persons dined, but there was no collection. The following year, under the same presidency, there was again no collection, and only twelve persons present. This number was increased in the third year to twenty-seven, when the collections commenced with the sum of £4 : 17, Peter Wells, president. The visitants and contributors to this charity have since progressively increased, and subscriptions have been received exceeding £600. It is remarkable, that in the year 1831, when in consequence of the riots, no dinner was given,—the collection was less than it had been for twenty-five years previously, thus showing how the enjoyment of the good things of this world assist in expanding the heart, and awakening the kindlier sympathies towards our necessitous fellow creatures.³

Another society was established in 1758; it is called the "Grateful," and

¹ Bristol Times.

² See Appendix F.

³ See Appendix G.

differs from the others, in not blending the elements of party feeling with the pure spirit of charity in which it originated.¹

The "Anchor," was founded by the Whigs in 1769. On the occasion of the presidency of Arthur Palmer, Esq., in 1844, the following account was given of its origin:—"November 28th, 1768, several gentlemen disposed to hand down the memory of Colston, assembled at the Three Tuns, a tavern of some note, that stood on the site of the present Exchange, and then formed this splendid charitable society. Many of the members were men of considerable eminence—among whose names that of Henry Cruger, so highly famed in the electioneering annals of Bristol, stood conspicuous. (Their first dinner was at the Three Tuns, in 1760,) when Mr. Gilbert Davies was the first president—twenty-two members assembled, and the sum of twelve guineas was the result. From that period, by great exertion, it had progressively increased to its present state."²

Identified with Colston, is an isolated and picturesque mansion at Mortlake. It is seen from the lower road to Richmond, a field in front, and stately trees surrounding. The sombre, mellowed, indescribable tone, that years impart, is upon it, and a dingy aspect of neglect and decay, has grown on the ancient dwelling. It has a grave old vacancy of aspect, and looks mournful, solitary, and deserted, as it is. We were in search of Colston's residence, and seeing a peculiar character about this, enquired its name, and were told it was Oliver Cromwell's house. This was the house we sought. We crept through the fence into the field and stood before the grave old pile,—instinctively feeling an involuntary reverence for the abode of departed goodness. On either side tall aspiring poplar trees, of considerable magnitude cast their restless shadows on the walls, and darkened the silent chambers. The building is of irregular construction. A small court is enclosed by the projecting wings, separated from the road by a low wall with wooden rails, and entered through an ornamental iron gate-way, between two square columns supporting globes. In the columns are two semicircular-headed niches, over seats, it may be for the passing wayfarer, or tarrying beggar. Tall, yellow, sickly grass, and rank luxurious weeds, grow from the crevices of the stones in the paved court. Fissures yawn in the decaying walls. The closed shutters from which the blistering paint has peeled looked sad, blank, and dismal. All was cheerless, hushed, and still,—save the echo of our footsteps, and the creaking of some

¹ See Appendix H.

² See Appendix I.

open casement, that with monotonous and dreary sound grated on the ear. How many associations thronged the imagination, and impressed themselves upon the mind as wrapped in thought; we turned the key in the hall door, and crossed the threshold.—From hence, Colston had issued when his benevolent schemes, had called his presence to our City, to inspect the progress of his Almshouses, his Hospital, and his Schools. From hence, he had come to be hailed as our Representative in Parliament,—and from hence, in honoured age had his body been borne to the hearse, that in solemn cavalcade conveyed it to its sepulture within our ancient walls! But we have entered the hall, and from the dreamy images of the past, the mind awakens to the deserted house—to the rustling of the autumnal leaves, that fluttering on the slabbed pavement, are wafted by the passing breeze through the open door-way.

There is nothing in the interior to call for any descriptive detail. Its principal characteristic is a remarkable plainness; and, though the walls are covered with oak panelling (*coloured*, of course, to the taste of the late occupiers), yet, throughout the house, neither the balustrades of the stairs, the cornices of the rooms, nor the chimney-pieces, betoken, except in one instance, the least attempt to diverge, from a primitive simplicity by any introduction of ornament. Lysons doubts the tradition that this house was ever the residence of Cromwell, to which opinion we also incline; but, as it appears from the assessments made during the Protectorate, that some of his city friends had houses at Mortlake, there is more probability in supposing it to have been the residence of Ireton;—thus connecting it with Cromwell, who may have frequently visited here,—which tradition also favours. The style of building is in such strict accordance with the rigid notions of the Puritans, that we may, in the absence of conclusive evidence, affix its erection to their era. It has undergone but little change, with the exception of replacing some of the latticed casements with sash windows, and the introduction of marble chimney pieces in the principal apartments. The superior elevation given by modern architects to our rooms, is in happy and healthy contrast to the low and heavy proportion of these,—where a Cavalier, had such appeared, would have brushed the ceiling with his lofty plumes. The entrance hall alone is of fair proportion.

Turning from the hall to the right, we perceive, through an arched-way, what is usually called the “grand staircase,”—where, affixed to the balustrade,

still remains a lamp, covered with a large globe-formed glass shade,—whose preservation, during the chances and changes of years, considering its frail material, is little less than marvellous. Straw and paper, bricks and lime, and all the rubbish that follow removal, and accumulates in void, deserted houses, strewed the stairs, the passages, and rooms. Spiders, undisturbed, had taken possession of all corners, and their spreading net-work gave token of their long security. What had been the scenes, where all is now so silent? The sweet humanities of life, united with charity and love, dwelt here ;—the music of the heart's prayer for helpless poverty spoke here ;—there was the room where Colston had sat—his library ;—it was here his earnest and benevolent spirit dictated the execution of his noble intentions ;—and in this room were written his many letters—his first and last to the administrators of his Charities. In another apartment once hung the portraits of himself and father. Colston called it his “blue drawing room,”—and the hue of the walls is still unchanged,—and there, retaining its lattice windows, is the chamber in which his spirit had passed away. How mournful, dismantled, and forlorn, it strikes on the pensive memory !

Ascending a few stairs, we arrive at a long, narrow room, occupying the entire depth of the western wing :—to this, tradition assigns the name of “*Cromwell's Council Chamber*.” It has a vaulted ceiling, and its walls are panelled with oak, painted white, with some attempt at ornament in the carving of small festoons of flowers in the cornice. A fire place is at the south end, with a lattice window on either side. Light is admitted from three other similar windows on the west ; and, at the north, a modern sash window has been inserted, near which is a small closet or pantry. The so-called “Council Chamber” is more peculiarly adapted for a banqueting hall, or general dining room.

The attic floor has a wild, rambling, crazy, ghost-like character,—with strips of paper hanging from the damp walls, and torn and scattered in heaps about ; and, where the rain has penetrated, streams of water have left darkened patches upon the moistened floor. The panelling, also, has in many places been torn from the walls, by a speculative resident (the last inhabitant), in the flattering delusion that concealed treasure was to be found ; and dark, black apertures remain. Besides, there are mysterious inky closets, admirably adapted for scenes of a doleful and terrific character, where the Radcliffe school of romance would love to revel. Here tradition comes to our assistance, and Cromwell is again

the theme. It points to a very *perceptible* closet or chamber, formed in the gable of the roof, to which access is obtained by a few stairs. This has the picturesque appellation of "Old Noll's Hole;" and here we are told Cromwell was wont to conceal himself,—why or wherefore, appears to be involved in mystery. History, though it informs us that he shifted his chamber often towards the close of his days, does not record that he was ever under the necessity of hiding himself in a dark closet. Another marvel of the story is, that, with his natural sense about him, he should have deluded himself into the belief that so palpable a recess could escape observation.

Returning to the hall, we passed through to the north side of the house; this is relieved by a plain portico, supported by four Doric columns, and has no particular feature of note, except that of having the same grave and sombre aspect,—the same gloomy, melancholy character,—common to all houses whose life has departed, and whose walls are desolated. On the lawn a striking object presents itself, in a magnificent catalpa tree, whose branches spreading from the parent root, spring from the earth at some distance, and form a considerable circumference, which, when entire, was said to have been the largest in England. Since the death of the last aged resident,¹ the grounds which border the Thames, have been uncared for; and the gravel paths that surround the lawn and extend through the shrubberies, are no longer discernible, except by a slight elevation of the grass, that indicates their course. Evergreens, probably the same of which Colston makes mention in his Will,—Portugal laurel, ilex, yew, myrtle, sycamore, laurestinas, and others abound, and partially conceal the flower and vegetable garden, which the walks inclose. But the statues of which he speaks, no trace remains. There was something mournfully impressive, in the neglect and desertion of this long cherished and endeared retreat; ancestral trees, spread their umbrageous giant arms around, and in their solid stateliness, seemed mute enduring witnesses of the generations which had frolicked beneath their branches, or pondered in their shade,—but little changed, perchance, since Colston musing on his good intents, that occupied the measure of his days, had trod the verdant turf.

The walks terminate in an open green sward, in the centre of which is a picturesque summer house, with a kind of ogee swept roof, crowned with a pedestal and ball, covered with disjointed slates, verdant in nature's mossy

¹ Miss Aynscomb.

livery, contrasted with stray red tiles slipped from the broken copings. The plaster has fallen in many places from the walls, leaving fissures where the laths are visible; and the silent workings of decay are legibly impressed upon their stained and blotched surface. Over the entrance, projects a semicircular portico supported by two columns, similar in style and execution to those which front the lawn, with the same dull, dreamy tone,—the same mournful prevalence and hue. It is not an ungraceful object, and seen with the silvery waters of the Thames, and with the rich foliage that surrounds and shadows it, is worth a place in an artist's folio. The interior is of good proportion, with a carved ceiling and a square panel in the centre. From a lofty bay window you behold to the east, the Church and part of the Village of Mortlake, Barnes' railway bridge. To the north, Hammersmith Church, Lord Holland's house, Nottenhill Church, and the Duke of Devonshire's conservatory; the view terminating on the west with the Village of Staines on the Green.

As through the lonely shrubberies we slowly retraced our steps, startling the feathered songsters in their evening hymn,—harsh, discordant sounds, unheard in Colston's days, intruded themselves upon the offended ear, and marred the quietude and repose of the retreat. On the one side, the murmuring, dashing paddles of the steamers,—on the other, the roar and shriek of the swift passing train hurtled through the air.

The old house, with its brown, dingy hue, and solemn shadows from adjacent trees,—its hallowed chambers,—its venerated associations,—its sacred memories,—its silent grounds,—its neglected walks,—its desolation, loneliness, and gloom is before us still, as now, afar off we pen these feeble impressions of our pilgrimage. In its decay does a beautiful memory shine over it, and follows us unto our home,—a memory of Charity in its divine greatness, benevolence, and love. It has haunted us in every quiet hour,—in the stilly eve,—in the silent watches of the night; and may it haunt us yet. With it are treasured many endearing thoughts, ennobling to humanity,—with it are linked many pleasing associations,—with it are enlisted our sympathies,—with it is enshrined our gratitude,—and with it respect and veneration for Christian Philanthropy, as exemplified in that exalted goodness, which belongs only to the true servant of God!

“One cannot help feeling the grand beneficence of those wealthy Merchants, who, like Edward Colston, *make their riches do their generous will for ever* ;

who become thereby the actual fathers of their native cities to all generations; who roll away in every year of the world's progress, some huge stone of anxiety from the hearts of poor widows;—who clear the way before the unfriended but active and worthy lad;—who put forth their invisible hands from the heaven of their rest, and become the genuine guardian angels of the orphan race for ever and ever; raising (from those who would otherwise have been outcasts and ignorant labourers) aspiring and useful men; tradesmen of substance; Merchants, the true enrichers of their country; and fathers of happy families. How glorious is such a lot! how noble is such an appropriation of wealth! how enviable such fame! And amongst such men few more truly admirable than Edward Colston.”¹ .

Our task is done! From Colston's abode at Mortlake, let us reverently approach his sepulchre—behold his monument, and leave the reader to peruse its glorious inscription. His figure, modelled from the original picture by Richardson, was executed by Rysbrack. It is placed on an altar tomb, at the eastern end of the south aisle, and surmounted by a pedimental canopy, beneath which is the following inscription, and list of his Charities. Like the beautiful Liturgy of the Church of England, the list cannot be too often repeated. It contains a record almost unparalleled in any time or country.—On the base of the tomb—

“To the memory of Edward Colston, Esq., who was born in the City of Bristol, and was one of the representatives in Parliament for the said City, in the reign of Queen Anne. His extreme Charity is well known to many parts of this kingdom,—but more particularly to this City, where his benefactions have exceeded all others, a list of which is on his monument as followeth. He lived 84 years, 11 months, and 9 days, and then departed this life 11th October 1721, at Mortlake, in Surrey, and lieth buried in a vault by his ancestors, in the first cross alley under the reading desk of this Church.”²

¹ Howitt's Homes and Haunts.

² See Note, page 492.

THE PUBLIC CHARITIES AND BENEFACTIONS GIVEN AND FOUNDED BY EDWARD COLSTON, Esq.

IN BRISTOL.

ON ST. MICHAEL'S HILL.

1691, An Alms House for 12 men and 12 women; the chief brother to receive 6^{sh} the other 3^{sh} per Week, besides coal, &c. To a Chaplain 10^l. per ann: The Whole to be paid by Fee-Farm Rents on Estates in Northumberland, Cumberland, & Durham, and by some Houses & Lands near the house. The Charge about £8500

IN KING-STREET.

Six Saylor's to be maintain'd in the Merchants' Alms' House, by a Farm in Congresbury, Somerset. The Charge.. 600

IN TEMPLE-STREET.

IN THE COLLEGE GREEN.

1696, A School for 40 Boys to be cloath'd and taught, endowed with an Annuity out of the Manor of Tomarhear, Somerset. An House and Garden for ye master, ye Charge.. 8000

1702, To ye Rebuilding ye Boys' Hospital; and for 6 Boys to be cloath'd, maintain'd, instructed, and apprentic'd. A Farm of 70^l. per an. in Congresbury, ye Charge 1500

IN ST. PETER'S PARISH.

To the Mint Work House 200
And for placing out poor Children 200

ON ST. AUGUSTINE'S BACK.

1708, An Hospital for a Master, two Ushers, & a Catechist, & one hundred Boys to be instructed, cloath'd, maintained, and apprentic'd; the Charge about 40000

100^l. per an: to be given for 12 years after his Death, either to those who have been apprentic'd from the Hospital of St. Augustine's-Back, or for the apprenticing of Boys from Temple School, by 10^l. each 1200

To the Several Charity-Schools each 10^l. per an: given for many years while he Liv'd, and to be Continued for 12 years after His Death.

TO YE REPAIRING AND BEAUTIFYING OF CHURCHES.

ALL SAINTS	£250	ST. MICHAEL ..	£50
CATHEDRAL	260	ST. STEPHEN'S..	50
CLIFTON	50	TEMPLE	160
ST. JAMES	100	ST. THOMAS ..	50
ST. MARY REDCLIFF	100	ST. WERBURGH	160—1230

For reading Prayers at All Sts. every Monday and Tuesday morning 7^l. per an:.. £140
For 12 Sermons at Newgate, 6^l. per an: .. 120
For 14 Sermons in Lent, 20^l. per an: 400

IN LONDON.

To St. Bartholomew's	2500
To Christ Church	2000
To St. Thomas's	500
To Bethlem	500
To the New Work-house without Bishops' Gate	200
To the Society for Propagating the Gospel	300
To the Company of Mercers	100

IN SURREY AT SHEEN.

An Almshouse for six poor Men, built and endow'd.

AT MORTLAKE.

For the Education and Cloathing of 12 Boys and 12 Girls, 45^l. per an: 900
To 85 poor people at his Death, 20^{sh} each.. 85

IN DEVONSHIRE.

Towards building a Church at Tiverton 20

IN LANCASHIRE.

Towards building a Church at Manchester 20
To eighteen Charity-Schools; in several Parts of England for many Years of his Life, and to be continued for 12 years after his Death, 90^l. per annum.
To the Augmentation of 60 Small Livings 6000

In all £70695

THIS GREAT AND PIOUS BENEFACTOR
WAS KNOWN TO HAVE DONE MANY
OTHER EXCELLENT CHARITIES, AND
WHAT HE DID IN SECRET IS BELIEVED
TO BE NOT INFERIOR TO WHAT
HE DID IN PUBLIC.

On the slab beneath is the following:—

"EDWARD THE SON OF WILLIAM COLSTON, Esq.;
AND SARAH HIS WIFE, WAS BORN IN THIS CITY,
NOVEMBER 2, 1636. DY'D AT MORTLAKE, IN SURREY,
OCTOBER 22, 1721, AND LIES BURIED NEAR THIS
MONUMENT."*

* From the Church Table we learn that Robert Langty, of Waterhouse, Wilts, Esq., gave by his will \$100, the interest to be expended "in repairing the monument of that worthy and benevolent man, Edward Colston, Esq., and to keep legible and clean the inscription." The inscription on the monument was compiled from an account sent by the Rev. Mr. Tucker, and from the abstract at the end of the funeral sermon preached by Dr. Harcourt.

These are the public Charities, that have given his name an immortality on earth, and blest him with the immortality of Heaven. There is no pompous panegyric, nor laudatory epitaph—he required none. His name needed nor brass, nor marble, nor sculptured effigy, to preserve it from oblivion. His, is a virtue that survives all time—his, a memory that will never fade—his, a glory that can never pass away. It is greater than the honours of the world—it is mightier than the darkness of the grave—it lives pure and imperishable in the inmost temple of men's hearts; and, with the last prayer of the poor and afflicted, has been borne by angels of Charity and Love to the throne of that Almighty Power, whose commands he laboured to fulfil, and whose mercy he endeavoured to deserve. Is there one who can stand unmoved before his tomb, and not breathe a blessing upon his name? is there one who can contemplate his life, and not feel influenced by the gentle spirit of his Charity? He has cheered the heart of the sorrowful,—he has dried the tears of the afflicted, and to the houseless thrown desolate upon the wide bleak world,

¹ In the year 1843, while the Churchwardens were making some improvements in All Saints' Church, Francis Edward Colston, the then descendant and representative of the family, expressed an anxiety that they should avail themselves of the opportunity, and endeavour to ascertain the exact spot where the remains of his Philanthropic ancestor were deposited. This was done, and the lid of the coffin was removed, in the presence of the Treasurer, Vicar, and Churchwardens, and Mr. Henry Penton, from whose Memorandum we quote, they found "The immortal Colston himself, lying in all the apparent tranquillity of sleep. The features were so perfect, as to be readily recognized; so much so, that it is not improbable that a cast of his head was taken for the celebrated monument of him in the Church,—sculptured by Rysbrack. The face was covered with a sheet, quite strong and perfect, and a diaper cap or napkin on his head; his cravat and shirt exactly of the make and form of those shewn on the same admirable monument in front of the vault. The whole was sacredly and immediately closed and replaced; a leaden plate being soldered on, inscribed—'Edward Colston, 1721.' "

In the words of the journals of the day, "A deep and thrilling interest pervaded the minds of the gentlemen assembled, on contemplating the head that planned, and the hand that executed, so many noble deeds of charity and mercy, for which generations to the end of time, and thousands of necessitous citizens who will participate in his munificent charitable endowments, will reverence the name of Edward Colston. When we witnessed the respect which was visible on the countenance of every spectator, we were forcibly reminded of the words of the inspired Psalmist, 'The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.' Mr. F. E. Colston appeared deeply affected on viewing the remains of his illustrious ancestor; and having given directions for the re-interment of the body, the coffin was closed, and the tomb again received its sacred deposit, to remain (we trust not to be again disturbed) till the resurrection of the just."

when all earthly hope seemed lost, even in his ashes has he been a comforter and friend. There are no honours too resplendent,—no reverence too sacred, no devotion too pure, can be paid unto his shrine, where repose all that remains of the heart once warm with benevolence, charity, and love! The majesty of intellect—the power of genius—the exaltation of rank, must humble before it;—he has surpassed all, and left, by his extensive charities, a name for thousands yet unborn to rejoice at, and to bless. The laurels of the great may fade, but the blossoms of the good cannot;—they survive until the end of Time, and bloom again in Heaven. Long may his memory be fostered here, long may the day of his birth be held as sacred by his grateful citizens, for when that observance shall cease,—when it shall pass away without a sign, then will Benevolence droop her head,—then will gratitude have become extinct,—the memory of the good forgotten,—and poverty wander unpitied through the world. The tomb of Shakspeare has its pilgrims,—to it the wise and learned flock, and pay homage to his dust: here let the affluent resort,—here, let them learn to feel compassion for others' woes, and distribute with a helping hand the bounty that Heaven has lent them;—here, let the afflicted come and gather comfort at his shrine, for there yet live many that walk in his footsteps and strive to emulate his goodness;—but more especially let all who, through the instrumentality of his benevolence, now flourish in wealth and honours, pay here their pilgrimage; and in one faith, hope, and spirit, let their light shine forth in grateful tribute, by the distribution of their abundance in acts of compassion, mercy, charity, and love!

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

St. Walburge.

Mr. Mayor, [Henry Creswicke]
Alderman Gonning,
Alderman Jackson,
Mr. Yeamans,
Mr. Cann,
Mr. Bowen,
Mr. Goard,
Mr. Sheriff Langton,
Mr. Wm. Hobson,
Mr. Lysons,
Mr. Streamer,
Mrs. Deyos,
Mrs. Long.

St. Ewen.

Mr. Holloway,
Thomas Yeamans,
Richard Hollister,
Philip Downey,
Thomas Wall,
Robert Gilford,
William Haynes,
Thomas Thomas,
Toby Goodyear,
Nicholas Meredith,
John Nicholls,
Gilbert Moore.

St. Leonard.

Alderman Vickris,
Mr. Robert Vickris,
Mr. Gay,
Mr. Howell,
George Bishop,
Mr. Howard,
Mr. Ellis,
Mr. Husbands,
Nathaniel Packer,
Mrs. Browne.

From the other parishes we will not further infringe upon our pages than by selecting the following names, with many of which the reader is already familiar:—

Rodeliff.

Joseph Yeamans,
Alderman Farmer,
John Jackson,
John Shuter,
Robert Hawkins,
George Gibbs.

Edward Bovey,
Dr. Marplott,
Ralph Ollive,
Thomas Tovey,
Humphry Little,
Richard Blackborrow,
Thomas Day,
William Redwood.

William Crabb,
Thomas Goldsmith,
John Hooke,
John Day,
Roger Long,
Richard Tovey,
Mr. Duddleston.

St. Augustine.

Mr. Knight,
Mr. Thomas Cary,
Dr. Marod,
Dr. Denham,
Lady Baynton.

St. Maryport.

Wid. Yates,
Dennis Hollister,
Abraham Birkin,
Peter Muggleworth.

St. Peter.

Antony Ayliff,
Mr. Clutterbuck,
Symon Hurle,
John Lawford,
Alderman Balman,
John Teague,
Nicholas Hart,
Richard Pope,
Mr. Challoner.

St. Thomas.

Alderman Farmer,
John Willoughby,
Mr. Gibbs,

Temple.

Mr. John Knight,
Francis Hawkins,
Richard Hart,

<i>St. Philip.</i>	<i>St. Nicholas.</i>	Francis Gleed, Richard Grigson [Sheriff].
Nehemiah Collins, Christopher Hollister.	Alderman Tyson, Thomas Attwood, William and Thomas Jackson, Robert Young, Alderman Sandy, Henry Merrett, Edward Baugh, Henry Appleton, Mr. Parker, Mr. Bubbs, Mr. Harper, Mr. Roe. Mr. Thomas Stephens, Alderman White, Robert Challoner, Mr. Langton, Alderman Jackson, Alderman James, Robert Vickris.	<i>St. Stephen.</i> Jonathan Blackwell, Major Yeamans, William Merrick, Alexander Gray, Mr. Yeamans, Mr. Tocknell, Alderman Morgan, Thomas Harford, Mr. Birkin, Mr. Young.
<i>St. James.</i>		<i>St. Michael.</i> Mr. Deane, Mr. Sperrin, Richard Ash, Thomas Ollive.
Thomas Bishop, Mr. Dighton, Mr. Hooke, Simon Tovey.		<i>All Saints.</i> Walter Stephens, Charles Powell, Richard Baugh, John Tindale, Thomas Speed, Robert Dennis, John Hollis, Robert Langworthy.
<i>Castle.</i>	<i>Christ Church.</i>	
James Powell, Alderman Gibbs, William Baldwin, Richard Benfield.	Francis Yeamans, John Haggatt, William Colston, James Attwood, Nathaniel Cale, Alderman Yate,	
<i>St. John.</i>		
Mr. Aldworth, Alderman Lock, Mr. Pope, Dr. Martin, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Gough, Edward Hurne, Thomas Shuter, Mr. Dunning, William Clymer, Arthur Sawyer.		

APPENDIX B.

"July, 1666. The following persons, living in the Lower Green, pretended exemption from paying the poor of St. Augustine's parish,—the Court ordered they pay weekly as below, and, in case of refusal, render themselves liable to warrants of distress:—

William Hartwell	2d. per week.
Nathaniel Pownall.....	2d. „
Mr. Pitt	2d. „
Alexander Jackson.....	2d. „

"Barbadoes. By the Deputy-Governor. You are hereby required to transporte from hence to England, in your ship called 'The Robert,' Lewis Bevan, and Lawrance Carpenter, who are Frenchmen, and persons judged by myselfe and Council, dangerous to the peace of this island, for which this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand, the 7th December, 1666.

"To Captain Edmund Ditty, Commander of the 'Robert,' at Bristol."

"These are to certify, that William Cole, Esq., nominated and appointed Commissioner, among others, for putting in execution within the City of Bristol, and all parts and places within ten miles of the said City,—and in all towns, corporate villages, hamlets, liberties, precincts, and places, within the said limits, an Act of Parliament, intituled, 'An Act of Parliament for raising ten thousand pounds by an imposition on wines, and other liquors,' have taken the oath directed in and by the said Act, to be taken by such Commissioners before us, this 26th day of June, 1668."

In the extract that follows, the practice of London is again adopted. An order is made at the General Sessions of the Peace, January, 1672, that the Constables within the City, should provide themselves "staffs of destination, *in accordance with the custom used in London*,—and in pursuance thereof (Thomas Tiley, Chief Constable of the Ward of All-Saints), hath provided for the several Constables, within the said Ward, decent and handsome staffs, and hath expended in the doing thereof, the sum of six-and-forty shillings and sixpence; and this day making application to this Court for his reimbursement, upon consideration thereof, this Court doth think fit, and so order, that the Churchwardens of the parish of All-Saints do, out of the church stock, pay unto Thomas Tiley, the sum of six-and-forty shillings and sixpence: and that the same shall be allowed him upon his account. An order was issued for staffs to be hung at the Constables' doors."

"May, 1674. Upon reading the presentment of the Grand Inquest, and finding it by them presented, that several doors are made through the Town wall, betwixt Radcliff and Temple Gate, for the conveniency of several persons to go to their grounds and gardens, without any licence and authority given them from the City. The Court taking into consideration that the same is in contempt to the Government of the City, and invasive to their right, and may be of dangerous consequence to the letting in and out of rogues by night, notwithstanding the shutting the gates of the City, and that several mischiefs may be thereby occasioned, do hold the continuing such doors to be very inconvenient, and for the preventing of any future evil that may happen thereby to the City or inhabitants, do order that all the said doors so made through the Town wall, as aforesaid, except a door leading out of Saint Thomas Street, into land late of Alderman Whitsun, be immediately dammed up; and Mr. Challoner, the City Chamberlain, is hereby required to see the same effectually done accordingly, and to employ the City mason for the doing thereof."

The revolt of the Cooks.—"November 9th, 1700. There being a confederacy among the Cooks now in this City, it is ordered that in case any able Cooks come from London, that the Mayor and Aldermen have liberty to admit them into the freedom of the City."

APPENDIX C.

That the lamentable condition of the Quakers was not exaggerated we have the direct evidence of a letter written in the name of the prisoners in Bristol, to the yearly meeting of their friends, in London, in which is presented so faithful and melancholy an account of their trials; so affecting a picture of their endurance and holy trustfulness, that we transcribe the whole, as corroborating from the pen of the persecuted, what from our annals has been previously advanced.¹

¹ Joseph Besse on the Sufferings of the Quakers.

"Dear Friends,

"Bristol, Newgate, 17th 3rd Month, 1684.

"In regard the time is near when Friends from most parts meet together, we thought it might not be unwelcome that you hear from us. The Friends who have been long prisoners in Bridewell, for not answering by money the keeper's demands, they being his prisoners though kept there, he did on the 2nd instant, remove them hither, so that the number of prisoners in this gaol is above one hundred; and are so crowded for lodging, in close, dark, damp and dungeon-like holes; and many in one place called Pauls', where never any before was put to lodge that ever we know or heard of. We say these things cry aloud, but many hearts are hard, and those who might remedy will not hear, or at least not regard. None can plead ignorance, who are any way concerned to help the oppressed; since Friends and truth are fully cleared, so far as we have been able in letting them understand. And many are so void of compassion, as to impute it wholly to our faults; and some do account we are used too well. These things we mention rather to inform Friends how we are than to complain. Indeed, God hath been so good to us, and still is so, that it doth out ballance all those light afflictions. He hath given health, and also preserved the same in several appearances of very great danger, which mercy is even to a wonder. He hath given comfort, content, unity, peace, and love amongst us greatly: and by his fatherly care, hath so provided always for us, that we have had no want. For all which mercies we desire you with us to praise the Lord, and to pray unto Him for us here, that God would ever keep us in faithfulness to Him, that we may become even as monuments of his mercy, that he who alone is worthy, who is all and doth all, may have all the honour, praise, and renown, now, henceforth, and for evermore."

"Within this week we are pulled and haled out, and not suffered to meet together, as hath been formerly allowed us to do; nay, they will not suffer it, though all in one and the same gaol. The keeper saith he hath orders for it from his masters; and so we were thrust and locked into several places. But in these things they have no conquest nor glory thus to oppress the innocent, even in their prisons, where they have thus thrust us in heaps.

"But, in this our rejoicing, that they cannot keep God from us, by whose power we are kept in patience to suffer these things from the hands of men, to whom we never did any harm,—to whom God grant repentance before his anger break forth in an overflowing scourge, and there be no remedy;—even so be it, if the Lord will. Blessed be God we are well, and our love is dearly to all our dear and truly beloved Friends in the holy truth of God, whose lives, liberty, and peace we pray God preserve. In your approach to the Throne of Grace forget not us; that is the greatest good we can do each other, who have none in Heaven but the Lord, nor desire any on earth but Him only. Our wives' love is dearly to you all, and the loves of many more here, in whose names we salute you, and shall rejoice to hear from you of the glory of the Lord, and the prosperity of his holy, innocent, peaceable, and everlasting truths.—Amen."

"In truth of love, we remain your Friends,

"CHARLES HARFORD, RICHARD SNEED, CHARLES JONES."

APPENDIX D.

The Sessions were continued by several adjournments, to the first day of June, when the address evinces the temper and disposition of the age, and the influence of the Court.

"We, the Grand Jurors for our Sovereign Lord the King, and the body of the County of this City, present that the best expedient to preserve the prerogatives of the Crown, and liberty and property of the people, by experience of all ages, is a due and impartial execution of the penal laws, —the defect of which gave way to the late rebellion; and fear we had been again brought to the same anarchy and confusion, had not the late treasonable association been timely discovered.

"We present the Aldermen of this City, *who neglect and refuse to prosecute Dissenters* at this time, to be encouragers of Popish as well as *profanical* designs, from which two springs all the mischief to this City, and the Kingdom in general, do arise; and that the many malicious, false libels published against the government of this City, and the prosecution of Dissenters here, is a consequence of the adhesion "of a few Aldermen to them, and particularly Sir John Knight, Sen., and Alderman Crabb, who suffer conventicles to be weekly in the same street, and within a few doors of their own houses, without disturbance; and not only so,—but they, together with Mr. Alderman Creswicke, are their *public champions* on the bench, and endeavour to discountenance all officers and others who do their duty towards the suppressing of them,—for the regulating of which failure of justice for the future, we request that special care be taken to prosecute Sir Robert Atkins and other Aldermen, against whom several indictments have been found, and since removed from this Court; and that the privilege of gaol delivery granted us by the Charter may be enjoyed once in a year at least, which of late hath not been.

"Another occasion of the increase of fanaticism, as we conceive, is not only the lenity of the Court, but the small fines laid on convicted offenders, whereby affronts and libels have been cast on the Justices; and the evidence for the King discouraged, when they see themselves and the Council for the King made the greatest sufferers, by attending to prosecute offenders; whilst the transgressors go almost unpunished, by the solicitation of some Magistrates to obtain of the Sheriffs, Town Clerk, and Keeper, remission of fines and fees. That unlawful assemblies may be no longer encouraged, we request that the Quarter Sessions may not be dissolved, until all business now lying before your Worshipships be dispatched; we being informed that the several persons formerly indicted on the Statutes, for not coming to church, have pleaded subtile pleas to their respective indictments, which now depends before this Court—upon demurrer—and for that the consequence of determining for or against these pleas, will not only influence this City, but other parts of the kingdom also, in their prosecution of Dissenters; and considering the Dissenters have already engaged all the Council of the City, who no doubt have already armed themselves with all the arguments they can to prejudice the King's interest, by maintaining their places. We desire that able Counsel may be provided to assist the Town Clerk in this weighty concern. We present that there having been no address made to the King and Council by this Court, against the authors of the infamous libels burnt, is a reflection on the representative of the City and County, and a fair discouragement to future Grand Juries."

 APPENDIX E.

The first meeting of the Nominees was in 1726, and was for the purpose of filling the vacancy occasioned by the death of Sir John Smyth, Bart., when they elected John Codrington, Esq., of Wraxall, in the county of Somerset. It will be seen from the following, that many distinguished men have been appointed as Nominees and Visitors of this Charity.

- 1728. Francis Colston, attended for the first and last time.
- 1729. Dr. James Harcourt, chosen a Nominee.
- 1730. Thos. Chester, of Knowle, in the County of Gloucester.
- 1732. Thos. Coster, Esq.
- 1741. The Hon. Edward Southwell, Esq., Nuborne, Berkeley.
- 1754. Sir John Philipps, Bart., of Picton Castle, in the County of Pembroke.
- 1759. Alexander Colston, Esq., of Filkins, in the County of Oxford.
- 1763. Edward Southwell, of Kingsweston, Esq.
- 1764. Rev. Dr. John Casberd.
- 1776. Henry, Duke of Beaufort, *vice* Alexander Colston, who died 1st Dec., 1775.
- 1777. Wm. Bromley, Chester, of Cleevehill, in the County of Gloucester, *vice* Right Hon. Lord Clifford, who died 2nd Nov., 1776.
- 1778. The Right Hon. Thos. Lord Middleton.
- 1785. Wm. Gore Langton, Esq., of Newton Park.
- 1787. Rev. Alexander Colston, Vicar of Henbury.
- 1780. John Smyth, of Stapleton, Esq.
- 1809. Edward Francis Colston, of Filkins Hall, in the County of Oxford.
- 1816. Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, of Badminton.
- 1824. Right Hon. Edward, Lord de Clifford, of Kingsweston.
- 1825. Edward F. Colston, Esq., of Filkins' Hall, *vice* Edw. F. Colston, who died 5th Nov., 1824.
- 1829. Montague Gore, Esq., of Barrow Court: Right Hon. and Rev. Lord William George Henry Somerset, A.M., of Tormarton.
- 1831. Wm. Chester, Esq., of Knowle Park, in the County of Gloucester. Present,—The Duke of Beaufort, Marquis of Worcester, Fiennes Trotman, Lord de Clifford, Edward Francis Colston, Montague Gore, Lord W. G. Somerset.
- 1836. Lord John Thomas Henry Somerset, of Waldsworth Hall, near Gloucester, *vice* Henry, Duke of Beaufort, who died 25th Nov., 1835.
- 1841. Rev. William Hungerford Colston, D.D.
- 1846. Henry Charles Fitzroy Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, *vice* Lord John Thomas Henry Somerset, who died 3rd Oct., 1846.
- 1847. Edward Colston, Esq., of Roundway Park, *vice* Edward Francis Colston, who died 9th April, 1846.

APPENDIX F.

The Colston Societies. No. 2.

The original Society was the Colston, now distinguished as the "Parent Society," whose first meeting was held, as we have seen, November 2, 1726. Extracts of its progress as reported in the register of the Society.

- 1738, Nov. 2. The Society met, and Mr. John Warren, was chosen President; and they unanimously resolved that the members, subscribers, will serve the office of President in turn, according to the original subscription.—Twenty-four members were present.
- 1740, Nov. 3. Any member who do not attend the Annual Meeting, to forfeit 5s.

- 1742, Nov. 2. Mr. Edward Oliver, paid his fine for not serving the office of President.
- 1751, Nov. 2. Rt. Hon. Edward Southwell, Esq., was chosen President.
- 1753, Nov. 13. Thomas Chester, Esq., was chosen President.
- 1754, Nov. 13. Norborn Berkeley, Esq., chosen President.
1755. Charles Bragge, Esq., chosen President.
1756. Dr. Charles Randolph, chosen President; he declined; a letter to be written him, that he ought to pay the fine of £5, according to the rules.
- 1759, Nov. 13. The fine for not serving the office of President increased from £5 to £10.
- 1773, Nov. 13. Alexander Colston, Esq., was chosen President, which he declined serving, and was fined £5.
- 1783, Nov. 13. £300 belonging to the Society, to be invested in the funds.
- 1787, Nov. 13. Dr. John Ford, was elected President.
- 1788, Nov. 13. Dr. John Ford, was again elected President, being in London, and requested Mr. Joseph Willson, should continue Treasurer. Dr. Ford, generously gave £25, for not taking upon himself the office of President. Resolved that the thanks of the meeting be given to him; and the Duke of Beaufort was elected President.
- 1790, Nov. 13. At a meeting of this Society, Mr. Thomas Eagles, was elected President, and Mr. William Fry, Treasurer for the ensuing year.—*BEAUFORT, President.*
- 1791, Nov. 14. Mr. Robert Smith, was elected President, but on account of ill health, desired to be excused serving the office, and begged the Charity to accept from him as a fine the sum of £50, as an aid to the Charitable Fund.
- 1793, Nov. 13. The sum of £582 : 5 : 10, belonging to the Society, to be transferred into the names of the Treasurer, Mr. Peter Lilly, Mr. Timothy Powell, Jun., and Mr. Joshua Powell; and that they be requested by further purchases, to make up the sum of £700 Stock.
- 1794, Nov. 13. Messrs. Lilly and Powell reported they had purchased additional Stock, making in the whole, £700 Stock.
- 1800, Nov. 13. William Miles, Esq., chosen President, which he declined; resolved that he do pay the fine, and be excused, and that Sir John Durbin, Knight, be elected for the ensuing year.
- 1801, Nov. 13. The Treasurer reported that William Miles, Esq., had paid £31 : 10, to be excused serving the office of Treasurer, and that Sir John Durbin had paid £20, Mr. William Delpratt, £20, and James Vaughan, Esq., £21, to be also excused; and that the balance in his hands amounted to £181 : 3 : 7, when it was resolved that the Treasurer do purchase £250 in the 3 per cent. Stock, which, with £850 Stock, heretofore purchased, will make the sum £1100 belonging to the Society; and that the interest be given annually to poor lying-in women of the Established Church, wives of freemen; the usual sum in bread, and the remainder to any other charitable purpose, at the discretion of the Committee, and of those gentlemen who have served the office of President.
- 1802, Nov. 13. In future, £1 : 1, to be given instead of 16s., to lying-in women. John Maxse chosen President, which he declined on account of ill health, and he paid a fine of £30.
- 1803, Nov. 14. His Grace the Duke of Beaufort elected President for the ensuing year. The Treasurer to purchase £100, 3 per cent. Annuities.

1804, Nov. 13. The Funds of the Charity, at this period, were as follows—

3 per cent. Consols	£1200	0	0
In the hands of the Treasurer	38	5	9

£1238 5 9

- 1805, Nov. 13. James Ireland, Esq., chosen President for the ensuing year, which he declined and paid a fine of £31 : 10 : 0, and John Blagden Hale, Esq., chosen in his place.
- 1806, Nov. 13. The balance in hand amounting to £135 : 4 : 8, be invested in the purchase of £200 Stock. There not being sufficient number of objects of this Charity amongst the freemen's wives of this parish, the Charity to be extended to those of the parish of St. Thomas, whose husbands are entitled to their freedom.
- 1807, Nov. 13. John Tyndall Warre, Esq., chosen President for the ensuing year, which he declined and paid a fine of £31 : 10 : 0, and that Lowbridge Bright, Esq., who had also declined the office, had also paid £31 : 10 : 0. £100 Stock to be purchased. Mr. Peter Lilly resigned the office of Treasurer from declining health. Thanks of the Society voted to him for his long and active services. Mr. Jos. Powell was elected in his place. Thomas Eagles, Esq. request to be no longer a member of the Society, and he having served the distinguished office of President, complied with a letter from Charles A. Elton, Esq., desiring his name to be erased from the list of members—not to be complied with, as it would be contrary to the usage of this Society—a letter to be written him by the Treasurer.
- 1809, Nov. 13. James Tobin, Esq., chosen President.
- 1810, Nov. 14. James Tobin, Esq., paid a fine of £31 : 10 : 0, for not serving; the like fine of £31 : 10 : 0, from Robert Bush, Esq.; and that Sidenham Teast, Esq., had promised to pay a fine for the same purpose, the Treasurer, when he received the fine from Mr. Teast, to purchase £200 Stock. Thanks voted Sir Berkley William Guise, Bart., for his donation of £3 : 3 : 0. Mr. Cole, at the request of Charles Abraham Elton, Esq., moved that his name be taken off the books as a member, which being seconded, an amendment was moved and seconded, and carried unanimously, that it was contrary to the standing order of this Society to erase the name of any gentleman from the books until he had served the office of President, and that his request could not be complied with, but that when it shall be his turn to take the chair as President his name shall be passed over.
- 1818, Nov. 13. The Treasurer reported he had received £31 : 10 : 0, from Sir Henry Cann Lippincott, and £31 : 10 : 0, from George E. Sanders, as fines to be excused from serving the office of Presidents. The name of Charles A. Elton, Esq., appearing in due rotation for the office of President, the same was passed by agreeably with the resolution of Nov. 14, 1810, and resolved that the same be struck off the book. The funds being £1800 3 per cent. Consols. The Treasurer to purchase £100, 3 per cent. Consols.
- 1819, Nov. 13. The Treasurer reported that forty poor women had been relieved in their lying-in with 21s. each, and £10 had been expended in bread for the poor. Thanks be presented to Joshua Powell, Esq., for his services as Treasurer, and that he be requested to continue in the office the ensuing year.

- 1820, Nov. 13. Resolved that Mr. John Saunders and Mr. John Elton, having refused to take the Presidency, are no longer members, and their names to be erased from the list of members. The subscription for the dinner in future to be 10s. each. £100 Stock to be purchased.
- 1821, Nov. 13. Forty-six lying-in women had been paid 21s. each, and £10 given away in bread. William Westley, Esq., request to have his name taken off the books, complied with, he having served the office of President. The future assembly of the members to be at two o'clock to attend divine service instead of twelve.
- 1822, Nov. 13. Peter Clessold, Esq., sent £25, regretting his inability to attend to take the chair.
- 1823, Nov. 13. Forty-seven women relieved, and £10 given in bread.
- 1824, Nov. 13. Fifty women relieved, and £10 given in bread.
- 1825, Nov. 14. Ditto. Francis Freeling, Esq., chosen President.
- 1826, Nov. 13. He declined by letter, and sent £20 in aid of the Charity. Thanks voted him for his handsome donation. Funds of the Charity amounted to £2050 Stock. Isaac Cooke chosen President.
- 1827, Nov. 13. Ditto, paid a fine of £31:10:0 to be excused serving. Thanks voted George Henry Freeling for his kindness in accepting the Presidency at so short a notice, and that it is with feelings of regret the Society learn that indisposition deprives them of the honour of his presence in the chair, which was taken and most ably filled by Mr. Alderman Haythorne.
- 1830, Nov. 13. Mr. James Clark and Mr. Joshua Powell, Junr., each paid £25 to be excused serving the office of President.
- 1831, Nov. In consequence of the riots the Anniversary Meeting did not take place.
- 1837, Nov. 13. The wives of freemen, residing in the parish of Temple, and also in that part of Bedminster now enclosed in the Redcliff Ward, to partake of the Charity. Funds of the Charity amounted to £2300 Stock.
- 1840, Nov. 13. From the improved state of the funds of the Charity, it was resolved that the Charity be extended to the wives of poor burgesses, being members of the Church of England, residing in the Ward of St. Mary Redcliff, and that they be relieved with 10s. 6d. each at the time of their lying-in. The Treasurer reported that the funds of the Society was £2300 Stock, and the balance in his hands was £34:10:4.



APPENDIX G.—DOLPHIN SOCIETY.

Presidents' Names, number of Persons who dined, and amount of Collections at the Dolphin Society, held in the City of Bristol, from its first institution, 1749, in commemoration of the Anniversary of the late Edward Colston, Esq., who was born in Bristol, 2nd November, 1636, and died at Mortlake, in Surrey, 11th October, 1721, aged 84 years and 343 days, and was buried in All Saints' Church, Bristol, October 27th, 1721. His last Will and Testament, 6th May, 1720, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

A.D.	Presidents.	Dined.	Collection.	A.D.	Presidents.	Dined.	Collection.
			£ s. d.				£ s. d.
1749	Francis Woodward ...	18	— 0 0 0	1802	John Ward ...	92	178 10 0
1750	Ditto ...	12	— 0 0 0	1803	O. P. Collings ...	139	— 225 5 6
1751	Peter Wells ...	27	— 4 17 0	1804	M. Yeatman ...	107	— 196 16 6
1752	John Avery ...	35	— 8 1 0	1805	Joel Gardiner ...	118	— 208 2 6
1753	Joseph Farrell ...	50	— 12 10 0	1806	William Dowell ...	102	— 215 0 0
1754	Henry Bradham ...	77	— 20 2 0	1807	E. R. Clayfield ...	96	— 231 4 6
1755	Samuel Smith ...	83	— 26 19 0	1808	Thomas Griffiths ...	150	— 266 9 0
1756	Edward Gore ...	80	— 34 0 9	1809	R. H. Davis ...	129	— 294 18 6
1757	Fred. Pennington ...	75	— 36 0 9	1810	R. Vaughan ...	140	— 312 16 6
1758	Henry Morgan ...	63	— 26 8 3	1811	Charles Ridout ...	105	— 272 15 6
1759	Roger Watts ...	55	— 25 19 3	1812	Thomas Andrews ...	100	— 268 2 6
1760	Stephen Cox ...	57	— 21 19 6	1813	Richard Colston ...	246	— 429 10 6
1761	Jere Osborne ...	57	— 29 18 6	1814	John Cave ...	133	— 339 18 6
1762	John Powell ...	57	— 25 0 3	1815	T. W. Dyer ...	114	— 316 11 6
1763	Edward Brodrip ...	55	— 28 17 10	1816	Thomas Daniel ...	120	— 336 3 0
1764	William Yeatman ...	48	— 23 4 0	1817	W. G. Langdon, per		
1765	Fenwick Bird ...	49	— 27 19 3		Rev. C. Gore ...	83	— 283 0 6
1766	Richard Smith ...	60	— 26 1 0	1818	E. Sampson ...	171	— 360 0 6
1767	Nicholas Perry ...	68	— 34 5 0	1819	Samuel Bowden ...	102	— 289 12 6
1768	Nathaniel Webb ...	61	— 27 4 0	1820	Richard Lowe ...	120	— 307 6 0
1769	Michael Hodgson ...	55	— 31 17 0	1821	R. B. Ward ...	171	— 409 19 0
1770	Henry King ...	49	— 30 8 10	1822	Richard Smith ...	180	— 429 18 6
1771	Thomas Paty ...	52	— 31 10 0	1823	Daniel Stanton ...	164	— 438 7 0
1772	William Sladen ...	49	— 32 1 9	1824	John Gardiner ...	146	— 400 8 0
1773	Robert Bridle ...	59	— 49 4 3	1825	Robert Bush ...	158	— 421 10 0
1774	Nathaniel Windey ...	70	— 67 10 6	1826	William L. Clarke ...	142	— 407 18 6
1775	George Daubeny ...	—	— 60 0 0	1827	John Vaughan ...	145	— 389 18 6
1776	Thomas Berjew ...	—	— 72 11 6	1828	J. Osborne ...	219	— 619 10 0
1777	Thomas Keene ...	—	— 65 19 9	1829	John M. Gutch ...	127	— 432 14 0
1778	Joseph Hinton ...	—	— 60 12 0	1830	Walter Swayne ...	85	— 352 3 0
1779	Thomas Hembury ...	—	— 63 7 0	1831	N. G. Prideaux,		
1780	William Jones ...	93	— 92 12 0		Riots, no dinner ...	—	— 210 7 6
1781	James Hughes ...	68	— 64 15 6	1832	William Mortimer ...	224	— 444 0 0
1782	Michael Clayfield ...	84	— 83 18 6	1833	Charles Payne ...	186	— 540 0 0
1783	J. Headington ...	67	— 67 14 6	1834	William Fripp ...	194	— 530 2 0
1784	Charles Partridge ...	60	— 57 4 6	1835	Henry Bush ...	265	— 630 6 0
1785	William Wigginton ...	57	— 53 11 0	1836	William Watson ...	201	— 545 13 0
1786	Richard Smith ...	69	— 65 12 6	1837	William Miles ...	221	— 536 11 6
1787	H. King, Jun. ...	60	— 63 11 0	1838	J. K. Haberfield ...	192	— 643 13 6
1788	Richard Tombs ...	65	— 64 11 6	1839	H. W. Newman ...	131	— 500 0 6
1789	Francis Ward ...	61	— 68 5 0	1840	John Taylor ...	178	— 668 18 6
1790	John Hawkins ...	87	— 96 12 0	1841	F. G. Prideaux ...	119	— 439 2 0
1791	Edward Gore ...	75	— 90 16 6	1842	James George ...	117	— 402 9 0
1792	Edward Willis ...	79	— 102 7 6	1843	P. W. S. Miles ...	216	— 552 5 0
1793	Simon Oliver ...	85	— 106 1 0	1844	C. L. Walker ...	147	— 459 12 0
1794	Philip Crocker ...	87	— 116 0 6	1845	C. G. Heaven ...	130	— 553 12 2
1795	Charles Brown ...	94	— 120 4 6	1846	James Gibbs ...	120	— 517 0 6
1796	W. Whittingham ...	96	— 124 8 6	1847	John Vining ...	80	— 365 6 0
1797	E. F. Colston ...	106	— 135 19 6	1848	J. D. Pountney ...	96	— 371 7 6
1798	Godfrey Lowe ...	111	— 156 9 0	1849	J. K. Haberfield ...	89	— 362 15 6
1799	Thomas Sanders ...	112	— 169 11 6	1850	Edward Colston ...	—	— 376 12 0
1800	W. Moncrieffe, M.D. ...	126	— 195 16 6	1851	W. H. Hartley ...	—	— 294 18 0
1801	J. P. Berjew ...	100	— 172 14 6	1852			

APPENDIX H.—GRATEFUL SOCIETY.

A. D.	Presidents.	Collections.			A. D.	Presidents.	Collections.		
		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
1817	Samuel Ditchett ...	216	0	0	1835	William Lee ...	456	12	0
1818	Peter Fry ...	215	0	0	1836	H. C. Quinton ...	478	0	6
1819	Robert W. Vizer ...	270	0	0	1837	J. G. Shaw ...	625	0	0
1820	Thomas Gadd ...	240	0	0	1838	William D. Bushell...	730	0	0
1821	William Smith ...	190	0	0	1839	John Harding ...	923	15	11
1822	James T. Ball ...	235	0	0	1840	J. K. Haberfield ...	1135	17	6
1823	John Bowgin ...	280	0	0	1841†				
1824	Thomas Wilcox ...	325	8	0	1842	James Poole ...	410	0	0
1825	Preston Edgar ...	265	0	0	1843	James Hughes ...	421	0	0
1826	George Lunell ...	360	0	0	1844	Edward Joseph Staples	400	10	6
1827	James Lyon ...	330	0	0	1845	William Harwood, Jun.	549	12	6
1828	William O. Gwyer ...	390	10	0	1846	R. B. Callendar ...	489	17	2
1829	Francis K. Barnes ...	370	0	0	1847	T. P. Willcox ...	373	9	0
1830	Thomas G. Matthews ...	440	10	6	1848	H. B. Jordan ...	381	19	4
1831*					1849	Joseph Leech ...	521	18	0
1832	Robert Fiske ...	350	0	0	1850	Henry Abbot ...	570	0	0
1833	Job Harril... ..	390	0	0	1851	John Wetherman, Jun.	512	19	10
1834	John Miller ...	318	0	0	1852				

* No dinner, in consequence of the Riots.

† In this year there was no President, in consequence of the unprecedented collection of the previous year, by Mr. Haberfield. The Treasurer, W. Done Bushell, Esq., collected £360, with £150 appropriated from the last year, making upwards of £500.

APPENDIX I.—ANCHOR SOCIETY.

A List of the Presidents of the Anchor Society from its Foundation, with the Sums Annually Collected.

Year.	President.	Amount.	Reliefs.	Lying-in Cases.	Poor.
1769	Gilbert Davis, Esq. ...	£12 1 6	49		
1770	Ditto ...	35 2 0	35		
1771	Joseph Fowle, Esq. ...	46 3 8	72		
1772	John Rowland, Esq. ...	80 16 0	222	41	181
1773	Dr. Andrew Paterson ...	85 15 0	380	94	286
1774	Dr. John Wright ...	120 10 0			
1775	John Noble, Esq. ...	117 0 3			
1776	Paul Farr, Esq. ...	172 4 5			
1777	Joseph Harford, Esq. ...	219 14 1			
1778	Samuel Span, Esq. ...	222 2 6			
1779	Benjamin Loscombe, Esq. ...	197 8 6			
1780	James Kirkpatrick, Esq. ...	231 10 8			
1781	Philip Protheroe, Esq. ...	222 13 0			
1782	Joseph Smith, Esq. ...	289 19 6			
1783	Henry Cruger, Esq., Alderman ...	291 6 6	515	113	462
1784	John Fisher Weare, Esq. ...	304 16 0	509	118	391
1785	Richard Bright, Esq. ...	289 11 4	507	107	400
1786	Stephen Nash, Esq. ...	297 19 8	510	115	395
1787	James Harvey, Esq. ...	289 13 0	528	136	446
1788	James Morgan, Esq. ...	329 11 6	626	150	476
1789	Robert Claxton, Esq. ...	350 13 7	733	146	587
1790	Levi Ames, Esq. ...	339 9 8	777	171	606
1791	John Harris, Esq., Mayor ...	315 12 6	772	151	621
1792	Charles Joseph Harford, Esq. ...	355 14 6	682	95	587
1793	William Peter Lunell, Esq. ...	317 9 0	801	156	645
1794	Henry Bengough, Esq. ...	318 0 0	716	134	582
1795	Robert Castle, Esq. ...	317 13 0	672	132	540
1796	Joseph Edye, Esq. ...	284 7 11	598	98	500
1797	Andrew Pope, Esq. ...	277 11 5	595	83	512
1798	John Foy Edgar, Esq. ...	266 10 6	541	50	491
1799	Michael Castle, Esq. ...	335 13 0	520	174	346

APPENDIX I.—ANCHOR SOCIETY—(continued.)

Year.	Presidents.	Amount.	Reliefs.	Lying-in Cases.	Poor.
1800	Samuel Span, Esq. ...	£283 10 5	622	86	536
1801	Jacob Wilcox Ricketts, Esq. ...	307 1 0	609	94	515
1802	Henry Protheroe, Esq. ...	278 1 2	504	80	424
1803	Dr. Joseph Mason Cox ...	256 11 6	526	97	429
1804	Edward Protheroe, Esq. ...	305 12 6	560	100	460
1805	Levi Ames, Jun., Esq. ...	292 11 3	608	118	490
1806	Samuel Henderson, Esq. ...	290 9 6	631	117	514
1807	Colonel Hugh Baillie ...	304 1 6	618	73	545
1808	George Gibbs, Esq. ...	311 16 0	688	106	582
1809	Arthur Palmer Jun., Esq. ...	366 2 6	662	135	527
1810	Peter Baillie, Esq., M. P. ...	339 3 6	716	140	576
1811	Benjamin Hobhouse, Esq., M. P. ...	326 4 5	712	157	555
1812	Philip Protheroe, Esq. ...	318 17 0	639	170	469
1813	John Yerbury, Esq. ...	285 5 6	661	189	472
1814	Brooke Smith, Esq. ...	359 11 6	640	160	480
1815	James Evan Baillie, Esq., M.P. ...	343 16 6	754	242	512
1816	Dr. John Edmund Stock ...	305 0 3	747	206	542
1817	Charles Abraham Elton, Esq. ...	288 10 0	692	194	498
1818	Edward Webb, Esq., M.P. ...	315 1 6	651	200	451
1819	George H. Ames, Esq. ...	373 2 0	987	242	545
1820	Michael Hinton Castle, Esq. ...	374 3 10	839	240	599
1821	Benjamin Heywood Bright, Esq. ...	472 9 0	1016	275	741
1822	Charles Pinney, Esq. ...	512 4 6	1167	300	867
1823	John Evans Lunell, Esq. ...	511 1 3	1125	287	838
1824	James Lean, Esq. ...	520 0 0	1203	320	983
1825	Henry Bright, Esq., M. P. ...	514 12 0	1099	290	809
1826	Arthur Palmer, Esq. ...	471 14 0	1065	285	880
1827	William Claxton, Esq. ...	572 1 6	1248	335	913
1828	Dr. Kentish ...	414 0 0	1039	276	763
1829	John Hare, Jun., Esq. ...	653 5 6	1494	350	1144
1830	Robert Bright, Esq. ...	555 19 6	1266		
1831	Joseph Grace Smith, Esq., (year of riots) ...	218 16 6	624		
1832	Charles Savery, Esq. ...	507 16 6	1154		
1833	John Mills, Esq. ...	403 2 0	972		
1834	G. G. Bompas, M.D. ...	324 14 0	704		
1835	Brooke Smith, Esq. ...	368 17 6	764		
1836	Robert Bruce, Jun., Esq. ...	434 4 0	929		
1837	Joseph Grace Smith, Esq. ...	354 7 0	818		
1838	Henry A. Palmer, Esq. ...	739 14 6	1558	346	1212
1839	Charles Bowles Fripp, Esq. ...	627 5 2	1581	344	1237
1840	Frederick Ricketts, Esq. ...	528 15 6	1329	314	1015
1841	Richard Ash, Esq. ...	438 8 0	1100	205	895
1842	John Evans Lunell, Esq. ...	387 16 6	977	199	778
1843	Hon. Francis Henry F. Berkeley, M. P. ...	604 16 6	1073	207	866
1844	Francis Short, Esq. ...	642 11 0			
1845	Joseph Coates, Esq. ...	473 2 6			
1846	Frederick Palmer, Esq. ...	515 17 0			
1847	Thomas Mills, Esq. ...	405 17 6			
1848	William Henry Gore Langton, Esq. ...	417 6 6			
1849	John Mercer, Jun., Esq. ...	384 0 6			
1850	Arthur Hare Palmer, Esq. ...	475 17 0			
1851	Hon. and Rev. Sir Erasmus Wilson ...	298 10 0			
<hr/>					
1841	4 Boys Apprenticed.	1845	8 Boys Apprenticed.		
1842	{ 5 Boys "	1846	6 " "		
	{ 3 Girls "	1847	5 " "		
1843	9 Boys "	1848	8 " "		
1844	9 " "	1849	7 " "		

“ From the preceding tables, it will be seen that since the year 1817, the large sum of £26,452 : 10 has been collected by the Dolphin, Anchor, and Grateful Societies, for charitable purposes. As the collections are now much larger than heretofore, it is probable that, in the next twenty years, the amount contributed will greatly exceed the above sum, and this induces us to suggest to our readers, and the Bristol public in general, whether it is not to be regretted that such vast sums should be expended without producing any permanent benefit. If the annual collections of these three Societies were funded for a few years, Almshouses might be built, or annuities granted, on the plan adopted by the National Benevolent Institution, and the future annual contributions, or even a proportion of them only (leaving the remainder for distribution), would secure an ample income for the inmates of Almshouses, or the payment of annuities. There would be an equal emulation in the Presidents to hand over the largest amount to a general fund, as exists at present, to raise one separately,—and it might be administered under the direction of a Committee, comprised of an equal number of the past Presidents, or influential members of the three Societies. It is, we repeat, a subject of regret, that the money so liberally contributed, should be distributed in casual, and, we fear, frequently imprudent or injudicious charity ; and we shall be highly grateful if these remarks induce the Committee, or Managers of the three Societies, to confer on the practicability of such a scheme as we have suggested, or any other equally beneficial.—*Bristol Mirror*, Nov., 1838.

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